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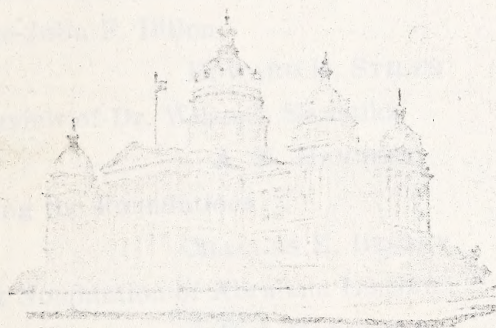
THIRD SERIES.

VOL. IX. NO. 1.

APRIL, 1909.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

A HISTORICAL QUARTERLY.



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ANNALS OF IOWA

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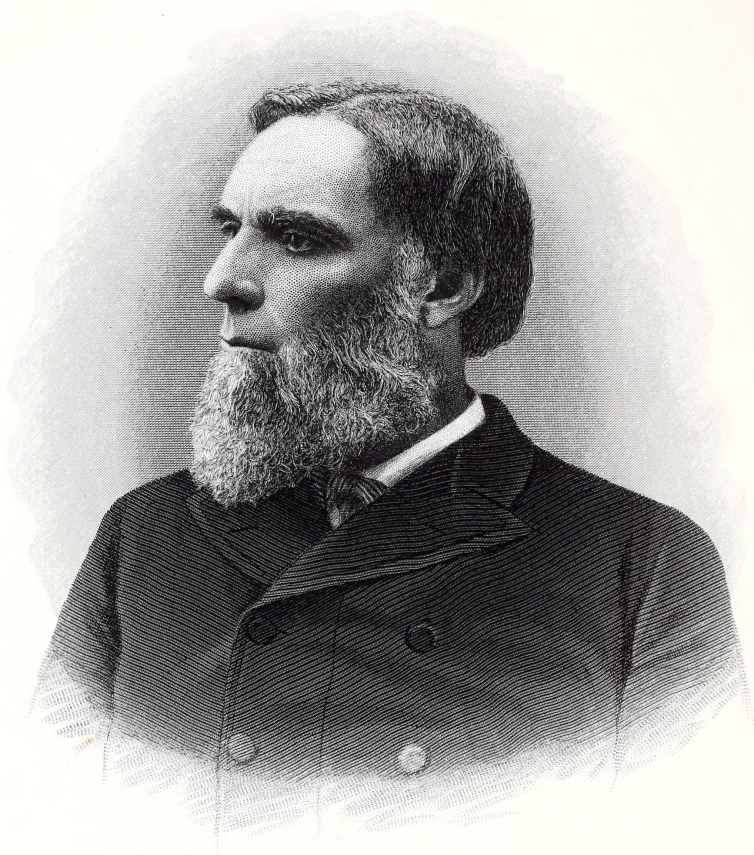
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John F. Dillon.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

VOL. IX, No. 1.

DES MOINES, IOWA, APRIL, 1909.

3D SERIES.

JUDGE JOHN F. DILLON.

BY EDWARD H. STILES.*

I venture to say that no son of Iowa has conferred a more substantial and enduring honor upon her name, or more justly deserves to be embalmed in her historic archives, than John F. Dillon; successively Judge of one of her District Courts; Judge and Chief Justice of her Supreme Court; Judge of the United States Circuit Court for the Eighth Judicial Circuit, in which Iowa with other States was embraced; Professor of Real Estate and Equity Jurisprudence in the Columbia College Law School; Storrs-Professor of Yale University; author of *Dillon on Municipal Corporations*; of *Removal of Causes from the State to the Federal Courts*; of *Dillon's Reports of the United States Circuit Courts for the Eighth Circuit*; of *Laws and Jurisprudence of England and America*; of various opinions, essays, lectures, addresses and papers; member of L'Institut de Droit International; lawyer, author and publicist of conspicuous international fame.

*Edward H. Stiles commenced the practice of his profession at the city of Ottumwa where he resided for a period of nearly thirty years and was during that time a leading member of the Iowa bar. In 1859 he was chosen City Counsellor. In 1861, County Attorney. He was elected to the Iowa House of Representatives for the session of 1864, and to the State Senate in the autumn of 1865. He served in the regular session of 1866, but in the autumn of that year he resigned the Senatorship, to accept the position of Reporter of the Supreme Court of the State. He served in this position until 1875. His Reports fill 16 octavo volumes. He also prepared and published in four volumes a Digest of the Decisions of the Supreme Court of Iowa from the earliest territorial period. He was the Republican candidate for Congress in General Weaver's district, the Sixth Iowa, then a Democratic stronghold, in 1883 and came within a few votes of election. He was the attorney of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad Company, and of the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railroad Company, for twenty years in the Ottumwa district. In 1886 he removed to Kansas City, Mo., where he has since practiced his profession, and is a leading member of that bar. He was the Republican candidate for Circuit Judge in 1892, and since November of that year has been Master in Chancery of the United States Circuit Court for the Western Division of the Western District of Missouri. In 1882 at the request of the then judges of the Supreme Court, he commenced to gather material for biographical sketches of the lawyers, judges and leading public men of early Iowa. He is now engaged in utilizing the material thus compiled, the result of which we are authorized to say he expects in the near future to place before the public in book form.

The causes which led to this high distinction and those, as well, which established him in the universal esteem and veneration of his compeers, it will be my endeavor faithfully, though but in outline, to trace.

When upwards of forty-two years ago, in January, 1867, I became Reporter of the Supreme Court of Iowa, the Judges composing its bench were John F. Dillon, George G. Wright, Ralph P. Lowe and Chester C. Cole. The Court then ranked as one of the strongest in the nation and its decisions were held in high esteem. Under the then existing law it became the duty of the Reporter to be present at each session of the Court for the purpose of observing the proceedings and hearing the arguments of counsel, with the view of his gaining thereby a more accurate knowledge of the cases he was to report. The Court, so to speak, was perambulatory, for while its principal sessions were held at the capital, Des Moines, both spring and fall terms were held respectively at Davenport and Dubuque, whither the Reporter went with the Judges. In this wise it was my good fortune to come in personal touch and association with the Judges, and thus began my personal acquaintance with Judge Dillon.

I may be pardoned for these self-allusions. I make them as tending to show my acquaintance with the personality as well as the career of which I purpose to write.

In the execution of this purpose I shall confine myself to an impartial narration of the leading circumstances and achievements of his life; for upon these, aided by the judgment of his contemporaries, rather than upon the tributes of a friendly biographer, must rest all proper estimates concerning him.

At the time of which I have spoken, Judge Dillon was thirty-six years of age; in the very flush of his splendid manhood. In figure he was rather above the medium height; rotund in person, placid in temperament, active but not nervous in movement. His features were strikingly attractive and well chiseled, though, much to his disadvantage, as I always thought, partially concealed by a full beard, save the upper lip which was always cleanly shaven. His ample

head was well poised on shapely shoulders; his forehead broad and full; his hair dark, his nose prominent, his upper lip wide and handsomely curved, his mouth firm and characteristic; his dark eyes, deeply set under heavy brows, full, lustrous and penetrating. His whole expression beamed with the superbly intellectual, patient, kindly, but heroic forces which unfailingly supplied him.

In the latter period of his life his appearance had somewhat changed, from the inroads of time, from his having adopted an entirely full beard which had faded from its dark hue to one of gray, from the effects of long years of close and trying intellectual labors, and, more than all, from the unspeakable grief flowing from the loss of his devoted wife and daughter, who perished at sea while making passage to Europe on the ill-fated French liner, *La Bourgogne*, in 1898.

But his mind relaxed not in the least its pristine vigor. He kept up his daily office rounds, and continued in the performance of professional and literary work of the greatest importance until a very advanced age, as we shall hereinafter see.

His manner on the bench, while not lacking in firmness or dignity, was considerably urbane on all occasions and under all circumstances. He seemed to be utterly devoid of that acerbity of temper and precipitancy of action which occasionally mar the Judicial Office. In return he was respected and beloved by the entire bar, and by the suitors and witnesses who came before him. Counting in round numbers he was on the bench twenty-one years; five on the State District bench, six on that of the State Supreme Court, and ten on that of the United States Circuit Court for the Eighth Judicial Circuit.

Though born in the State of New York he was essentially a product of Iowa. He came here as a child. His home was in Davenport. Here he lived for forty-one years, until his removal to the City of New York. His affection for Davenport and indeed for all of Iowa and her institutions, was constant and profound, and no man did more to build substantially and strong their foundations. In 1838 Iowa was organ-

ized as a territory out of what was previously a part of the territory of Wisconsin. In that year the family, attracted by the possibilities of the distant west, removed from their eastern home to Davenport, then but an unorganized village or settlement on the Mississippi. As the interior of Iowa was then for the most part an unbroken wilderness, and Davenport but an outpost of civilization, his means of education were necessarily limited. He had, however, the irrepressible instincts of a scholar and that insatiable thirst for knowledge which deeply characterized his whole life, and brought forth fruits which will durably perpetuate his name.

His original purpose, like that of his distinguished associate, the late Mr. Justice Miller of the Supreme Court of the United States, was to be a physician; and, indeed, such was the actual calling of both for a time. He commenced the study of medicine when but seventeen years of age, and two years thereafter, in 1850, was graduated as a physician at the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Davenport. In June of that year he was one of the regular physicians of the State who met at Burlington to organize the Iowa State Medical Society. The organizers of this Society, many of whom had already gained eminence in their profession, were as follows:

Drs. E. Lowe, G. R. Henry, Phillip Harvey, E. D. Ransom, J. H. Rauch, J. W. Brookbank, H. M. Matthews, Burlington; John F. Sanford, J. C. Hughes, D. L. McGugin, E. R. Ford, Josiah Haines, Keokuk; N. Steele, J. Robinson, J. F. Moberry, Fairfield; *John F. Dillon*, Farmington; J. D. Elbert, J. E. Evans, James Flint, Keosauqua; J. J. Ellison, Wapello; E. G. Fountain, Davenport; J. H. Hershey, George Reeder, Muscatine; M. J. Morseman, Iowa City; W. H. Rosseau, Washington. I have given these names because of their historic interest and because I thought it would pleasantly stir the memories of many who knew or in family converse had heard of, at least some of them.

Judge Dillon is the only survivor of that group, and of the charter members of that Society, which still flourishes. Though then but nineteen years of age, his talents must have attracted the attention of that distinguished body, for

he was elected Librarian of the Society. He also had the honor of writing the first article in the first number of the first medical journal published in Iowa, "The Western Medico-Chirurgical Journal," published at Keokuk. The article is entitled "Rheumatic Carditis, Autopsical Examination, by John Forrest Dillon, M. D., Farmington, Iowa." The foregoing general facts are gathered from the address of Dr. George S. Jenkins, president of the Keokuk College of Physicians and Surgeons, appearing in the February, 1908, number of the "Iowa Medical Journal," published at Des Moines.

Dr. Dillon evidently had a taste and a fitness for the medical profession, and had he remained therein he would undoubtedly have attained high professional rank. How the shift from medicine to law came about we shall presently see. In tracing his early life we happily meet along the line occasional autobiographical sprinklings that serve authentically to light the way and invest the narrative with a charm that would be wanting in the mere recitals of a biographer. I will, therefore, in great measure let them tell this part of the story.

Dr. Jenkins, in preparing the address hereinbefore referred to, wrote to Judge Dillon for some data respecting himself and his early connection with the Society. In response he received the following letter from Judge Dillon which I am sure will of itself invest this sketch with interest:

NEW YORK, February 1, 1907.

PROF. GEORGE F. JENKINS, M. D.

KEOKUK, IOWA.

My Dear Doctor:—

I duly received your letter stating that you expect to make an address before the Iowa State Medical Society at its next meeting in which you will consider the history of that society since 1850, when the society was formed, down to the present. You remind me in your letter that I was one of the charter members of the first Iowa State Medical Society, organized in Burlington in June, 1850, and that I was for a time connected with the medical profession in the State, and you ask me for some personal recollections in respect of that meeting and of my own connections with the medical profession.

I feel sure that anything I can say will have very little intrinsic value and I fear very little interest to the members of the profes-

sion who are now upon the scene fifty-seven years distant. I shall make my response as brief as I can and you may use any portion of the same that you may deem suitable to the purposes of the occasion.

I was born in the State of New York on December 25, 1831. My father moved with his family, of which I was the eldest, to Davenport, Iowa, in July, 1838, I being then a little less than seven years of age. I lived in Davenport from that time until 1879, when I came to New York to accept a professorship of law in Columbia University and the position of general counsel of the Union Pacific Railroad Company.

I commenced the study of medicine when about seventeen years of age in the office of Dr. E. S. Barrows, at Davenport, Iowa. Dr. Barrows was a prominent physician and successful surgeon, having been a surgeon in the United States Army in the Seminole Indian war. He had wonderful skill in diagnosis and was a bold and successful practitioner. He made very little use in his ordinary practice of any other remedies but calomel, blue mass, Dover's powder and compound cathartic pills.

A year or so after I entered the office of Dr. Barrows as a student, was formed the Rock Island Medical School, the prototype or original, as I understand it, of the present College of Physicians and Surgeons of Keokuk, Iowa, of which you are President.

I attended one course of lectures at Rock Island. The next year the college was removed to Davenport, Iowa, where I attended a second course and was regularly graduated in the spring of 1850 an M. D.

The professors as a body were able men, some of them men of great learning and even genius. Abler teachers than Professor Richards, who taught Practice, Professor Sanford who taught Surgery and Professor Armor who taught Physiology, it would have been difficult to find in the chairs of any contemporary medical institution.

I happened to attend the first meeting of the Iowa Medical Society in 1850, at Burlington, in this way. Having been graduated I desired to seek a place in which to practice my profession and I consulted Professor Sanford, having an admiration and affection for him. He said, "I have lived many years in Farmington, Van Buren County, a small place on the Des Moines river, but my duties in connection with the medical college are such that I have resolved to change my residence and follow the college to Keokuk." Dr. Sanford had obtained great celebrity as a surgeon and indeed had outgrown the little town of Farmington. He suggested to me that his leaving Farmington would create a vacancy which would perhaps make that town a desirable place for me in which to locate. When I reflect that I was really under twenty years of age,

without experience, the idea that I could go to Farmington and occupy in any degree the place which Dr. Sanford left seems now to me almost amusing. I resolved, however, to take his advice and so arranged my journey from Davenport to Farmington as to enable me to attend the first meeting of the Iowa Medical Society in Burlington in June, 1850.

After the lapse of fifty and seven years I distinctly recall that meeting and I regarded it then, as I have regarded it ever since, as an assemblage of men of remarkable learning and ability. Among those present were Sanford, Hughes, McGugin, Henry, Elbert, Fountain, Haines, Lowe, Ransom, Rauch, all distinguished names.

My exchequer was far from plethoric and I was obliged to practice strict economy. I rented for an office a small brick building on the crumbling bank of the Des Moines river, one story high, about twenty feet square, in a dilapidated condition, at a cost of \$4.00 per month. I engaged board and lodging at a boarding house kept by Mrs. Corwin, where I made my home during the three or four months I remained at Farmington at a cost of \$3.50 per week. Among the boarders was a young lawyer by the name of Howe, who had resided in Farmington some little time. We became well acquainted and spent nearly every evening walking up and down the banks of the Des Moines river, speculating upon what the future had in reserve for us. He was almost as destitute of clients as I was of patients.

There were at least two old established physicians in this little place, Dr. Barton and Dr. Lane. How could a young man under twenty years of age expect to find employment under these circumstances unless both of these physicians were engaged or out of the place? I will mention one case with a little particularity since it was epochal, having had the effect of changing the whole current and career of my life. On the hills near Farmington, about two miles distant, there was a large brick yard. On a hot August day the men worked hard, and their skin being relaxed and their appetite vigorous, they ate a hearty supper, when a cool and grateful breeze sprang up and swept the valley. These workmen sat out in it, became chilled and two or three hours afterwards were seized with violent attacks of cholera morbus. They sent post haste to town for a physician, but both Dr. Barton and Dr. Lane were absent and there was nothing to do but to call on me. I had no horse or buggy of my own and if I had I would have found it difficult to have driven over the rough roads, and as I had been troubled with inguinal hernia for many years, I could not ride on horseback. The last time I attempted to do so nearly cost me my life. There was no alternative but walk to the brick yard where I found the men in great suffering, requiring liberal doses of laudanum and stimulants and my personal attention for several hours. Weary and exhausted I

sought my way home on foot, and I saw the sun rising over the eastern hills just as I was reaching my lodgings. Maybe it was the sun of Austerlitz but I didn't so regard it at that time.

Two or three years ago when Dr. Lorenz of Vienna was in this country he took lunch with myself and several gentlemen, one of whom mentioned I had formerly been a physician, whereupon Dr. Lorenz evinced curiosity to know why I had left the profession, and I proceeded to give him the narrative that I am now relating. When I had finished one of the gentlemen said, "Now that you have told all about this there is one thing you have not mentioned, did these men live or die?" to which I responded, "That question has been more than once asked but I have always evaded an answer."

This night's experience set me thinking and the next evening when young lawyer Howe and myself were taking our regular walk up and down the banks of the Des Moines river I turned to him and said, "Howe, I have made a great mistake, I cannot practice medicine in this country without being able to ride on horseback, which I am utterly unable to do. I might as well admit the mistake and turn my mind to something else. I shall read law. Tell me, what is the first book that a student of the law requires?" He answered, "Blackstone's Commentaries." "Have you got them?" He replied, "Yes, I have them and the Iowa Blue book of laws, and those are the only books I have." He was kind enough to loan me his Blackstone and I began at once to read law in my little dilapidated office.

Another event in my brief medical career at Farmington is chronicled in the first number of the *Medico-Chirurgical Journal of Keokuk*, of September 1, 1850. It is the first article and first number of that publication, entitled, "Rheumatic Carditis, Autopsical Examination, by John Forrest Dillon, M. D., Farmington, Iowa," thus connecting me in a slight way with the earliest medical literature of the State.

On inquiry of the present officers of the Keokuk Medical College I learned that they had no copy of the publication and I only succeeded in obtaining one through the kindness and courtesy of the Historical Department of Iowa.

I shall not undertake to re-state the substance of that article; briefly outlined it is this: A laborer on the public works at the small town of Croton, about five miles distant from Farmington, suddenly died under circumstances that led to a very general belief among the people of Croton that he died from malpractice. The postmortem examination disclosed, however, that he died of apoplexy caused by hypertrophy of the heart. The heart was found to be nearly double the normal size and double the weight. It fell to my lot after conducting the examination to take the organ in my hand and

explain to the excited citizens the cause of the death and thus allay public excitement. The article concluded as follows:

"Before taking my departure from Croton, I took occasion to give the botanic physician some salutary advice—adverted to the unenviable predicament in which his ignorance had plunged him, and endeavored to inspire him with a love for scientific knowledge, by following the example of *Le Maitre de Philosophie*, in a *Comedie* of the celebrated *Moliere*, in which he endeavors to impress the truth of the following sentiment upon the mind of *Monsieur Jourdain* 'sans la science, la vie est presque une image de la mort.' Whether I succeeded in convincing him of it, so readily as was the case with *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*, the future must determine.

I have drawn up this hasty sketch of the above case for two prominent reasons; in the first place to present your readers with some additional testimony confirmatory of the frequent connection between arthritic and cardiac disease; and in the second place, to illustrate the great benefit often derivable from necroscopic examination. The one is frequently overlooked, the other too sadly neglected."

In the fall of 1850 I concluded to return to Davenport where my mother and sister lived and take up my home with them and utilize my little knowledge of drugs and medicine and get a livelihood by opening a small drug store, which would also afford leisure time to enable me to read law. This I continued to do until the spring of 1852, when I applied for admission to the bar of the District Court of Scott County, Iowa, and on motion of Mr. Austin Corbin, a man very well-known afterwards in Iowa and elsewhere, I was admitted. The same year I was elected prosecuting attorney for the county and practiced law in Scott and adjoining counties until 1858, when I was elected Judge of the District Court of the Seventh Judicial District for the Counties of Muscatine, Scott, Clinton and Jackson; re-elected four years afterwards. Was then transferred to the Supreme bench of the State and was re-elected six years afterwards. Before qualifying for my second term I was appointed by President Grant, United States Circuit Judge for the Eighth Judicial Circuit, comprising the States of Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Arkansas, Kansas, Nebraska, and afterwards Colorado. I held the last mentioned office for ten years, until 1879, when I resigned the same to accept the professorship of law at Columbia University and removed east, where I have ever since practiced my profession. I find the little knowledge that I acquired of medicine and its principles not only to be a great satisfaction to me throughout my life but at times to be of utility, and I maintained a nominal connection with the medical profession until about the period when I came to New York by delivering each year lectures on medical jurisprudence at the Iowa

University to the combined law and medical classes of that institution.

I fear the foregoing is a weary waste of way but I relieve myself of all responsibility because you asked me for it and because you are under no compulsion to use the same, except so far as it may meet the purposes of the occasion for which you desire it. It gratifies me exceedingly to know that the small gathering at the first Medical Society in 1850 has grown into 2,000 members, and I wish with all my heart the Iowa State Medical Society a long and continued career of usefulness. I am, dear Doctor,

Very sincerely yours,

JOHN F. DILLON.

In the further utilization of autobiographical data touching his early life, as well as the primitive conditions and character of the times, which necessarily constitute a part of his environments, I give the following excerpts from a letter written by him to the editor of *The Davenport Democrat* in October, 1905, on the occasion of the semi-centennial of that paper:

You remind me that I am a Davenport, and ask me to send you for the Half-Century number reminiscences of Davenport of 1855 and of an earlier day,—not history, which you say your readers can look up for themselves, but something personal concerning myself and others. If what I shall say has too personal a flavor, put not the blame on me but yourself. * * * * Yes; you are right! I am a Davenport and always expect to be in my memories, my sentiments and my affections. It was my home and my only home for the long period of 41 years—from early boyhood to beyond the meridian of life. Though absent it is and will ever remain to me the city of the heart. What wonderful changes, general and local, have I witnessed! In 1831, the year of my birth, what is now known as Iowa was an uninhabited region filled with savages. In 1837, my father left his young family in Herkimer county, New York, and in company with his brother-in-law, John Forrest, sought a home in the far West and finally fixed upon Davenport, and in August, 1838, my father brought his family to Davenport, and thus became one of the pioneer settlers. In 1839, when the town was incorporated, my father became one of the first trustees or councilmen of the infant place. Its population at that time probably did not number 500 people. Such was the humble beginning of the present large and prosperous city of Davenport.

Though I well remember, I shall not recount the privations and struggles of the early settlers for many years after 1838. Money was there almost none. Everything was done on a traffic or trade

basis. My father kept a hotel on the bank of the river near Western Avenue, for the accommodation of travelers and especially of the farmers in the surrounding country, who, coming to town with their produce or on business, had to remain over night. The standard charge for supper, lodging and breakfast for man, and stable accommodation for beast for the night, was 50 cents, for which we were paid not in money, but in store orders on Burrows, or Burrows & Prettyman, Charles Lesslie, or other merchants who bought the farmers' produce, "payable in store goods." I well recollect this, for it fell to my lot to help take care of the farmers' horses, and to take in my hand the store orders, go to the store for sugar, coffee, or what not, have the amount of each purchase endorsed on the order, and to carry home the articles purchased. We were passing through the hard times of 1837.

In the campaign of 1840, "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," General Harrison was elected president on the alluring cry of "two dollars and roast beef." Davenport, thrilled with the excitement of the hard cider campaign, built a log cabin at the southeast corner of Third and Harrison streets, which was used afterwards for a schoolhouse and in which I attended school. When my grandfather, Timothy Dillon, with his family followed my father to Davenport in 1840, he brought some silver money with him, and he gave to me a new coined silver dime, the first I ever saw. How rich I felt! It was many years afterwards before business got on a cash basis. Not long ago there still remained on the Iowa side opposite Moline and its mills a warehouse with a conspicuous sign, "Cash for Wheat." This meant at that time a good deal more than the passing traveler of today would think. It meant that at last the time had come when the farmer could get cash and not merely store goods.

During the period of 1838 to 1841, the *Iowa Sun*, a small weekly Democratic sheet, was the only newspaper, but like the greater *Sun* of a later date in New York, the *Iowa Sun* shone for all. The first number was issued in the very month my father and his family arrived in Davenport. Andrew Logan was proprietor and editor, and his sons set up the paper, and carried it around the streets on publication day and sold it. It was as eagerly sought for as the *Democrat* of today. I hope your anniversary number will contain from some correspondent a fitting notice of the *Sun* and its proprietor, Andrew Logan. He did a good work in his day. The last time I saw him was in 1858, at the first annual meeting of the Pioneer Settlers' Association of Scott County.

The *Sun* continued to shine until 1841, which year marked the advent to Davenport of Alfred Sanders and Levi Davis, and the establishment of a Whig newspaper—the *Davenport Gazette*—with which these gentlemen from the first, and later Gen. Add. H. Sanders, were so long, honorably and usefully connected. The *Gazette* was

afterwards absorbed by the more prosperous *Democrat*, but it was, throughout its existence, a most respectable and influential paper, ably edited, and standing always for the right as Alfred and Addison Sanders saw the right.

I have many pleasant memories of the *Gazette*—too many to recount. I saw the press when it landed. I have seen Levi Davis, after setting up the type and working off the paper, carry it around the streets to distribute and sell. I have sat hour after hour in the press room and watched Levi Davis wet down the paper, put it on the old Franklin hand press, and himself work it off, sheet after sheet, on one side, and the next day repeat the same process on the other side. The proprietors were very proud of the record of their paper, and justly so. In 1858, at the Old Settlers' meeting, I heard Alfred Sanders (who was an elocutionist, and who gave lessons in elocution gratis to young men, myself included) swell with pride when, in sonorous voice, speaking of the pioneer press of Scott County, he exclaimed:

"With pride I say it—as I presume it to be the only instance on record in the West—that although we had to purchase all our paper and material in the East, and have them brought out by the slow and tedious course of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, and although we had our paper sunk, and burned, and delayed by accidents, and although my assistants were sick, and I alone had to fill every department of the paper—editorial, typesetting, working the press, and rolling the paper, yet during the sixteen and a half years I have controlled the *Gazette*, it never has missed a single number."

It may be expected, perhaps, that I shall say something concerning the old and early bar of Davenport. A few words must suffice. Of the earliest territorial bar of Iowa, say from 1837 to 1846, its high order of ability has often been remarked,—for example, Grimes, Starr, Rorer, Mason, Hall, Darwin, Browning of Burlington; Hastings, Lowe, Woodward, Richman of Muscatine; Folsom, Byington, Carleton of Iowa City; Leffingwell of Lyons; Platt Smith, Hempstead, Bissell, Samuels of Dubuque; Smythe of Marion; Knapp, Wright of Keosauqua; Love, Beck, D. F. Miller of Lee County, etc., etc.

In Davenport we had Judge Grant, Judge Mitchell, Ebenezer Cook, and afterward John P. Cook, who were, in all respects, the peers of the Iowa lawyers above named. The semi-annual terms of court in Davenport were also regularly attended by Knox and Drury of Rock Island, and often by lawyers from other places. Court week, to hear the lawyers plead, ranked with the annual circus as one of the few entertainments possible in this new and distant region. In early life I have spent many an hour in the old brick courthouse on Fourth street, listening to the trial of cases, at a time when I had

no fixed purpose of becoming a lawyer myself. Every day I used to see the erect form of Ebenezer Cook as he passed my father's house, walking to and fro, cane in hand, between his home on the Cook farm and his office in the town. One day he was kind enough to stop and say to my mother that when I was old enough he wished me to enter his office and become a lawyer, which (after a detour by way of Dr. Barrow's office and a short course of medical instruction) came to pass in 1851. In 1850 and 1851 I studied law by myself whilst keeping, for a livelihood, a small drug store at the corner of Third and Brady. I had no instructor or aid in my studies. As a law student I was never in a law office or law school. Of law schools there were but few in the country at the time, and none within my reach or means. I recollect when reading in Kent about mortgages, I wished to see the form of such a document, and that I was compelled to walk down to the courthouse, where Hiram Price was the recorder, and there had, on the records, my first inspection of this important instrument.* In 1851, Austin Corbin came to Davenport, bearing with him a letter of introduction to me from Judge Grant, who was holding court in Dubuque. In May, 1852, Corbin moved my admission to the bar. The last time I saw him in New York, just before his tragic accidental death, he pleasantly admonished me, as we parted at the corner of Cortlandt and Broadway: "John, don't forget I am your godfather in the law."

The old bar of Scott county by 1855, and soon afterward, had been much enlarged, and contained lawyers whose ability and character are an honor and an ornament to the city, the State, and the profession. I cannot name them all, but may mention Davison, True, Hubbell, Lane, Bills, Putnam, Rogers, Corbin, Dow, Cook, Waterman, French—and there were many others.

Noted as the bar of Davenport has ever been for its character, talents and learning, the present bar may look back with a sort of ancestral pride upon the first and oldest bar: Knox, the most eloquent jury lawyer I have ever heard; Drury, the judicious counsellor; Grant, the intrepid and fearless advocate; Mitchell, the comprehensive and well poised lawyer; Ebenezer Cook, whose judgment on legal questions and problems was as sure-footed as that of any man I ever knew; John P. Cook, a natural born trial lawyer, aggressive, bold, courageous, who, like General Taylor, was generally victorious, and who, like him, never knew when he was whipped.

*Colonel J. H. Benton, one of the leaders of the New England bar, in speaking recently of Judge Dillon said:

"He told me many years ago that when he was reading Kent, trying to learn law, he did not get a clear idea of what a mortgage was and in order to do so went to the courthouse, asked permission to look at the Register of Mortgages in order to copy one and did copy it in full, and then he said to me, 'I *knew* what a mortgage was; I had read it and handled it.'"

"This," says Colonel Benton, "impressed me very much and I used it in my lectures in the law schools as an illustration of the qualities of mind which make a man a great lawyer, that is what I call the *instinct of the concrete*."

Along the same lines and as further showing his deep and abiding affection for Iowa and for all that concerns her welfare, the following extract is given from the address delivered by him on the invitation of the faculty before the graduating class of the law department of the Iowa State University in 1893:

Coming once more into the State, and into this academic city, with whose University not a little of my uneventful career has been connected, the memories and associations of half a century, re-awakened and refreshed, throng around me! I recall the happy days, when a barefoot boy with stone bruised feet I hunted carnelians on the shores of the Mississippi, swam and sailed and fished in its waters, and skated upon its frozen and burnished surface. Fifty years ago in a spring that issued from its banks, I saw mirrored the first eclipse of the sun my youthful eyes ever beheld. The Indians were then more numerous than the white men. The wolf's long howl was a familiar sound. Behold the wonderful contrast and transformation!—the Iowa of 1838 and the Iowa of 1893! When the Supreme Court of the State was held in yonder building—the old Capitol,—I argued therein with fear and trembling my first causes—*Stanchfield vs. Palmer* (4 G. Greene's Rep. 23, 1853), and *McManus vs. Carmichael* (3 Iowa Rep. 1, 1856). In my judicial capacity I have held courts in this city in exchange with your former fellow citizen, Judge William E. Miller. I was afterwards honored with an appointment as one of the Regents of this University, and for several years, and down to the date of my removal from the State, I filled the chair of Medical Jurisprudence, lecturing to the combined Law and Medical classes. I therefore feel as you may well suppose a deep and abiding interest in all that concerns the weal of the State and its University. Their growth and prosperity truly rejoice me. I know and feel that they are a large part of my own life, and I love to cherish the pleasing hope, however illusory it may be, that in some humble, albeit unperceived degree, I, too, am some part of their history. I never come into the State of my love and affection without going down to the banks of the great river, there to meditate in age where I sported in youth, and to dip my hands lovingly into its waters and therewith bathe and cool my fevered brow.

For the same purpose and as throwing additional light upon his early years I give the following excerpt from his address at the dedication of the Davenport Free Public Library in May, 1904:

From early boyhood Davenport was my home. "The mystic chords of memory" here bind me to the past by the sweetest and the strongest of ties. Other days and scenes involuntarily rise before me. I see the little town of 1838 with its few hundred people, without schools, without libraries, without many of the comforts and with few of the luxuries of modern life, when the Indians were thicker than white men, when packs of wolves coming out on the ice from the island below the town were a familiar sight and their long, dismal howl a familiar sound. The earliest school was kept in a small log cabin near the river below Western Avenue by the aged father of Alexander W. McGregor. There it was that I received from him my earliest lesson in astronomy. In those days the banks of the stream abounded in springs. With our hands we scooped out the sand and gravel, rudely walled up the space, and behold there was cooling water bubbling up from below at which we slaked our thirst, the girls mediately by the use of a gourd cup, the boys immediately by laying down flat and drinking directly from the crystal spring. A partial eclipse of the sun occurred near mid-day and the teacher, good, albeit severe, having no smoked glass in readiness, led us to the spring, showed us the sun in eclipse mirrored in the waters, and explained as best he could the wonderful phenomenon. It was a miracle to us small boys then, and it seems to me to be a miracle still that finite man on this atom of the Universe called the Earth, which to the inhabitants of the planet in the eclipse would seem no larger than the diamond that sparkles on a lady's finger,—can foretell years and years ahead the very day and hour when such a phenomenon will recur or appear.

Later some years and before there were any public schools in Iowa, on the very site where this library edifice stands, a school for girls and boys was kept by James Thoringtón. For his kindly nature I hold his name in affectionate remembrance. This school attended with many other pupils, and among them one* who in after years was actively connected with the Davenport Library Association and to whom that institution, next to Mrs. Clarissa C. Cook, was as much if not more indebted than to anyone else, but who, though the heart and memory are fraught with tender and insurgent recollections, shall be nameless in this connection further than to say that the Trustees of the new building have fitly voted to place the portrait of this rare and gifted woman upon its walls.

And now, when everything is changed except the overarching sky, the majestic river and the encompassing hills, when the small town of those early days has grown into a city of 40,000 people, a city of wondrous beauty, prosperous, well ordered, well governed and with undimmed hopes for the future, it has the good fortune to

*Anna Price, afterward Mrs. Dillon.

become and be the owner of this noble structure, consecrated to noble ends. * * *

The distinct personal note which I find runs through these remarks I have sought neither to encourage nor repress. It seemed natural under the circumstances, and I feel confident that your friendship will not ascribe it either to the reminiscential propensity of age or to personal vanity, but will rather regard it as spontaneous and not unfitting in an address to my former fellow-townsmen and to friends of a lifetime. As recollections of the past must percolate through the memory they are necessarily flavored by the character of the soil through which they have passed, and this quality I have made no attempt to neutralize or eliminate.

These delightful papers throw a flood of light on his personality and character, and it only remains to summarize the events thus disclosed and place them with others not yet told in their proper settings.

In 1850 he commenced the study of law. In 1852 he was admitted to the bar, and soon thereafter became associated with John P. Cook, one of the most widely known and distinguished lawyers of the State, under the firm name of Cook & Dillon. In the same year he was elected prosecuting attorney of Scott County. He displayed abilities of a high order. As a result he was chosen by the Republicans in 1858 as their candidate and elected by an overwhelming majority of the people Judge of the District Court of the Seventh Judicial District. He performed the duties of this position with such signal ability and general satisfaction, that at the end of his term he was requested by the entire bar, without distinction of party, to accept another term and was elected thereto without opposition. In 1863 his exalted abilities and supreme fitness for high judicial position had become so conspicuous that in the fall election of that year, he was chosen Judge of the Supreme Court of the State for a term of six years, to accept which he resigned his position on the District bench. In 1869 he was re-elected for another term. Before qualifying therefor he was appointed by President Grant, and confirmed by the Senate, Judge of the United States Circuit Court for the Eighth Judicial Circuit, comprising the States of Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas and, soon after, Colorado.

After a decade of the most distinguished service on the Federal bench, in the fall of 1879, he tendered his resignation to accept the position of Professor of Real Estate and Equity Jurisprudence in the Law School of Columbia College, and that of General Counsel of the Union Pacific Railroad tendered him at the same time. This resulted in his removal to New York, and thus ended his official and professional career in the State which he so deeply loved and had so highly honored. Let us briefly review it before touching upon subsequent events.

For the repeated honors which had been bestowed upon him he was indebted to no political stratagems. His rapid advancements did not spring from that source. They were gained by the steady display of those superlative qualities that inhere in and, as it were, create great lawyers and judges, and of which the instinct of unremitting toil is the greatest. He recognized with Carlyle that "there is a perennial nobleness and even sacredness in work," and that rare excellence can be attained only by its exercise. A more constant observance of these principles has rarely been so well exemplified in any other public man.

Of his labors on the State District bench and the superior abilities he there displayed as a *nisi prius* Judge, no attestation need be added to those carried in what has already been said.* While Judge of that Court he prepared and gave to the profession the first Digest of Iowa Reports, known as "Dillon's Digest." How this came about he once related to me, and as it illustrates the searching industry and thoroughness he gave to every undertaking, I give that relation. He told me that when he was elected District Judge he entered upon the careful study of each and every case that had been before and decided by the Supreme Court, as they appeared in the Reports, making notes as he proceeded and placing each under its appropriate head. That his sole purpose in doing this was to familiarize himself with what the Court had decided in order that he might not run contrary thereto, and be

*No less authority than Judge Henry C. Caldwell has said of him, that he was the best *nisi prius* judge he had ever seen on the bench. ANNALS OF IOWA, 3d Series, Vol. 3, p. 630.

in harmony therewith. That he kept this up and added to it as additional reports appeared. That it then occurred to him that by a little remoulding and enlarging it might be useful to the profession. This he did, and that is the way the lawyers of Iowa came to have what at that time was of the greatest convenience to them. I cannot refrain from remarking as I pass that if all our judges would so qualify themselves we should have far less incongruity in our Jurisprudence.

When at the age of thirty-three he came to be Judge and afterward Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, he brought to that bench, notwithstanding his lack of years, equipments of the highest order; his fitting experience on the District bench; a thorough knowledge of the State, her history and people; a virile and well poised intellect; a thoroughly judicial temperament; a keen and unerring sense of justice; a mind disciplined by years of the closest legal study, and, as the result of scholarly promptings and wide reading, enriched with varied learning.

His opinions from that bench, as well as from that of the United States Circuit Court are, by reason of his name and fame, as well as the general soundness of the opinions themselves, deferred to as authority by all the courts of this country. Those of the State Supreme Court run through fourteen volumes of the Iowa Reports. The first case is that of Welton vs. Tizzard, 15 Iowa (7th of Withrow) 495; the last one Greenwald vs. Metcalf-Graham & Co., 28 Iowa (7th of Stiles) 363. Those of the Federal Court will be found in volumes 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, of Dillon's Circuit Court Reports. There they will stand as perpetual memorials of a great Judge and as beacon lights in judicial history.

(To be Continued.)



your friend & fellow Hawk Eye
Thomas Wilson

A REVIEW OF DR. WILSON'S SWASTIKA.¹

BY ALBERT NEWTON HARBERT.

The request for American literature on the Swastika led Dr. Thomas Wilson to make an exhaustive search for information on the subject. Such material as was obtainable concerning the meaning and history of the Swastika, was presented in an interesting form, and as positive evidence was not obtainable, the author makes no attempt at conclusions regarding the time and place of origin of the primitive meaning of the symbol. His paper was published in the *Report of the United States National Museum for 1894*, and as a reprint in 1896.

It is the earliest known symbol, and is itself so simple that it might have originated among any people however primitive, and in any age however remote. The straight line, the circle, the cross, the triangle, are forms easily made, meaning much or little, and different things among different people or at different times among the same people; or they may have had no settled or definite meaning. The normal Swastika consists of four bars of equal length and thickness, crossing each other at right angles, and with ends bent to the right. The symbol was extended and spread over the entire world in prehistoric times, and no other symbol has given rise to so many interpretations.

Many theories have been advanced concerning the symbolism of the Swastika, and its relation to the ancient deities. It is claimed to have been of early Aryan origin, and the emblem or symbol of the supreme Aryan god; that it so continued down the line of descent until it became the symbol of Brahma, and finally of Buddha. The possible migrations of the Swastika, and its general appearance in widely separated countries and among people of different culture, creates the principal

¹*The Swastika, the Earliest Known Symbol, and its Migrations with Observations on the Migration of Certain Industries in Prehistoric Times.*

interest on this subject to anthropologists. The modern interest in it as a symbol alone is subsidiary to the question of the cause and manner of its appearance in prehistoric times, in practically all countries. The beginning and first appearance of any of the forms of the Cross is also lost in antiquity, and their meaning unknown.

The word as it has been handed down to us is of Indian origin and has its history and definite meaning in India. It has been called by different names in different countries, but in recent times the ancient Sanskrit name of Swastika has been generally accepted. The definition and etymology of the word is thus given in *Littre's French Dictionary*: (Paris, 1852, p. 625.)

Swastika, or Swastika, a mystic figure used by several (East) Indian sects. It is equally known to the Brahmins as to the Buddhists. Most of the rock inscriptions in the Buddhist caverns in the west of India are preceded or followed by the holy (sacramentell) sign of the Swastika.

Etymology: A Sanskrit word signifying happiness, pleasure, good luck. It is composed of *Su*, "good," and *asti*, "being," "good being," with the suffix *ka*.

In the *Revue d'Ethnographie*, IV., p. 329, 1885, is given the following analysis of the Sanskrit Swastika:

Su, radical, signifying *good, well, excellent* or *suvidas*, prosperity.

Asti, third person, singular, indicative present of the verb *as*, to be, which is *sum* in Latin.

Ka, suffix forming the substantive.

The views of the author as to the possible use of the Swastika are:

I. As a symbol—

- 1, of a religion,
- 2, of a nation or people,
- 3, of a sect with peculiar tenets;

II. As an amulet or charm—

- 1, of good luck, or fortune, or long life,
- 2, of benediction, or blessing,
- 3, against the evil eye;

III. As an ornament or decoration.

The presence of the Swastika on altars, idols, and sepulchral urns, demonstrates the Swastika to have possessed the attribute of a religious symbol. If it was a religious symbol of India and migrated as such in times of antiquity to America, it was necessarily by the hand of man. The people who brought it would have undoubtedly introduced with it the religion it represented, provided the symbol had the same meaning among the aborigines in America as it had in India. The evidence of communication would be strengthened if the Swastika and Buddhism came to America together, however as no trace of the Buddhist religion has been found here, we may conclude that the Swastika came at an earlier date than the development of the Buddhist religion. It was more or less a religious symbol in the ceremonies of the North American Indians, as were the various forms of the Cross. There being no direct evidence available by which the migration of symbols, arts, or peoples in prehistoric times can be proved, because the events are beyond the pale of history, we must resort to secondary evidence of the similarity of conditions and we can only subject them to our reason and determine the truth from the probabilities. The author is of the opinion that the probabilities of the migration of the Swastika to America from the Old World is greater than that it was an independent invention. The Indians make use of the emblem in their beadwork and in their blanket making. It is used in the necklaces and garters by the sun-worshippers, which included the Musquies and Iowas. These garters are held to be sacred, and only worn on certain religious ceremonies. They call the emblem "luck" or "good luck," and say they have always made that pattern. These Swastika wearers believe in the Great Spirit, who lives in the sun, who creates all things, and is the source of all power and beneficence.

The Swastika has been found on objects of bronze and gold, but the more common form was on the pottery. It appears to have been used more commonly upon the smaller and insignificant objects. In the bronze age in western Europe, including Etruria, it is found on the common objects of life, such as pottery and bronze articles. In Italy on the hut urns in which

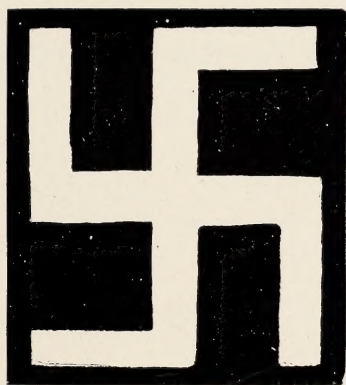
the ashes of the dead are buried; in the Swiss lakes stamped in the pottery, in Scandinavia on weapons and swords, and in Scotland on the brooches and pins; in America on the metates for grinding corn, and the Brazilian women wore it on the pottery fig leaf. It was found among the ruined pueblos of the Mesa Verde, in southwestern Colorado, and in the ruined palaces of Yucatan. Among hundreds of patterns of the Swastika belonging to both continents and to all ages, none of them have sought to represent anything else than just what they appear to be—plain marked lines.

What appears to have been at all times an attribute of the Swastika is its character as a charm or amulet, as a sign of benediction, blessing, long life, good fortune, good luck. This belief has been handed down to modern times, and while the Swastika is recognized as a holy and sacred symbol by at least one Buddhist sect, it is used by the common people of India, China and Japan as a sign of long life, good wishes, and good fortune. The Chinese believe it to be good omen to find the Swastika woven by spiders over their fruits and melons.

The author found after making careful comparisons of all the material that had been prepared on the subject, that the Swastika was confined to the common uses, implements, household utensils, and objects of the toilet and personal decorations. The specimens of this kind number a hundred to one of a sacred kind. With this preponderance in favor of the common use, it would seem that, except among the Buddhists and early Christians, and the more or less sacred ceremonies of the North American Indians, all pretenses of the holy or sacred character of the Swastika should be given up, and it should (still with these exceptions) be considered as a charm, amulet, token of good luck or good fortune, or as an ornament and for decoration.

Among the pioneers of Iowa is associated the name of Thomas Wilson. He was born in New Brighton, Beaver County, Pennsylvania, July 18, 1832, of Quaker parentage.¹

¹Okely. *A Pedigree and Family History of the Lineal Descendants of John Okely, of Bedford, England, which dates from about 1650 to the present time. To which is added the collateral branches of de Guylpyn, West and Wade.* Isaac E. Wade, Editor, Pittsburg, Pa., 1899.



THE SWASTIKA

Both on his father's and mother's side he was of North English race, having in his composition both Scottish blood and predilections. In his career he was an example of American life—born on a farm, received a common school education, and then started out to make his way in the world. At the age of sixteen he was apprenticed to a wagon maker, and worked at the trade until he attained his majority. He came west and finally located at Marietta, Iowa, which was regarded as the "far west" in those days, and opened a shop for making heavy plows for breaking prairie.

He was chosen deputy clerk of the district court, and while serving in that capacity turned his attention to the study of law, pursuing his studies after the day's work. His course of studies was completed in the office of Finch and Crocker, in Des Moines, after which he practiced for several years in Marietta, where he was fairly successful. He was an active participant in the contest between Marietta and Marshalltown, which is recorded as one of the most strenuously prosecuted county-seat wars that ever occurred in Iowa, the contesting parties coming dangerously near actual warfare. Marshalltown finally won in the court proceedings (1859), and the once ambitious town of Marietta has now become a productive cornfield.

At the breaking out of the Civil War, he was among the first to respond to the call, serving in the Second Iowa Cavalry and the Forty-fourth Infantry until 1864, when he was mustered out with the brevet rank of colonel. He then settled in Washington, and resumed the practice of his profession, chiefly before the court of claims and the United States

Christopher Wilson [1] according to tradition, was a Quaker preacher of some note in the North of England, perhaps Yorkshire. He visited Maryland prior to 1760. p. 28.

John Wilson [2], son of Christopher, married November 14, 1764, Alisanna Webster, sister of Daniel Webster, resided at Stafford, on the Susquehanna river, about five miles from Havre de Grace, Maryland. He died May 29, 1800. p. 64.

Thomas Wilson [3], son of John and Alisanna Wilson, born November 1, 1779. Married Sarah Douthitt Sala, nee Douthitt. His death occurred in 1828. p. 65.

James Wilson [4], son of Thomas and Sarah Douthitt Sala, born April 12, 1806. Married Lydia Mercer, in 1837. She died February 20, 1885. p. 67. Was a maker of wagons and buggies in New Brighton, Pa. Died at New Galilee, Pa., January 6, 1900.

Thomas Wilson [5], son of James and Lydia Wilson, born July 18, 1832. Married Martha Jane Beacon, October 27, 1857. p. 69. His death occurred at Washington, D. C., May 4, 1902.

supreme court, in which he was so successful that he was soon able to retire with a competence.

A desire for foreign travel led to his appointment to a consulate in Ghent, Belgium, in 1881. During his leisure he returned to his archaeological studies, and investigated the cave man and the cave bear of the Mousterian epoch, which were to be found in the immediate vicinity. In 1882 he was transferred to the city of Nantes, and was then brought into immediate connection with the megalithic monuments of Brittany. He was also given access to the original records in the archives of the department, of the trial of Gilles de Retz (or Rais), commonly known as Bluebeard. He was finally transferred to Nice, where he was easily in reach of Switzerland, Italy and southern France. After five years of consular service, he spent two years traveling over Europe, exploring and studying wherever there was a new prehistoric station to be opened or a collection to be examined. He also had opportunity for meeting and working with the noted anthropologists of Europe. He had for many years before going to Europe taken much interest in the study of archaeology, having explored many prehistoric mounds.

After returning to this country, he became curator of the division of prehistoric archaeology in the United States National Museum (1887). Besides the routine of administration, he published monographs, and gave public lectures on anthropological subjects. These publications have given him a permanent place in the literature of American archaeology:

- The Treaty of Ghent.* 1888. New York, Press of J. J. Little & Co.
- Ancient Indian Matting from Petit Anse Island, La.* 1888. Report U. S. National Museum.
- A Study of Prehistoric Anthropology—Hand Book for Beginners.* 1890. Report U. S. National Museum.
- The Palaeolithic Period in the District of Columbia.* 1890. Proc. U. S. National Museum.
- Results of an Inquiry as to the Existence of Man in North America during the Palaeolithic Period of the Stone Age.* 1890. Report U. S. National Museum.
- Criminal Anthropology.* 1891. Smithsonian Report.
- Report on Hygiene and Demography.* 1891. Washington.
- Les Instruments de Pierre Dure en Amerique.* 1892. Paris, Printed by E. Jamin.
- La Periode Paleolithique dans L'Amerique du Norde.* 1892. Paris, Printed by E. Jamin.
- Anthropology at the Paris Exposition in 1889.* 1892, Washington.
- Minute Stone Implements from India.* 1894. Report U. S. National Museum.

Primitive Industry. 1894. Smithsonian Report.

On the Process of Flourine as a test for the Fossilization of Animal Bones. 1895. American Naturalist.

The Golden Patera of Rennes. 1896. Report U. S. National Museum.

The Swastika, the Earliest Known Symbol, and its Migrations; with observations on the Migration of certain industries in Prehistoric times. 1894. Report U. S. National Museum, and reprint 1896.

A Classification of Arrow or Spear Heads or Knives. 1897. Antiquarian, Columbus, Ohio.

The Antiquity of the Red Race in America. 1897. Report U. S. National Museum.

Prehistoric Art; or the Origin of Art as manifested in the works of Prehistoric Man. 1898. Report U. S. National Museum.

Blue-Beard A Contribution to History and Folk-Lore. Being the History of Gilles de Retz of Brittany, France, who was executed at Nantes in 1440 A. D., and who was the original of Blue-Beard in the Tales of Mother Goose. 1899. New York and London. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Arrowpoints, Spearheads, and Knives of Prehistoric Times. 1899. Report U. S. National Museum.

The Beginnings of the Science of Prehistoric Anthropology. 1899. Chemical Publishing Co., Easton, Pa.

L'haute anciennete de l'homme dans l'Amerique du Nord. 1901. Paris, L'Anthropologie.

Arrow Wounds. 1901. New York. American Anthropologist.

Classification des pointes de fleches, des pointes des lances et des couteaux en Pierre. 1902. Paris, Masson et Cie.

Communication to the Congres International d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie Prehistoriques. 1902. Paris, Masson et Cie.

Information for the Guidance of Explorers and Collectors. Proc. U. S. National Museum, Vol. XI.

Description of Exhibit made by the Department of Prehistoric Anthropology in the National Museum at the Ohio Valley and Central States Exposition in Cincinnati, Ohio. 1888. Proc. U. S. National Museum.

Sur la Statistique du Crime dans Les Etats-Unis de L'Amerique du Nord. n. p. n. d.

Among the scientific organizations with which he was associated are the following:

Anthropological Society of Washington; the American Folk-Lore Society; the Societe d'Anthropologie de Paris; the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland; the Societe d'Anthropologie de Bruxelles; the Societe d'Archeologie de Nantes; and the Archaeological and Asiatic Association of Nevada, Iowa. He was also a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science; a member of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion and of the American Oriental Society; a commander of the Order of Isabella of Spain; and an officer of the Order of Leopold. He also held a professorship in the National University with the title of LL. D.

Thomas Wilson was a broad minded man, and made a success of everything he undertook. His death occurred in Washington on May 4, 1902.

LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS.¹BY CHARLES E. BESSEY.²

A half century seems like a long time to us today, and yet I shall have to ask you to go back a little further still to find the beginnings of this college, when a few earnest men secured the passage of a bill by the legislature providing for the selection of a proper site on which to build an agricultural college. Among these early advocates of the college was Suel Foster of Muscatine. I remember him as a spare little man with a sparkling eye, and a quick, incisive speech. Always in earnest, always thinking of the good of the community, not self-seeking, he was a model citizen. Well might this college erect a memorial tablet in his honor, and plant an oak tree to keep green his memory. On the tablet inscribe the words:

SUEL FOSTER:

PIONEER, PATRIOT,
LOVER OF TREES AND FRUITS,
ADVOCATE
OF
AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION,
FRIEND OF THE COLLEGE.

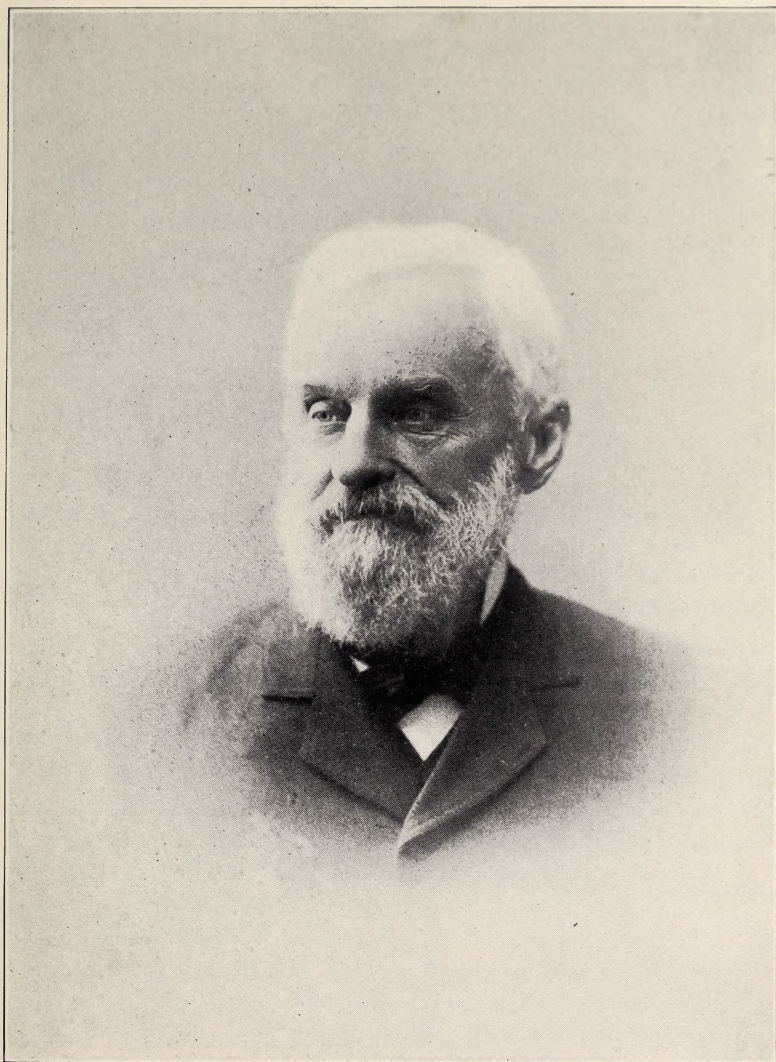
On the tree you plant place the simple label,

THE SUEL FOSTER OAK

and as the years come and go its growth and virescence shall serve to remind us that such lives as his live in their good deeds. The spirit of this pioneer still lives on this beautiful campus, and here we should perennially honor his memory.

¹The "College Day" Address delivered in the college chapel, October 20, 1908, at the fortieth anniversary of the opening of the Iowa State College.

²Charles Edwin Bessey was born on a farm, Milton Wayne county, Ohio, May 21, 1845; graduated Mich. Agri. Coll. 1869; Ph. D. Univ. of Iowa, 1879; LL. D., Iowa Coll., 1898; studied with Dr. Asa Gray, Harvard, 1872-3 and 1875-6. Prof. botany Iowa Agri. Coll., 1870-84 (acting pres., 1882); Prof. botany Univ. of Neb. since 1884 (acting chancellor 1888-91 and 1899-1900, and 1907); author of many scientific books, papers and reviews.



ADONIJAH S. WELCH
President Iowa State College 1869-1883

It is a matter of history that when it came to selecting a site for the college the committee was divided between those who favored this site, and those who preferred another a few miles east of the city of Des Moines, and Suel Foster told me that it was his vote that brought the committee to favor this location. For many years it seemed that the other would have been the better site, and there were many who ridiculed and denounced the selection, for no place in the State seemed to be more hopelessly isolated. Think of planning to set down a college in a thinly settled part of the State, away from the railroad, and separated from a miserable little village by the almost impassable "bottoms" of an uncontrollable prairie stream. It required a faith like that which can move mountains, to see in this remote site the beauty which now greets the eye. And no doubt Suel Foster's prophetic eye saw as in a vision the beauty of this scene today, as it is given to some while still in this life, to catch glimpses of "the sweet fields of Eden" in the world of the hereafter.

I pass over the years of waiting, to the day forty years ago this morning when the college doors opened to receive its first installment of students. There were big, awkward country boys, two score or more of them, and a score or so of rosy-cheeked, shy girls from the farms and the little towns. How strange it all seemed. There were no "old students" to greet the newcomers. There were no traditions. There were no stories about students or faculty to be handed down with embellishments from upper classmen to lower classmen. Everybody was equally new, and inexperienced. And on the other side was the new faculty. There was the dignified and polished President Welch, a veteran teacher elsewhere, but new to Iowa, and to the particular education represented by this college. There was Professor Jones of somewhat severe mien, and with every evidence of being a vigorous, driving personality. And there was the bland Dr. Foote who was to lay plans for a department of chemistry, the energetic Dr. Townsend, and the lovable Miss Beaumont. It was a faculty small in numbers but remarkable in ability. These were the pioneers who headed the long line of teachers that have followed in the path broken by them here on the open prairie.

And so the work began. A new faculty gave instruction to a new student body. There were only the most meager facilities for instruction. There were blackboards, some benches, some chairs. There was a museum, small in size, but large in the number of dreadful specimens which it contained. With what feeling of horror must those innocent youths first have looked upon the numberless bottles of preserved snakes, the boxes of bats, impaled beetles and tarantulas, and the fierce-looking panthers and wild cats. It must have been an education in itself for those unsophisticated boys and girls to have spent an hour in this chamber of horrors, learning the lesson that "art is sometimes greater than nature."

In this young college there were no laboratories, no shops, and only a small library. It was a day of small things. The faculty lived in the building, with the students, the classrooms, the kitchen and the dining-room. With the exception of the farm superintendent and the live stock, the whole college was housed in one building. It was economical surely, and it saved time for students and faculty. No one lost time in going to or returning from his classes.

But this idyllic life was not destined to last long. The cold northwest winds swept down upon the college and its band of teachers and pupils so snugly ensconced in the big building. There were no trees to check the force of those chilly blasts, and in spite of the efforts of the old fireman the few little furnaces down in the cellar could not and would not keep the cold from creeping in. And right here was the beginning of the winter vacation so long a custom in the college. Finding that it was impossible to keep warm during the winter the college work was suspended until spring, and everybody went home. And this was repeated again and again until it became a deep-rooted habit which it took many years of agitation and discussion to remove.

Sixteen months from this opening day which we are now celebrating I first saw these grounds. It was a raw February day on which I reached the quite forlorn looking village of Ames. It impressed me with its treelessness and small houses with no shrubs and no dooryards, as a village which was all out of doors, and lonesome and unprotected. The drive over

the rough, mud road, over a rickety bridge and the "bottoms" of Squaw Creek, was not reassuring. The mean approach to the college just at the base of the hill, and up through the barnyard, by the old Farm House, and then across the fields to the president's house might well have dampened the ardor of the newcomer. But he was young and inexperienced, and withal was an optimist, and he had faith and went forward. What a blessed thing is the faith and optimism of youth! It is the faith that removes mountains. It is the optimist that always sees the golden margin of the cloud, no matter how dark and threatening the cloud itself may be.

Look back with me nearly thirty-nine years and see this campus as the young botanist saw it. There were no drives, no walks, no paths, no smooth lawn, and only a few small trees. There was the large building—"The College" we called it, the Farm House, a barn, some sheds, the president's house, and Professor Jones' house, these houses being away off on the prairie, seemingly a long distance from the center of activity. Probably the present generation has forgotten the story of these first houses for the faculty—how the early trustees, being of an experimental turn of mind determined to build them of "concrete" and actually had the president's house nearly completed, when one fair day it crushed down carrying with it the astonished carpenters at work on the roof. Fortunately no lives were lost, and the trustees gave up their advocacy of the concrete of that time for the building of houses. The remains of the walls of the two houses were gathered up and used for the foundation of the drive that for so many years ran from College Hall southeast towards the present entrance. If you are inclined to search for relics, go and dig into the foundation of this old driveway and you will find fragments of the concrete walls that fell nearly forty years ago.

The young botanist was fortunate in being taken into the president's home until he became familiar with his surroundings, and the friendship and acquaintance then formed brought him close to the president and his family. Because he found the young botanist willing to work, the president

early brought him into his office and taught him many things in an executive way that have been no small part of his preparation for larger things when they came to him repeatedly later in his life. For the same reason the president soon put into the hands of the young botanist the planting of the trees on the campus and the laying out of the new drives and walks. And today as he looks out upon this beautiful campus he is thankful that he was given this task in the early days of his work in the college, and he remembers President Welch with gratitude for laying upon him this great task.

For many years the college garden covered ten to twelve acres north of the site of this chapel building. That had its beginning in this first year of the young botanist's career. The year before it had been a canefield, and the labor of fitting it for a garden was something appalling. With much zeal and in spite of the open ridicule bestowed on him by the superintendent of the farm, the young botanist covered the ground with barnyard manure before plowing. The highest agricultural authority in Iowa at that time declared that the application of such a fertilizer to the soil was worse than useless, and he laughed to scorn the foolish young botanist who bought all of the great accumulations in the barnyard and had them carted to his new garden. It was not many months before a new superintendent came, who knew the value of this fertilizer, and thenceforward the college garden could purchase no more of the barnyard accumulations.

That was the day of the old-time "labor system." The law establishing the college required every student to work "not less than three hours a day in the summer and two in the winter," and so it was averaged, and every one was compelled to work two hours and a half a day. The students were assorted into squads of convenient size, and over each was a "squad-master" who collected his men, took them to their work, kept them at it, and returned them and their tools at the end of the work period. For many of the young men it was slavery, for it certainly was "involuntary servitude." They were paid ten cents per hour if they worked faithfully and broke no tools. The makeshifts, the excuses, the eva-

sions, that were resorted to in order to avoid this daily labor, if written, would fill a large volume.

At what did they work? The girls worked in the kitchen and dining-room, while the boys mopped the floors, hoed weeds in the garden, milked the cows, worked in the barns at odd jobs, worked in the fields, cut down trees in the fringe of forest northwest of the college, dug ditches, helped cart away the piles of dirt excavated from the cellars of the wings of the college building. Yes, everybody worked in those first years, and the practice was given up only when there were so many students and so little work that there was not enough to go around. You can maintain a manual labor system only when there is much rather simple labor to be performed, and not a great many persons to do it. Then too that was before the incoming of the laboratory and the shop as parts of a college equipment. In these nowadays the student works, and with far greater effectiveness educationally. It is far better for a boy to spend his afternoons in the soils laboratory, the dairy laboratory, the botanical or the horticultural laboratory, than for him to dig ditches, chop wood, hoe weeds, or milk the cows.

Unlike many of the agricultural colleges of that day this college from the first recognized the two great lines of work indicated in the Morrill law, namely Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts. Under the direction of President Welch two courses of study were laid out and made available from the beginning, and to this fact the college owes its remarkable symmetrical development. In nearly every other separate agricultural college in the country there was at first a one-sided development, only the agricultural studies and appliances being provided, to the more or less complete exclusion of those leading to the Mechanic Arts. Herein this college has had a great advantage over its less fortunate sisters. From the first it gave equal weight to both industrial lines, and thus early won for itself that pre-eminent place which it has maintained to this day. For I hold it to be undisputed that the Iowa State College has more exactly filled out the requirements and privileges of the Morrill law than any other of the institutions similarly founded upon it. And for this all credit

is due to the scholar who could see far into the future, who could see that here must be built a real college on a foundation as broad as its charter. Then as now there were those who clamored for a cheap "quick meal" type of school, which might appeal to the ignorant and the uninformed, and for whose support class prejudice might be arrayed. But against such educational heresies President Welch stood firm, and throughout his long administration he held consistently to the higher ideals which he had inaugurated with so much success. There were times when with an adverse faculty, or board of trustees, or in the face of an adverse sentiment in the State, he seemed to yield, but it was merely the bending of the oak to the storm, which after it swept by straightened again to its former uprightness and symmetry. The people of Iowa may never fully realize how much they owe to the great man who was the first president of its State College. I am sure that during his life the State never estimated him at his true worth. He stood so far in advance of the ordinary president of State colleges and in fact he stood so far above the presidents of colleges and universities of any kind at that day, intellectually and practically, that he could not be appreciated at his true worth by the very men who should have honored him as a great leader. Jealousy, rivalry, religious fanaticism all levelled their shafts against him. But firm in the conviction that his plans and ideals were right he held on his way steadfastly.

It was characteristic of the president that while he grappled with some things and compelled them to yield to his strong will, there were others that he allowed to take their own way, and to effect their own solution. A notable instance was his treatment of the question of the admission of young women to the college. No special provision had been made for them, in fact they were not referred to in the law, but when they came they were assigned to rooms and to such classes as they were able to enter. There was at first no course of study for young women, the only courses being the Agricultural course and the Mechanical course, and in these the young women were registered. Some men would have kept them out of these quite unfeminine lines of study; others

would have catered to the evident intent of the people of the State to send their daughters to the college. But President Welch simply waited, and watched for developments. So the first girls in the college went into the same classes as the boys. And this not discouraging their sisters from coming to college in increasing numbers and claiming a permanent place in it, he helped the faculty to devise a course in General Science for women. In it were such culture studies as history, literature and language, and that the young women of the State appreciated the value of the boon thus granted them is attested by their rapid increase in numbers. He spread no attractive intellectual feast beforehand to tempt the young women of the State to enter the college and swell the numbers in its first classes; he chose rather to wait and see whether they really wanted to enter the college. How sharply this contrasts with what I frequently see in college management where the attempt is made to create a demand by means of optimistically written circulars, lavishly illustrated by beautiful half-tone reproductions of photographs. This latter method of decoying young people to come to college may be justifiable from a business standpoint, but it certainly is lacking in good taste, and partakes quite too much of the style of the private normal schools, the business colleges, and the correspondence schools, all of which educational heresies were an abomination not to be tolerated by this scholarly president of the Iowa State College.

In the early days this college like all others was afflicted by certain infantile disorders. It is really quite amusing to watch these attacks, and to note how exactly they are reproduced in different colleges. And the amusing part of the case is the firm belief of each college that this particular attack is the first and only instance of its kind in the educational world. Very early in its history the college experienced a severe attack of the "student government" disorder. While it lasted, in theory the students governed themselves, making and enforcing their own rules, and meting out punishment to all who disobeyed them. I say "in theory," for to one who was on the inside of affairs as "officer of the week" for year after year,

this self-government was little more than theory, even in its most flourishing period. Had I the time and were this the place I could imitate Gibbon in his larger theme, and write the tragic history of "The Decline and Fall" of student government. Such a history would include the humiliating story of incompetent and weak student officials, the consequent disorders in the rooms and hallways, the incoming of the powerful forces of the faculty, the gradual increase of faculty control, and the final extinction of the last vestige of student government. Some old-time student of the early classes must write this tragic story, that it may be added to the long list of governments that have risen, flourished for a brief period, and then passed off the stage forever.

Who were the men who made up the faculty in those days when the foundations were being laid? At the head of the list stands the well-dressed, perfect gentleman, the cultured president, one of the most attractive men that I have ever met, and yet a rigid disciplinarian for both faculty and students. A man of medium height, of erect bearing, of a quick, alert eye, and in his later years with his massive head crowned with a dense covering of white hair—such was President Welch.

Next in intellectual strength stood Professor Jones of the chair of Mathematics, a man above the average height, erect in bearing, of swarthy skin, and straight black hair, which gave rise to the story often whispered from student to student that he had a drop of Indian blood in his veins. A fine teacher and much liked by his students in spite of his severity in the classroom, unfortunately he fell under the displeasure of the president, and a feud arose which resulted in his early retirement, greatly to the loss of the college as a whole and the students individually.

Professor Foote, a thin-chested, tall and somewhat stooping man, was the first chemist. He was excellently trained in his subject, and planned large things for his department, and yet the students of that day did not appreciate his scientific abilities, and gave more heed to an unfortunate temper which made him and them much trouble. His early retirement was I think a distinct loss to science in Iowa. It would have been far bet-

er to have borne with his peculiarities, and to have retained for the State his splendid scientific personality.

The venerable Doctor Townsend, who occupied the chair of Agriculture before there were any students ready to pursue the subject was another of the strong men who helped to shape the early course of the college. A profound scholar in other lines, he was one of the best informed men of that day on the subject of agriculture. The college could scarcely hope to retain him on its faculty when his own State called loudly for him. Yet Iowa owes much to him for coming to its aid when it was maturing its plans for this college.

No account of the college would be complete that did not give large place to James L. Geddes, for many years the successful Professor of Military Tactics. A Scotchman by birth, he served in the English army in India, where he saw severe service. Then during the Civil War in this country he was long in active service, and was finally promoted to the rank of Brevet Brigadier General. All things considered he was one of the most interesting men I have ever met. A martinet in his profession, he could unbend, and when he did fortunate indeed were those who happened to be near him. His life had been most picturesque in its varied adventures in India, and in the Federal Army during the Civil War. A prisoner in Libby Prison, he took part in the repeated attempts to escape, only to be recaptured after short periods of freedom. It was my good fortune to share his confidence to a marked degree, and many an hour have I passed on the porch of the old college building listening to his tales of adventure and hairbreadth escape. After many years of faithful service the old man died in the harness, honored by faculty and students. There are many of us of the early years who have kept green the memory of the old general, and miss his presence when we return to the campus.

For four of the early years the college called from his home in southern Iowa the venerable James Mathews, a successful grower of fruits of many kinds, and made him Professor of Pomology. It was a novel experiment to attempt to make a professor out of such material, but the good sense

of the old man enabled him to adjust himself to his new surroundings, while at the same time he helped the faculty to see things from the outsider's point of view. He planted an orchard, and many small fruits, and he it was who planted the beautiful "Mathews Thorn" on the campus, a little to the south of the new Central Building. I remember when he walked onto the campus with the tree over his shoulder. He had found it in the forest west of the college, and noting its peculiar shape decided to add it to the trees on the campus. And this is his living monument. Long may it live to commemorate the name of the gentle soul who transplanted it and cared for it many years ago.

A little later the college called another successful "lay-man" Isaac P. Roberts, to its service as Professor of Agriculture. It was a bold and a startling thing to bring to a professor's chair a man who was known only in one small corner of the State, as a successful farmer. And yet President Welch dared to do it, and by so doing gave to the world one of the greatest professors of Agriculture that this country has produced. When Mr. Roberts came to the college he was appalled at his ignorance in regard to the subjects that make up a college course of study, but he set himself at work to learn something of chemistry, botany, entomology, physics, geology, and other things with which every college man is familiar, and in a few years he had not only demonstrated that he knew how to farm, and could tell the college boys how to do so, but in addition he now knew much about the related sciences and their applications, and had acquired the air of the cultured man who has dwelt in the college atmosphere. And when the shrewd president of Cornell University looked over the country for a man fit to take the chair of Agriculture in that great institution he selected our Professor Roberts, and took him from us.

Professor Anthony, a little, active, somewhat taciturn man, laid the foundations for a great department of Physics. He made large plans and looked far into the future. I shall not soon forget how astonished the trustees were when he coolly told them that for the equipment of his department he should have twenty-five thousand dollars. Today that does not seem

half as large as it did then. We are so used to the demands for large sums for equipment that now the professor's request appears to have been quite moderate. He bought much valuable apparatus, built the first mechanical shop, and set with his own hands the first Corliss engine the college owned. He too was taken from us by the discerning president of Cornell University, after several years of brilliant service.

And the lovable Professor Wynn, of mild voice and gracious manner, whom many of you remember, what pen can do justice to his personality? He brought into the college the first distinctly literary flavor, and taught us to look at the world through the glamour of the poet's eyes. Full of enthusiasm, loving his work and with an all embracing regard for his pupils, he soon won for himself a place such as I have rarely seen occupied by any other teacher. He was an ideal college professor. He was far more than a teacher in the narrow sense. He taught them literature, and language and history, but he did far more than this. He led them to see life in a new way. He showed them "a more excellent way" than living for self, or for the accumulation of material property. In his presence the young people of his day felt uplifted above the sordid things of earth. For a period in their college life they dwelt with the great minds of the past, with those whose thoughts were of higher things, with the philosophers and the poets of the world of letters. And who can measure the value of such a man to the young college, with its students gathered from the sparsely settled prairies and the isolation and loneliness of the pioneer farms. His life among us was a constant benediction. No wonder that his pupils loved him. No wonder that when they were in sore trouble they turned to him for counsel and comfort. No wonder that when they prepared to establish homes of their own they asked their beloved professor to place the seal of his approval and blessing upon them in the most solemn of all human contracts. No wonder that when death entered their homes he must come to give words of comfort as the loved ones were laid to rest in the eternal quiet of the grave. Even so, when the gray head of the great president, pressed down

and bowed with years of service, dropped in death, it was the beloved professor who came to lay him away under the shadows of the oaks in the college cemetery.

A few years ago it was my privilege to spend a blessed day with Professor Wynn in his Tacoma home on the Pacific coast. White-haired, and with a flowing white beard, he reminded me of the portraits of the prophets of old, but I soon found him to be the same youthful-minded, enthusiastic, genial and sympathetic man who for years was my most valued companion. In the afternoon of a useful life he now calmly awaits the setting of the sun, filled with pleasant memories of the past, the golden period of which he spent here on this campus, and in the companionship of his pupils in the early years when the college was still young.

Of the young botanist who came as a very raw graduate to be instructor in Botany and Horticulture I need say little more than this—that he was soon requested to add human physiology to the subjects he was expected to teach—that when the second semester drew near the president informed him that he would have to take the class in zoology (including entomology)—that somewhat later he was told in the same bland, persuasive manner that the class in comparative anatomy was waiting for his instruction. So the young botanist soon found himself occupying an elongated “settee” instead of a chair. And in those early years he was also the Secretary of the Faculty, no sinecure at that period when the faculty met regularly once a week, and when business was pressing every day. He will never forget how gratified he was when at the first meeting of the faculty after his arrival he was by unanimous vote given the honor of the secretaryship. He thought it remarkable that they should have so early discerned his fitness for this honorable position, and was duly elated. He learned, alas, before many weeks that instead of an honor, it was a piece of drudgery that the older members had adroitly put upon the youngest and least experienced of their number. It was a sad disillusionment. And yet it did the young botanist a world of good, for it taught him more about college management than he could have learned in any other way. And here let me suggest to you young men

in the present faculty of the college, and you students who hope some day to be members of faculties, that you do not avoid such tasks as this. If you are asked to take up drudgery of the kind connected with the secretaryship of a faculty, accept it as an opportunity by which you may learn how colleges and universities are managed. Likewise do not shirk work on standing or special committees. They all teach you something about the management and direction of men, whether in the faculty or the student body. For I hold it to be true that every teacher is a better and more useful member of his faculty if he has a pretty clear idea of the way colleges are controlled, from the trustees to the president, and down through the faculty as a legislative body, to the heads of the different departments, and the subordinates in the departments, and the relations of all of these to the students individually and collectively. Were all these relations more clearly understood there would be much less friction between the various officers and governing bodies, and there would not be the periodic eruptions which sometimes shake the college to its very foundations.

But in my roll call of those who had to do with the beginnings in the college, I must not overlook the students of those early days. It has often been said that the first class was remarkable for the many strong men and women it contained. This has been accounted for by the fact that these students had been waiting for the opening of the college, and that only the more determined had persisted.

There was the dainty Arthur who disliked to soil his hands, now one of the best known botanists in the United States—the sturdy Cessna, now our Professor Cessna—the two Devin boys who remained for a couple of years and then went to Cornell University—Dietz, now a prosperous and honored citizen of my own State of Nebraska—Foster, for many years a college professor, and college president—Harvey, brilliant, industrious, somewhat odd, well known for many years as an eminent botanist in the south, and later in New England—the slender Hungerford, who made a local name for himself and then lay down in early death—the brilliant and now much traveled Mattie Locke, and her husband Macomber (“J. K.”)

long a professor in the college, and since then a prosperous lawyer—Noyes, the genial maker of dictionary holders and windmills (which same inventions have brought him a generous fortune)—big Smith, the engineer and architect—little Smith, the successful physician—Stanton, the genial professor in the college for these many years—Stevens, long and widely known as Judge Stevens—the brilliant Tom Thompson, whose early death cut off what promised to be a most useful career—and Suksdorf and Tillotson and Wellman and Wells, all good men, and strong men.

And so as I run down the roll of the next class I see again—Beard and Green, Hagerty and Hawkins, Kent and Maben and Porterfield, Robinson and the inimitable Stalker, Swigart and Wattles and Williams.

Somewhat more faintly do I call up the faces of some in the class a year still later. Yet I see in the half shadow, Appleman, Baldwin, Boardman, the other Beard, the tall Buchanan, familiarly known as "Bob," the Clingan boys, Jackson (Governor Jackson they call him now), little Kiesel, full of mischief and an uncontrollable good nature, Lee, McCarger, Parsons, Randleman, and Whitaker.

And thus their faces come to me today, shadowy, fleeting glimpses of those who sat before me in the class room in the days when the college was still so young that every student left his impress upon it, as he left a pleasing picture upon my memory. Yes, these early students were builders of the college, and each contributed his mite to its foundation.

And now as we look back to those early days, and bring our vision slowly down to the present, we may answer the question as to what it is in particular for which this college stands. Such a backward glance over the forty years of its active existence shows that it has not been simply one more college added to the educational facilities of this State. It has stood for something different, so different that during the first years of its existence the educators of the State did not know how or where to class it. It began as a protest against the narrowness of the old education, which looked askance at the sciences when they demanded admission to the college curriculum. That such a protest was necessary the older

men remember, for in those days when the sciences were admitted at all they were usually given a distinctly inferior place. It was not at all uncommon to find much lower conditions of admission to the scientific courses than to the classical, and for a time the courses were but three years in length. The graduates from the scientific courses were properly looked upon as not standing on the level of the classical graduates. All this was admirably calculated to discredit the scientific studies, and to keep from their pursuit the strong men in the colleges.

This college from the first insisted upon the introduction of the sciences into the curriculum. They were to be given full opportunity to show their value as factors in a collegiate education. The old studies were boldly left out or given but secondary place in order that the experiment as to the educative value of the sciences might be fairly and fully tried. And it succeeded splendidly, in spite of the evident one-sidedness of the experiment. I wonder now at the boldness of the men of that day. Certainly it required courage to proclaim to the world a belief in the educative value of the sciences even in the absence of the traditional culture studies.

And still more, the new college insisted on "practice with science," which being interpreted is what we know nowadays as the "laboratory method" in science. From the first this thought was dominant and it found early expression in all of the sciences. It is a well known fact that here in this new college was established the first botanical laboratory west of old Harvard University. And here too there was laboratory work in zoology when in the ordinary colleges in all of the middle west the students were simply conning text-books or not studying the subject at all.

With this emphasis upon the sciences the college early placed increasing emphasis upon the applications of the sciences. Botany was extended into horticulture and certain phases of agriculture; chemistry was made to include the study of soils and the composition of forage, and other animal foods; physics was carried out into the fields of electrical and mechanical science; and zoology was broadened into the compar-

ative anatomy and physiology of domestic animals, and the scientific and economic aspects of entomology.

As a result of this attitude of this college, and other colleges like it, the sciences have been permitted to enter into all of the old-time colleges. And now the sciences are no longer given a mean place. They stand as equal to the time-honored studies, and the student who attains the degree in science is given equal honor with him who gains it in arts. The laboratory method of teaching science has been accepted in all colleges, and it has been adopted by some of the more progressive teachers of the purely literary subjects.

It is not an uncommon thing for one to hear nowadays that history and literature, and economics and philosophy are taught "by the laboratory method." So we may claim to have contributed in no small way to the liberalizing and rejuvenation of the old-time curriculum and method of instruction.

What now of the future of the college? What should be its further development? As we look over the four decades of its history and note the necessary changes that it has undergone, it is possible now to suggest the most profitable lines of progress. For no institution however fortunate and successful in its past can stand still. It must go on, it must develop, it must seek out new lines along which it may grow into still greater usefulness to the community. That college which lives on its past successes is of little value to the present. It must justify itself anew perennially by what it is now—what it is doing today.

In its past history the college helped to broaden the curriculum of every other college, and thus made a most important contribution to the cause of higher education in this country. Having accomplished this so successfully, it should now give greater breadth to its own curriculum. As the old colleges learned from the new, so the new colleges must not fail to learn from the old. We taught the old colleges the value of the sciences in higher education, and as a result they have added the sciences to their courses of study. Let us not forget that in our zeal for the introduction of the sciences we gave scant attention to the old studies. It is time now that we

should begin to liberalize our curriculum by the introduction of some of the old culture studies. For it is not true that without them we can do better, or even as well. Though they may not add to a man's earning capacity, they make him a more agreeable man to his fellows, and what is more, to himself, also. Every man should have some intellectual possession that can not be bought, that is above and beyond price. Let us add some of these things to the preparation we give to the man who is to live in the open with his crops and his stock and his family. Let us if possible kindle in him a spark of poetic fancy, that this may make the long days less wearisome, and the loneliness of his isolated life more endurable. Let us add to his knowledge of what the world has been in the generations that have long gone by. Let us give him something from the rich store of philosophy, that he may think of these things when the hours of drudgery weigh heavily upon him.

And here I note with hearty approval that the movement for the introduction of culture studies has made headway in the agricultural courses in some of the colleges and universities of the country. I note with especial pleasure that in your last catalogue you particularly name literature, mathematics and history as necessary studies in the agricultural courses, and that in the recommended electives are such culture studies as economics, history, French, German, Spanish, literature and psychology. When you state your aim to be "to develop the agricultural students to the level of the educated in any profession," you place yourselves in the ranks of those for whom education means more than the mere training of men to do more work or earn more money. You are training them to be fit to live as individuals, and as members of the community.

A significant movement began some time ago among the engineers, who have accordingly made stronger and stronger demands for a broader training for the engineering graduate. This finds expression in your last catalogue in these admirable words: "A college course in engineering should be in the first place a training of the mind of the student toward ability to think logically, to observe accurately, and by the applica-

tion of the former acquirement to the latter to reach correct inferences." Never were truer words spoken. The first thing for the student is not to learn the art of engineering, but rather to train his mind, and after that to acquire the technical information of his profession. Gentlemen of the Engineering faculty, you are to be congratulated upon taking this advanced position. Elsewhere, I have observed that the same thing has been reached by a six-year course in engineering in which at least two years of culture studies have been added to the usual engineering studies, with an arrangement that on the completion of these liberal studies at the end of the fourth or fifth year the student may be awarded the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Such a six-year course, for this purpose has been announced by the Engineering faculty of the University of Nebraska during the present year.

Now all of these movements indicate that I can safely urge you to study to make the college still more useful to the men and women who come here for an education. The college has greatly improved the quantity and quality of the corn crop in Iowa; it should also improve the corn grower himself; it has improved the quality of the cattle in the State; let it not overlook the quality of the cattle growers. In your commendable zeal to make better engines, and pumps, and bridges, do not neglect the betterment of the engine maker, the pump manufacturer, and the bridge builder. Let us look after the man a little more, not neglecting his product in so doing, but remembering him always.

And now as I close this rapid and somewhat cursory sketch, let me first of all congratulate you upon reaching this fortieth anniversary. I congratulate you upon the splendid success you have achieved—your twenty-four hundred students—your fine campus—your magnificent buildings—your admirable faculty. But more than all I congratulate you upon your honorable history, and that in the early years you had here the great men who laid firmly and wisely the foundations upon which you have so well built this great institution.

IOWA AND THE FIRST NOMINATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

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THE PRELIMINARIES OF 1859.

The mutinous disturbances in the ranks of the Democratic party incident to and following the Lincoln-Douglas debates naturally increased public interest in the presidential succession. There was exhibited in the country at large, alike in the Democratic and Republican papers, signs of a growing feeling that the dissensions within the "Administration" reflected irreconcilable differences respecting Slavery—differences so serious that they would inevitably drive either the northern or the southern wing of the Democratic party into irretrievable insurrection or opposition. Coincident with this disintegration of the party in power there were obvious drifts indicating a concentration and coalescence of the sundry groups of the Opposition. Abolitionists and Americans, German-Americans and Whigs, contradictory and divergent though their antecedents, affiliations and purposes were, saw or were beginning to feel, that the aggressions and arrogance of the Slavocrats within and without Congress made Slavery—its extension or extinction—the paramount fact in public debate. They were becoming conscious of the fact that the principles of the Republican party afforded them a fairly satisfactory common ground for concentration and concert in opposition.¹

¹The headings of editorials in the press of Iowa and the titles of articles reprinted from eastern and southern papers during the last quarter of 1858 and the first half of 1859 afford ample and interesting evidence justifying the assertions above. The columns of *The Daily Hawk-Eye* of Burlington suffice for illustration:

The dissensions in the Democratic party are dwelt upon in an extended article reprinted Nov. 5, 1858, from the *Cincinnati Gazette*, entitled "Democracy going to Pieces—South Indignant at their Northern Allies and Repudiating their Fellowship"; Nov. 18, by two and a quarter columns devoted to a reprint of portions of a speech by Senator Hammond of South Carolina; Nov. 27, in an article—"The Northern Democracy—Where is it and What will it be?" taken from the *Cincinnati Gazette* and in a long extract from the speech of Jefferson Davis at Jackson, Mississippi; Dec. 20, in a reprint from the *Gazette* on "Senator Douglas and his Political Patchwork"; Dec. 31, in a bitter extract from *The Mississippiian*

1. *Important Conditions Determining Expressions.*

The signs in Iowa in 1859 of interest in the Presidential succession and particularly the selection of the Republican candidate while definite were not numerous. Readers of the compact and rapid narratives of the biographers of Chase, Lincoln and Seward, and of our national historians that relate the chief developments of the pre-convention campaign among the Republicans will suffer some surprise at the dearth of expression. Editors made note of the subject infrequently. There is but little evidence of either individual or local preferences as regards candidates. Expressions relative to the principles and policies were more explicit and insistent; but there was no hue and cry. Two important facts must be appreciated in order to realize the significance of the meagre evidence of public interest in Iowa in the Republican preliminaries of 1860.

First, newspapers were not numerous on this side of the Mississippi. Their publication was not only an expensive and laborious business, but their maintenance was dependent, in no small measure, upon the favor of the public authorities, the compensation for publishing the "Delinquent Tax List"

of Jackson, Miss., anent Douglas' visit to the South; Jan. 10, 1859, in Correspondence, entitled "Virginia Politics and Republican Proclivities" taken from the *N. Y. Times*; Jan. 20, in a reprint of Correspondence of the *N. Y. Post*, entitled "What is Douglas going to Do?" anent the differences with his colleagues in the Senate; March 1, in a dispatch headed "New Political Division," etc., commenting on a recent speech of Douglas at Washington; and March 2, in an editorial with the title "A House Divided Against Itself," that begins—"There is not a single question of importance upon which the Democratic party is united—Not one. It is divided upon the tariff, the government of the territories, and at loggerheads on the nigger question generally. . . . The Democratic party is now totally 'demoralized,' to use the language of the *N. Y. Herald*. . . ." The radiation from Lincoln's speech at Springfield in June is here very apparent.

The movements indicating coalescence of the opposition, the advantages thereof, and the necessity therefor are likewise noted and discoursed upon from time to time; Nov. 11, 1858, the editorials of the *N. Y. Tribune* and the Springfield (Mass.) *Republican* commenting upon the "Triumph of Mr. Douglas" in Illinois were reprinted at length; Nov. 22, Greeley's plan for "uniting the opposition" by doing away with conventions is given; May 12, an editorial entitled "Union of the Opposition" cites from the *N. Y. Commercial Advertiser*; May 23, Greeley's "Appeal to Conservatives," is reprinted; and June 8, portions of Greeley's speech "On the Presidential Prospects" at Ossawatimie, Kan. (May 18), containing his advice to work for a coalition is reproduced. During the remainder of the year most of the leading editorials of *The Tribune* urging a union of the opposition are reproduced in the columns of *The Hawk-Eye*—usually, however, without comment.

The writer is under extraordinary obligations to the courtesy and consideration of Mr. W. W. Baldwin, and of Mr. J. L. Waite, editor of *The Hawk-Eye* for the foregoing and subsequent citations from the same journal.

being their major source of income. Typesetting was done by hand. Mergenthalers and linotype machines, pennydreadfuls and "Extras" daily were inconceivable. There were but four telegraph stations in the State¹ and only five cities (Dubuque, Davenport, Muscatine, Burlington and Keokuk) could boast of daily papers published continuously throughout the year.² Editors, consequently, discussed men and measures under a stress of multifarious duties. They had to gather news, solicit advertisements and subscriptions, beseech and enforce collections, often do "the devil's work," while they were playing and watching the game of politics. If under such circumstances expressions of serious and well-ordered opinions by editors were infrequent, if the manifestations of interest in the issues of the approaching Presidential struggle were meagre and more or less indefinite the fact by no means signifies an absence of alert, intelligent interest among editors and their patrons.

The second basic fact to be reckoned with was the circulation of *The New York Tribune* in Iowa. That paper was by far the greatest purveyor of news in the State. No local paper possessed anything like its range and force of influence. Its power was exerted mainly perhaps outside rather than within the cities. In many, if not in most rural communities the postmasters handled more *Weekly Tribunes* than all other foreign papers combined. The homes of regular subscribers were much patronized by neighbors not subscribers. Men of means frequently made gratuitous subscriptions as gifts to nearby friends or neighbors. To the tillers of the soil its columns headed "Important to the Farmers" contained nearly all the law and the prophets. Fields were plowed; corn, wheat and trees were planted; stock housed and fed and crops garnered according to the directions of "Uncle Horace." In the animated discussions at house and barn raisings, at threshings, and husking bees, at barbecues, singing and spelling schools, at "shoots" and rallies, his columns were constantly appealed to for facts and arguments as well as for news. Pioneers, in

¹*N. Y. Tribune* (s. w.) Oct. 14, 1859: A Chicago dispatch giving the returns from the recent election in Iowa and explaining the delay thereof.

²The citizens of Des Moines enjoyed a Daily during the sessions of the General Assembly, viz.: once in two years.

their reminiscences of *ante bellum* days are not always quite certain whether Greeley's *Tribune* or the Bible had precedence in the family circle.¹ In the forepart of 1859 the reported number of subscribers in Iowa was stated to be 7,523² and a year later the number had increased to 11,000.³ Its circle of readers at the later date doubtless embraced 100,000 persons from whom its influence constantly radiated. The actual circulation of local dailies or weeklies probably in no case exceeded a third of Greeley's weekly.⁴

In demonstrating the development of party opinion in Iowa respecting the best selection for the Republican party's candidate for the Presidency in 1860, it is necessary to indicate the antecedent attitude of the party spokesmen towards the principles that were to make up the party platform. The drift of sentiment as to the principles of administrative policy in the nature of the case largely decides the course of party leaders in the selection of the standard bearer. The candidate is to be the executive of the principles adopted. Consequently he must be a man representative of and in sympathy with those principles. Hence, in what succeeds, considerable attention will be given to the trend of discussion of the program for the Republican party in 1860.

In tracing the growth of opinion in the party press one frequently suffers from perplexity. It is not easy always to determine the significance of news items, editorial expressions and particularly of the reprint of articles from eastern and southern contemporaries. Editors, like most mortals, labor under personal and partizan bias. Local associations and prejudices arising in business, church, politics and social con-

¹The writer's authority for the statements above consists chiefly of correspondence and interviews with pioneers—notably with Professor Jesse Macy of Iowa College at Grinnell and with the late George C. Duffield of Keosauqua.

²*N. Y. Tribune* (s. w.) April 26, 1859.

³*Iowa State Register* (Des Moines) April 18, 1860.

⁴Noting the circulation of the *N. Y. Tribune* in March, 1859, *The Hawk-Eye* observed: "There is no paper printed in the State of Iowa that has half the circulation of *The Tribune* within the State." (April 29, 1859.)

Mr. Will Porter, editor of the Democratic paper, *The Journal*, published at Des Moines between 1856 and 1860, informs the writer that in 1859 by extra efforts and special inducements he secured for his paper during the political campaign a circulation of approximately 4,000, which was the high watermark up to that time. That circulation was extraordinary, however, lasting only during the campaign. The circulation of his Republican rival, *The Citizen*, as he recalls, ranged from 1,500 to 2,000. Interview with Mr. Porter, Des Moines, Nov. 17, 1908.

nections, in the main, predispose and fix opinions and control actions. Items are "run" and articles are reprinted usually as matters of news simply as indices to the direction of currents of popular interest. Sometimes, however, they are inserted and "headed" with set purpose and design to influence public opinion *pro* or *con*, as regards approaching party decisions on matters of policy or procedure. Moreover, editors frequently express opinions in their editorial columns that indicate what they would prefer to have and hope to see realized, rather than what they as a matter of fact really expect will come to pass. In the narrative which follows the editors cited for the most part express their views in their own words.

2. *First Expressions Respecting Party Principles and Candidates.*

The first expression in the press of Iowa in 1859 respecting the campaign in 1860 was elicited by one of the suggestions of the *New York Tribune*. In the second week of December¹ Greeley had proposed that the Republicans should nominate a candidate for Vice-President and the non-Republican opposition should nominate the head of the ticket—the only condition being that the nominee should definitely favor the restriction of slavery to the States then occupied. The *Louisville Journal* demurred and submitted a counter proposal—both wings of the opposition should assemble in Washington in separate conventions in the summer of 1860, the non-Republican opposition to engage to present a candidate for the Presidency on whom all could unite and the Republicans to do the same with respect to the second place—one whom all could "support with zeal and propriety." In outlining these proposals to his readers Mr. Hildreth observed (January 13): "It is plain that the time has not yet come for the different wings of the opposition to 'compare notes' with a view to selecting a Presidential candidate. But ingenious men will exercise their talents in this line and their efforts may be of some use in affording glimpses of the state of public senti-

¹*N. Y. Tribune* (s. w.), Dec. 10, 1858.

ment." Concluding he makes the interesting assertion: "It has been assumed that the extreme abolition sentiment would bring into nomination Senator Seward for President and F. P. Stanton, the Kansas ex-Secretary and ex-Acting Governor, for Vice-President; but the declaration of Mr. Stanton, that Mr. Seward's extraordinary platform [Rochester speech] can find no endorsement from the people, condemns that theory."¹ At that time Mr. Hildreth, "down east" Yankee though he was, did not look with favor upon the nomination of the author of the Rochester speech.

A week later under "Notes From Washington" Mr. Hildreth reprints portions of the correspondence of the Cincinnati *Enquirer* (an Administration paper), stating that "Senator Seward and Governor Chase are the most talked of as the candidates for the Presidency among the Republicans. But F. P. Blair, Sr., is ardent for Colonel Fremont, who, with Frank Blair of Missouri for the Vice-Presidency the correspondent is inclined to think will prevail in the convention."² And in his next issue he notes that "a quarrel is going on among the Republican members there (Washington); a portion desire to take up the Douglas popular sovereignty doctrine, abandoning direct opposition to slavers, and invite the Douglas men, and southern as well as northern Americans to join them. Eli Thayer, of Mass., is one of the prominent advocates of this plan."³ Two weeks later he notes that a political club has been formed to promote the candidacy of John M. Botts of Virginia for the Opposition's choice for standard bearer in 1860.⁴ About the same time the editors of *The Montezuma Weekly Republican* make note of the assertion of the *New York Times* that "a new Republican movement" was under way that "may command attention. It is to make Colonel Fremont again the candidate, putting upon the ticket some live southern or southwestern man, like Blair of Missouri, who has ability, political courage and the advantage of living in a Slave State."⁵

¹St. Charles *Intelligencer*, Jan. 13, 1859,—Editorial "Presidential Discussions."

²*Ib.* Jan. 20, 1859. ³*Ib.* Jan. 27, 1859. ⁴*Ib.* Feb. 10, 1859.

⁵*The Montezuma Weekly Republican*, Jan. 20, 1859.

The first extended, explicit and serious expression relative to the approaching Presidential contest came from Burlington from the pen of Mr. Clark Dunham, editor of *The Daily Hawk-Eye*. On March 5, discussing "The Issue of 1860," he observed that no intelligent man could "fail to see" that "a very important crisis" was approaching.

There is but one question at issue . . . and that is the Negro question. To this question there can be but two parties.

On one side we have the party of Slavery, headed by vigilant, active, determined and desperate leaders, whose voice has heretofore ruled Congress. . . . If they fail in this [the extension of Slavery] they will do their utmost to bring about a dissolution of the Union and erect the Slave States into a Southern Republic.

On the other side the Republican party holds that Slavery is a creature of law, freedom being the normal condition of all men—that the Dred Scott decision is in violation of the constitution, policy of our government and spirit of our institutions, extra-judicial and therefore not binding—that Slavery has no legal existence outside of Slave States. That neither the Congress of the United States nor the people of the territories, deriving their powers from Congress, can enact Slave laws for the territories . . .

This is the issue before the country, and it is such an issue, so clearly defined, that there can be no third party.

Three facts stand out in Mr. Dunham's editorial that are observable in much of the discussion of the period. First, Slavery was believed to be foremost in the public mind as to which there could be (decry the necessity as many did, never so much) but two opinions and but two courses to follow. It was the iron wedge on which all other matters split. Second, the terrible earnestness of the Slavocrats and their willingness to proceed to desperate measures to accomplish their program is clearly apprehended. Third, there appears an obvious but little appreciated contradiction in the attitude of the Republicans towards the question of Slavery—Slavery was declared to be a creature of law, but the application of the doctrine under the Dred Scott decision is pronounced extra-judicial and subversive of the constitution.

During March the King-makers became active and vocal. In the latter part of the month the Republican press of St. Louis announced Edward Bates as a candidate for the Presi-

dency, asking his nomination by the National Republican Convention. Formal measures were taken to place him before the public and to promote his candidacy. The majority of the papers in Iowa, if they recognized it at all, merely made note of the announcement as a matter of news without comment, or with a collateral quotation of some favorable opinion of those favoring his candidacy.¹ Mr. Dunham, however, expressed in blunt, brief fashion an objection to the announcement—but gave no hint as to his real attitude towards Mr. Bates. Commenting upon the effort of the *Evening News* of St. Louis at “president making” he bluntly declared: “This is premature. It is too early yet to discuss the merits of candidates. And the success of Mr. Bates and other aspirants depends a good deal on their being kept out of the fight for some time to come.”² Two days later he reprints the remarks of Dr. Bailey of the *National Era* commending Salmon P. Chase as a suitable standard bearer for the Republicans in 1860.³ A month later Mr. Hildreth referring to the Bates letter said: “His prospects for a nomination for the Presidency by the Republicans are not inferior to those of any statesman named. If nominated, he would most assuredly be elected.”⁴

The most interesting editorial item discoverable in March was the following from Mr. Mahin’s columns: “The Chicago *Democrat* strongly urges the nomination of Abe Lincoln for the Vice-Presidency by the Republican party, and thinks the ticket had better be headed by some southern man. It says: ‘We think it would aid us materially in establishing a national position, if we could run some southern man for the Presidency with Mr. Lincoln for Vice-President.’ *The Rockford Republican* takes the same ground.”⁵

In March Mr. John Teesdale, editor of *The Weekly Citizen* published at the State capital, visited Ohio in which State he had been influential as an editor and as a politician for twenty

¹See *The Gate City*, April 5, 1859. See also *The Davenport Weekly Gazette*, April 28, 1859; *The Keosauqua Weekly Republican*, April 9, 1859.

²*The Daily Hawk-Eye*, April 14, 1859.

³*Ib.* April 16, 1859.

⁴*St. Charles Intelligencer*, May 12, 1859.

⁵*The Muscatine Daily Journal*, March 29, 1859.

years (1837-1856), being between 1844-46 Private Secretary to Governor Bartley. While renewing old acquaintances, politics and the prospects of candidates for the Presidency were subjects of earnest inquiry. He sought to learn the drift and force of the currents there and Ohioans besought information as to the probable course of party preferences in Iowa. On his return to Des Moines he set forth (April 13) his views at some length under the caption, "Iowa and the Presidency." Mr. Teesdale at the time was State Printer and his paper was in a sense an official organ. At least his views were likely to differ but little from what he would regard as the prevalent opinion among the dominant men of his party as represented by the men holding official positions. His editorial is quoted at length.

Frequently during our absence from the State we were interrogated as to the Presidential preferences of Iowa. We uniformly answered that Iowa would be for the Republican nominee, beyond the shadow of a doubt; but we doubted whether any man could speak authoritatively, just now, as to her Presidential preferences. The press,—which usually affords unmistakable evidence, of the setting of the public current—has thus far remained silent upon the question of the next Presidency. The silence is not the result of indifference, but of a purpose that pervades, as we believe, the Republican ranks of nearly every State, viz.: a purpose to sink all personal predilections in an effort to secure a candidate whose success will be beyond question. There is a deep and strong conviction that the next President will be a Republican. This conviction gains strength daily, with the increasing evidence of the disorganization and demoralization of the sham Democracy. Believing that there will be no difficulty in electing the Republican nominee, if he truly represents the Republican sentiment of the country, there is an all-pervading conviction that the nominee should be a man who is fully and fairly identified with the Republican organization; a man who has been tried; a man who has a national reputation, and who can be trusted in all possible contingencies, as an exponent of the friends of Freedom. If Iowa had the making of the President, she would, we believe, confer that honor upon William H. Seward, the peerless statesman, the incorruptible patriot. But, if in deference to the opinions and preferences of her sister States it becomes necessary to name another as the Republican standard bearer she will cheerfully support John McLean, Salmon P. Chase, Winfield Scott, John C. Fremont, John P. Hale, or any other among

the illustrious men who have attested their devotion to Republican principles. If a Pennsylvania candidate is needed, there is no man in whose behalf she would so cordially attest her devotion, as Galusha A. Grow. John Bell, and John J. Crittenden have a host of friends in Iowa, but before a union could be effected in behalf of either it would be necessary to know that they fully endorse the platform adopted by the last National Republican Convention.

When the proper time comes, Iowa will speak out, so that her personal preferences shall be understood; but her personal preferences will never be suffered to disturb the harmony of the Republican organization. She will be ready to fall into line for the nominee and give him her support with an earnestness that will not permit her to be regarded as debatable ground. At present there seems to be no urgent necessity for agitating the Presidential question. We have a State canvass on our hands which we mean to dispose of before devoting much space to the next Presidency. National questions will exert, as they should, a powerful influence in the coming State election. But Presidential preferences will have very little to do with the result.

There is much in the foregoing that anticipates subsequent discussion. First, like most politicians whose experience has been sufficient to teach prudence, Mr. Teesdale did not believe there was much benefit in crossing streams before coming to the bridges. Second, while he had decided personal preferences in respect of the candidate, he would not stand stoutly for his choice and none other regardless of contrary considerations affecting the party's success at the polls. Third, he was confident there was but little of the "rule or ruin" sentiment among the Republicans of the State with respect to the party's candidate. Fourth, an alliance with the non-Republican Opposition would be sanctioned if the coalition was arranged upon the basis of an explicit concurrence in and reaffirmation of the principles of the Philadelphia platform. Fifth, the doubtful States should determine the choice, if thereby victory would be rendered more probable.

Two days later (April 15) there came a vigorous pronouncement from Muscatine. Shortly before, the Opposition party in Tennessee had held a convention, adopted a State platform, and had put forward John Bell as a candidate for the Presidency in 1860, believing him to be one about whom all could rally in a common struggle to dislodge the Administra-

tion. Mr. Mahin viewed the platform as the draft of a protocol for a coalition, reprinted it entire and proceeded to subject its proposals to some sharp criticism under the caption "The Opposition in Tennessee—Can We Coalesce in 1860." It was a "sandwich platform" in his judgment and he gave it short shrift. The first resolution declaring the Union "the surest guaranty of the rights and interests of all sections" he branded as the "old clap-trap, dingy generality" which had become "familiar of late years as the heading of any special miscellany which its author wished to cover up." The second proclaiming "our constitutional rights" as regards Slavery and thereupon insisting that the people in new territories when they come to form a constitution and establish a State government shall decide the question of Slavery" he declared palpable inconsistency, being merely "the Lecompton Slave Trading Democracy dressed up in Sunday clothes." The section advocating "a tariff adequate to the expenses of economical administration . . . with specific duties where applicable, discriminating in favor of American industries" he said pointedly "meant anything or nothing according to the section where read." The plank calling for a "reasonable extension of the period of probation now prescribed for the naturalization of foreigners and a more rigid enforcement of the law upon the subject" he asserted was alone "sufficient to ensure [the] prompt and contemptuous rejection [of the entire platform] by every Republican." Mr. Mahin concludes his editorial by announcing that the motto of the northern Republicans is—"No coalition and no compromises."¹ A week later in tendering "A Word of Advice" to Republicans relative to amalgamation with "less radical elements" he said "the slavery question is now the only *real* issue between the two great parties of the country and it therefore behooves us to maintain a bold and decided stand upon it."²

Three facts are noteworthy in Mr. Mahin's expressions. First, the effect of Lincoln's Freeport questions that made juggling with "popular sovereignty" impossible, is realized. Second, he strikes at the proposed extension of the probation-

¹*The Muscatine Daily Journal*, April 15, 1859.

²*Ib.* April 21, 1859.

any period in naturalization with vigor, voicing a protest that a few weeks later became almost universal throughout the northwest States when the Massachusetts Amendment set the Germans on fire. Third, the cardinal fact in discussion, the fact that could not be ignored or minimized, was Slavery.

The announcement of Mr. Bates as a candidate for the Republican nomination for the Presidency resulted forthwith in sundry efforts to draw from him by way of interviews, letters and speeches, expressions of his views on the issues in debate. Of several statements made by him the most serious was an extended letter to a committee of Whigs of New York City. His position upon the subject of Slavery was virtually *laissez faire, laissez passer*, let it alone and enforce the law and time will work the cure of the iniquities of the institution. His statement, although conceded to be "able and interesting," did not strike Mr. Howell of Keokuk favorably, a portion of his editorial comment being:

The nigger question he spends but few words upon. He would ignore it altogether, and get rid of it by leaving it alone. But Mr. Bates should have sense enough to see that it is so linked in with the rights of man at large, and the interest and ambitions of men in particular, that it has made *itself* conspicuous and cannot be got rid of by not looking at it or in any other way but some sort of a definite and satisfactory settlement. The spirit of Mr. Bates' letter is patriotic and sound but it does not show him to be such a plain-dealing and thorough-going statesman as the times demand. It is futile to mention his name again in connection with the Presidency.¹

Mr. J. B. Dorr's reference to the announcement from St. Louis indicated clearly the attitude that the Democrats would maintain towards the candidacy of Mr. Bates. He merely noted: "Many of the Know-Nothing organs have already hoisted his name at the head of their columns and some of the Republican papers have done the same."²

The attitude of many, if not a majority, of experienced editors and party leaders towards political candidacies is exhibited in clear fashion in the editorial expressions of two influential editors in central eastern Iowa in the latter days

¹The Gate City, April 21, 1859.

²The Express and Herald (Dubuque), April 23, 1859.

of April respecting two prominent Ohioans, Salmon P. Chase and Benjamin F. Wade. Personal preferences and party plans and success may coincide; but in case they do not, the exigencies of a political contest must needs prevail over the personal inclination of the admirers and friends of this or that aspirant or candidate. Mr. Add. H. Sanders, editor of *The Davenport Gazette*, on April 28, declared himself as follows:

We are glad to see that the name of Gov. Chase is becoming intimately associated in public discussion with the next nomination of the Republican party for the Presidency. No man has been mentioned in connection with this high position, as the candidate of a party in 1860, who combines in himself higher qualifications for the position, and a more consistent political or pure personal history than Governor Chase . . .

In thus speaking of Gov. Chase we have merely availed ourselves of an opportunity of expressing opinion of a man who in every position has sustained the confidence of his friends and his own self-respect. We advocate as a Republican paper the claims of no man for the nomination of the next Republican National Convention. We have, indeed, heard no name suggested for this nomination as a Republican candidate for the Presidency in 1860, which we would not cheerfully support and with that zeal which ever marks our course when sustaining good men backed by good principles. We believe, however, that no Republican combines greater elements of popularity with less objectionable qualities, than Gov. Chase—in other words, that no Republican would make a better race. . . .

Two days later Mr. S. S. Daniels, editor of *The Tipton Advertiser*, discussing "The Next Presidential Contest" said among other things:

We do not intend to discuss the merits of the different men for the office of President and are willing to vote for any of the men who have been named for that office. At the same time we would like much to see Hon. Frank Wade, U. S. Senator from Ohio, brought out as our next candidate. Mr. Wade occupies a very favorable position before the American people; he has never taken *ultra* grounds, while he has ever stood up for the right, and has done it in such a way that none have ever dared to oppose him as they have many others. Frank Wade is *excepted* when wholesale charges are made against the Republicans; he has made many speeches but they were all good; he has said nor done nothing which will injure him in any way.

It is not uninteresting to note that Messrs. Sanders and Daniels were both, prior to coming to Iowa, residents of Ohio, hence doubtless their predilection for the distinguished sons of that State.

3. *The Reception of Greeley's Suggestion for a Coalition of the Opposition.*

Meantime there had been a pronouncement, as it were, *ex cathedra*. For the greater part of two years the *New York Tribune* had been urging, with a view to the contest in 1860, the elements of the Opposition to pursue a policy of conciliation and concession relative to each other, to combine on matters of common agreement and ignore the collateral issues peculiar to groups or sections, however important they might seem to them severally, but which were minor and subsidiary as respects the central and predominant issue and if urged would make for dissension and defeat. The paramount demand of the Opposition, north and south, was the maintenance of Freedom in the non-slave States and the restriction of Slavery within its original or then established limits. Victory in the approaching contest depended upon the dislodgment of Slavocracy from seats of authority and this end could not be achieved except by concentration and simultaneous forward movement of all available forces in a common attack. The ambitions of leaders were immaterial and like local interests and particular "isms" should and must give way to the imperative demands of the situation. Greeley had urged Republicans to support Douglas after he broke with the Administration over the Lecompton Constitution. He opposed the candidacy of Lincoln against Douglas for the Senate, and during the debates maintained a stubborn editorial silence. Immediately upon their conclusion he reiterated his belief that wisdom favored his original suggestion, lodging some sharp criticisms against Lincoln's tactics in the canvass.¹ Thereafter, at short intervals he renewed his contention that a coalition was imperative, insisting that common sense and

¹*N. Y. Tribune* (w.), Nov. 27, 1858.

rudence enjoined it.¹ In a long editorial entitled "The Presidency in 1860," (April 26) he restated the grounds for his position. "We do not deem it necessary again to contradict the rumors from time to time set afloat that we are laboring to nominate and elect A, B or C. The single end we keep in mind is the triumph of our principles In the last Presidential contest the votes of the American people were divided as follows:

Buchanan, 1,838,232; Fremont, 1,341,514; Fillmore, 874,007; Fremont and Fillmore over Buchanan, 377,989.

"Of course it is plain that a substantial, practical union of the electors who supported Fremont and Fillmore respectively insures a triumph in 1860, even though there should be a scaling off on either side, as there possibly would be. We can afford to lose one hundred thousand of the Opposition vote in 1856 and still carry the next President by a handsome majority." After pointing out that there was no essential variance among the Whigs and the native Americans respecting Slavery he says concerning candidates: "Most certainly we should prefer an original Republican—Governor Seward or Governor Chase—but we shall heartily and zealously support one like John Bell, Edward Bates, or John M. Botts, provided that we are assured that his influence, his patronage, his power, if chosen President will be used not to extend Slavery but to confine it to the States that see fit to uphold it." The editorial closes with the words: "When speech tends to irritate and distract, unspeakable is the wisdom of silence."

This was the language of common sense, the language of men who canvass their experiences and are governed by the lessons which they enjoy and enforce. But sensible though the editorial was, its suggestions drew forth sharp rejoinders. The assertion that *The Tribune* would heartily support Bell, Bates or Botts at once aroused the Germans of Iowa and

¹See *Ib.* (s. w.), "Union of the Opposition," Dec. 10, 1858; "The Opposition in 1860," Jan. 4, 1860; "The Presidency," Jan. 18. In the latter the charge that *The Tribune* is opposing Seward is denied.

The assumption above (and subsequently) that Horace Greeley penned the editorials defining the attitude of *The Tribune* towards the Republican Presidential nomination may be subject to question, as Charles A. Dana was Greeley's *alter ego* and frequently had entire charge of that paper. Nevertheless there seems to be grounds for thinking that Greeley probably struck the dominant notes and gave direction to the editorial policy. Dana, however, concurred and heartily supported his chief. See Gen. Jas. F. Wilson's *Life of Charles A. Dana*, pp. 161-2.

thence of the entire country. All three men were considered to be tainted with Know-Nothingism by reason of their public support of Fillmore in 1856 and were further deemed to be in close association with the leaders of the American party. In the furious reaction against the Massachusetts Amendment that ensued in the next three months the Democrats and Germans alike cited the editorial as proof of their contention that the Republicans had natural affiliations and a virtual alliance with the anti-foreign propagandists.¹ Greeley's insistence upon a coalition of the entire Opposition on the basis of non-extension of Slavery elicited some slashing criticisms.

On the same day Greeley's editorial appeared, Mr. Dunham gave expression to sentiment directly in conflict with the major suggestion of *The Tribune*. On April 22, *The Press and Tribune* of Chicago had set forth what it deemed the correct position for the Republican party to take in the campaign in 1860. Commending the views of his contemporary, Mr. Dunham observed: "The views there advanced are not entirely original, being in substance those advanced by Mr. Lincoln in the late senatorial canvass, and more recently by Senator Seward in his great speech on the destiny of our country; . . ." The true basis for the Opposition, he contended, is principle and not the petty partizan considerations that masquerade under the name of "policy." But in the large there is a concurrence of principle and policy—a fact that discerning statesmen and experienced political chiefs realize and aim at in practical politics. The Republican party came into existence because it placed principles and rights before expediency and Mammon; and its strength and success in the approaching contest would so depend. "As a party of principle . . . it has attained its present high position, and shall it now abandon its positive existence, animated by strong principles, and become a negative party, held together only by the spoils, and vainly seeking to alter its course to suit every trifling circumstance. Better, always, defeat with honor, than victory with disgrace. So-called conservatives

¹See writer's detailed account, *Annals of Iowa*, 3d Series, Vol. 8, pp. 206-213.

over-fearful of what is termed *sectional*, and trembling at the empty threats of southern fire-eaters, are apt even to yield what is right, forgetting that right should be supported, even though it be sectional."¹ Greeley's contention that the Opposition would lessen its strength, and invite defeat, by taking a radical, "sectional" stand upon Slavery that would alienate large numbers normally hostile to the principles and policies of the Administration, was not anticipated or met by Mr. Dunham.

Greeley's views, however, met immediately with direct and emphatic rejoinders. One of the most interesting and vigorous came from the pen of Thomas Drummond of Vinton, a veritable Hotspur in the journalism and politics of the period. He was a Virginian by birth and education and this fact no doubt accounts in considerable measure for the vigor and vivacity of his utterances. He took direct issue with Greeley's proposal for an alliance of the Opposition. His expressions are so typical of the sentiments of the aggressive opponents of Slavery, who were at the time staunch Republican partisans, that his editorial "Spoils or Principles in 1860" is given at considerable length:

The Republican party is not yet quite four years old . . .

Unfortunately the party is just now cursed with a lot of officious political mid-wives . . . who, when it is in perfect health and only awaits its appointed time, are throwing themselves into an agony of apprehension about its safety and insist on doctoring and prescribing for it. Their headquarters are in New York and Horace Greeley of the *New York Tribune* is their chief. It really seems to us the deliberate purpose of that paper to prevent a Republican victory if possible . . .

It is the professed aim of *The Tribune* and its co-laborers to bring about an alliance of what is termed the "entire opposition" to the Democratic party which would embrace Republicans, Know-Nothings, Southern Whigs and Douglas Democrats . . . This we hold is impossible and, if possible unwise and foolish in the extreme. Success at such a price would be barren of good results. . . .

What is the position, what are the doctrines of that body of so-called Conservatives for whose co-operation with them, such strenuous efforts are now being made by Eastern Republicans? We leave out of account the Douglas Democrats, as a miserable Falstaffian rabble, not worth looking after, and answer, they are mainly a class of men who are wedded to the past, old fogies who cling like

Crittenden and Bates to the recollections and teachings of a former age. . . .

The basis of Republicanism is its recognition and advocacy of the "inalienable rights of man" and its purpose, a steady and unceasing opposition to Slavery extension, and to the very existence of the institution itself. . . . This at least is Western Republicanism, and the party in the West is not to be sold out by its professed brethren in the East. The attempt to do so met with a signal rebuke last Fall in Illinois and will fail as signally if attempted a year hence. The nomination of Bates or Crittenden or any of their associates as candidates for the Presidency, or any emasculation of its platform will be the signal for a revolt of the genuine old Anti-Slavery element of the party, that which has been its very life blood; and its organization upon the platform of eternal antagonism to Slavery in the territories or elsewhere.

The Republican party adopts what the *New York Herald* terms "the bloody, brutal manifesto" of Abraham Lincoln, as re-echoed by Senator Seward, that there is and must be a steady conflict between Slavery and Freedom until one or the other goes to the wall—until this Union becomes all slave or all free.¹

Two weeks later he expressed his satisfaction anent the fact that "the persistent efforts of certain eastern Republicans and their organs to pave the way for a coalition of all the odds and ends . . . are meeting with small favor in the great Northwest."² About the same time Mr. Frank W. Palmer expressed similar sentiments in *The Times* of Dubuque: "'Conservative' men everywhere North as well as South, may plot and plan as much as they please. There will be no half-and-half ticket in 1860. . . . If the old Whigs and Americans are ready to co-operate with Republicans . . . there may be a Union . . . but any attempt by a lot of conservative old fogies to patch up a platform in which Northern Republicans will occupy an indifferent or even a secondary position, will prove a disgraceful failure."² Mr. Charles Aldrich, on the contrary did not concur with his contemporaries in repelling the suggestion of *The Tribune* but gave it his favor, if we may so conclude from his reprinting without adverse comment the major part of Greeley's editorial urging fusion, including those portions referring to Bell, Bates and Botts.³

¹*The Eagle*, May 10, 1859.

²*Ibid.*

³*The Hamilton Freeman*, May 14, 1859.

About the same time Mr. Teesdale gave expression to sentiments that illustrate the vague and variable distinctions that northern anti-slavery Republicans were prone to insist upon in their attitude toward southern anti-slavery sympathizers of the Clay school. Commenting upon the course of Crittenden who had but recently given public endorsement to the candidacy of Joshua F. Bell for Governor of Kentucky on the Whig ticket, he says:

Mr. Crittenden has just taken a step that effectually bars all hope of his nomination for the Presidency by a Republican convention. He has endorsed Mr. Bell, the American, or Opposition candidate for Governor of Kentucky. Mr. Bell is a pro-slavery man; and, like Goggin of Virginia, seeks to outstrip the Democratic nominee, in his professions of allegiance to slavery and the Slave Power. Deeply do we deplore this step of Mr. C. He has a host of friends in the free states who honored him for the manly stand he took in opposition to the Lecompton fraud, and in favor of the rights of Kansas. It is clear that Mr. Crittenden does not expect a position in the presidential arena; and equally clear that all attempts to secure Southern support, by ignoring the great issue before the American people, is worse than vain. "It is worse than a crime; it is a blunder," . . . If we would command respect . . . we must stand up for the political faith delivered to the fathers of the Republic. Their politics was a part of their religion, and their religion was a part of their politics. They knew no policy inconsistent with a proper recognition of the rights of man.¹

Mr. Teesdale's attitude in May was not exactly consistent with his position in April. He does not specify that Senator Crittenden had made himself impossible or unavailable as a candidate because of his "Americanistic" affiliations in Kentucky,—a consideration that properly would have had great weight in the North; but he contends that his endorsement of a man who did not violently oppose Slavery, but asserted its right to be where it was found, was fatal to his nomination. Crittenden's position on Slavery had not varied. He did not approve of Slavery as an ideal condition in theory or in the concrete, he did not desire to encourage its growth, and he did not promote its extension. His opposition to the Lecompton constitution demonstrated that he was "more of a patriot and less of a politician." Let Slavery alone where

¹*The Weekly Citizen*, May 8, 1859.

it was,—keep it where it was,—respect the rights of the owners of slaves,—do not constantly agitate the question and disturb the peace of mind of those who possess such property, no matter how undesirable human chattels may be in abstract ethics or difficult of adjustment in practical affairs. The South should not be a subject of constant “assault.” If we except the inconsistency of the Republican denunciation of the Dred Scott decision and their valorous insistence upon the sacredness of the national constitution and the rights of Slavocrats south of the Ohio, Crittenden’s position on Slavery squared with the views of nine Republicans out of ten in the North.¹

The second quarter of the year closed with an expression from Mr. Howell in *The Gate City* respecting the candidacy of Simon Cameron that voiced an opinion that became very common among prudent politicians of much discernment and experience. Noting the fact that “Lately the Republican press of Pennsylvania has been rapidly coalescing upon him,” he says, “With no disposition to recommend candidates at this early period, we may say, however, that Pennsylvania and Illinois will be the battle-ground of the next campaign. There *are* men for whom those two States can be carried. But they are very few. These two plain facts will go very far and should go very far towards limiting the range of speculation concerning candidates.”² Victory perches on the standards of those who command effective forces at the crucial points—and such were the doubtful States.

¹Coleman’s Life of John J. Crittenden, Vol. II, p. 154, et seq.—passion.

²*The Gate City*, June 28, 1859.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

EDITORIAL TRANSITION.

The third series of the *Annals of Iowa* was projected by the founder of the Historical Department as an auxiliary to the activities in which he was engaged. Through it has been gathered and preserved a vast amount of material on formative Iowa. But precious thoughts of men have not only been thus gathered. By publication and exchange of these, *The Annals* has brought many times its cost in the value of picture, book, document, map, manuscript, relic and trophy for the different collections. Its run of sixteen years, closing with the January number, embraced the ripest thought and finest skill of a brilliant man, Charles Aldrich, who died March 8th, 1908, and of a cultured, faithful woman, his assistant, Miss Mary R. Whitcomb, who died April 8th, 1909. The duties of Mr. Aldrich were assigned to us at his death, about a year from the time of entering his service as an assistant. These duties were materially shared and lightened by Miss Whitcomb, whose full value may now for the first be known outside this office through the tribute appearing elsewhere in this issue. With the positions of Curator and a chief assistant vacant we venture to issue the first number of the ninth volume of *The Annals*. The contributions it contains are very fit to connect even the splendid work of the founder with that of his successor, whoever he may be. No effort has been made either to exactly pattern after one or present a model for another editorial regime.

MISS MARY R. WHITCOMB.

Miss Mary R. Whitecomb, Assistant Curator of the Historical Department of Iowa, died in Des Moines, April 8, 1909. By a few days exceeding a year her death followed the death of the founder and builder of the Department, the late Charles Aldrich, whose faithful and efficient assistant she was for twelve years.

Miss Whitecomb was born in Grinnell, Iowa, April 4, 1860. Like so many sons and daughters of that college town she came of fine stock. Her ancestry on both sides was of New England blood and she exhibited all of those traits of disposition and culture that give so much flavor to the characters and conduct of descendants of the Puritans—a constant endeavor after intellectual achievement and culture, a stern discipline of life by conscience and industry, and devotion to high ideals in religion and public service. Her mother, pursuant to a practice that was common with the ambitious youth of New England, was for some time a teacher in the wilds of Tennessee. As a result of Mr. J. B. Grinnell's letters to the *N. Y. Tribune* her parents came west in 1854, joining their fortunes with the pioneers of the town of Grinnell, where they became considerable factors in church and communal life.

Miss Whitecomb spent her childhood and youth in Grinnell. She graduated from the city High School in 1877 and entered Iowa College the fall of that year. In the College halls and classes she speedily demonstrated high order of ability and force of character, that won admiration and aroused expectations of future achievement among classmates that included such men as Professor Oliver F. Emerson, now of Western Reserve University of Cleveland, Professor George M. Whicher of New York City College, and Mr. George White, a distinguished American Missionary in Turkey, Asia Minor, and a Professor in Marsivan College. The death of her mother in 1881 prevented Miss Whitecomb graduating with her class in 1882.

Beginning in the fall of 1883 Miss Whitecomb began teaching in the public schools of Grinnell where she continued for the next three years. In 1886, following in the footsteps of

her mother nearly half a century before, she went to Mobile, Ala., to teach in a school for negro children, conducted by the American Missionary Association. She remained at that post for four years. She enjoyed the buoyancy and artless, boundless simplicity of the negroes; and animated by the serene, superb self-sufficiency of a missionary, she laughed at the snubs and social ostracism to which she was subject at the hands of the haughty Southerners among whom she went in the course of her work. Full of charm and rich in instruction as were her experiences in that Southern city, they were finally to prove disastrous to her health. In 1890 she fell ill of a malady (incident to the region) which fastened upon her delicate constitution with a firm grip, leaving her a weak heart that ultimately was to succumb to overtax from routine and responsibility. She was forced to abandon her work and come North. She entered school work again in the fall of 1890 at Dundee, Ill., where she continued until the Christmas vacation of 1891. While on a visit at Grinnell her health gave way to nervous prostration and for a time death seemed imminent. Despite the adverse opinions of physicians, in the course of a year she slowly recovered. With such feeble health most persons would have lapsed into a career of invalidism; but to her the role of the invalid, with doleful countenance and mournful plaints was utterly intolerable. Summoning the pluck of her stock she again set about the task of an independent livelihood. In March 1894 she was appointed to the position of assistant in the State Library. She remained there until 1896, when she was appointed by Mr. Charles Aldrich as assistant in the Historical Department wherein she continued to work until her death.

Amidst the books and documents, the papers and periodicals, and the rare and precious records of the past that weighted the shelves of alcove and workroom, Miss Whitecomb came into her own. Books and literature were a part of her family traditions and made much of the warp and woof of her life. In the serene silence of library, she found tasks sufficient, congenial, satisfying, affording both delight and culture, making life worth while. Existence to her was not sharply divided

"in books or work or healthful play" as Watts specifies. She found all three in one and in one place.

Her fondness and fitness for her new work she demonstrated forthwith by that sure sign of an efficient worker—instant and constant attention to the details and minutia of the administration of the Library. She was not a mere clerk whose sole concern was the receipt of an increasing stipend with decreasing effort. The care of old tomes, were they never so tattered and torn, never so musty and mouldy, was not a disgusting or drearish drudgery. To her it was a part of her profession whence information, instruction, aye, a liberal culture in the ancient and honorable craft of Gutenberg and Caxton was obtainable if one will but enter upon the work with an alert, discerning eye and persistent purpose. Inquiry about books and data from students or strangers was never met with a nonchalant response, "I don't know," simply and perhaps *sotto voce* "I don't care either." All information she possessed and all her resources for securing the facts were immediately placed at the disposal of the inquirer. Her memory was vigorous and facile and if she had ever looked the matter up the data desired was forthcoming almost at once. If unfamiliar to her, her search for it was immediate and without stint until she had discovered the document or learned definitely that the library did not possess it. More than this it was her wont to keep the inquiry in mind for weeks and months and after you had ceased to expect or perhaps to think of the subject she would report some find or give some clew to the data wished.

But Miss Whitcomb did not rest content with being an active, helpful executive worker merely. She was more than faithful and industrious. She made her work her own. She sought constantly to enhance the usefulness of the Collections; and the Department and the public were the beneficiaries of her constructive work. She installed a card index of the books, newspapers, pamphlets and portraits; and she classified and arranged all books on the shelves and labeled and numbered them according to the schedules of the Dewey System. She did not supervise others; she did the actual mechanical work herself. During the past eight years, if not for a longer

period, she had practical charge of the publication of *The Annals*, editing and preparing the contributions for the printers and carrying the burden of proof-reading. In the later years she in large measure determined the character of the contents. In building up the collections she chiefly attended to the selection of the books purchased. She devoted particular attention to the acquisition of materials bearing upon the history of our Indian tribes, the growth of Iowa, Western History, the Civil War, and Genealogical collections.

Over and above these matters her constructive abilities were displayed in some scholarly contributions to the history of Iowa. *The Annals* contain three interesting and valuable articles from her pen: The first, "Reminiscences of Gen. Jas. C. Parrott," (Vol. III., pp. 364-383); the second, "Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer," (Vol. IV., pp. 277-288); and the third, "Abner Kneeland: His relations to Early Iowa History," (Vol. VI., pp. 340-363). The latter is her most substantial study. It deals with the stormy career of the much maligned founder of Salubria, whose character and conduct as a "Free-Thinker" was anathema, sixty years since, to all churchmen from Massachusetts to the Missouri "Slope." Miss Whitcomb, without entering upon the debatable grounds of his doctrines gives us a solid account of his chequered, not to say, tempestuous career in Massachusetts and Iowa, recovering for us and presenting in lucid narrative the major facts of the life of one of New England's most interesting characters. Her study was an earnest of the scholarly work she would have done but for the hindrance of feeble health. At the time of her death she had a considerable body of memorabilia of her late chief, Charles Aldrich, in the form of correspondence, notes and rescripts of conversations and his racy sayings, which she hoped sometime to weld into a story or into sketches of the character of Mr. Aldrich whom she knew and admired thoroughly and served so faithfully and well.

Some of the most interesting phases of Miss Whitcomb's life and character were manifest in her relations with Mr. Aldrich. When she entered upon her work in the Department in 1896, Mr. Aldrich was approaching what for most men is life's last mile post—three score and ten. But to him then life was full

of zest. He was pursuing the chief ambition of his life with a vigor that was bringing things to pass. But the currents of hope and zeal that charged his soul energized a frail body hampered by feeble health and cruelly racked by bronchial affliction. The minutia of execution, the prosaic details of adjustment in the aggravating circumstances of practical decision, distracted and fretted him; anon they got "on his nerves" and sometimes harassed him. He must needs have a care-taker whose judgment was competent and whose earnestness and loyalty would enable him to realize his major purposes. Miss Whitcomb had not been long in the Department before her alert intelligence, industry, and efficiency, especially her manner of doing things, won Mr. Aldrich's confidence completely; and in the work of the Department she soon became his *alter ego*. Discernment, discrimination, discretion were marked elements in her conduct. She realized fully the public significance of his work and the necessity for caution and constant attention to the thousand and one little things that constitute the grit and muss of daily work, and make or mar matters of moment according as they are scrupulously attended to or neglected. She was an excellent counselor because while she always felt deeply and strongly upon matters that engaged her serious attention; she never lost her head. In questions of taste she possessed a keen appreciation of the niceties of expression and form, and of fitness as to time and place. In matters of policy she looked fore and aft. Equipoise and firmness, sanity and sobriety, characterized her judgment when affairs brought perplexity. So sane, reliable and sufficient was her counsel that the brunt and burden of the work of the Department slowly, as the months grew into years, fell upon her shoulders, and the responsibility for its conduct gravitated completely into her safe-keeping.

Miss Whitcomb possessed a personality that displayed varied and striking characteristics—most of them peculiar to her New England blood. In speech she was concise and direct, nice and precise. In her work there was no fuss or splutter; she was quiet and steady and systematic. Her desk was always in "ship-shape" condition so that she could put her hand on any paper she had in her care. In matters of business

she was exacting—statements and details had to be explicit and complete. To inquiries her responses were immediate, plump, frank, unequivocal. She hit the nail and nothing else. In her relations with casual acquaintances or visitors her conversation was marked by brevity but it was not unkindly and was sufficient for the purpose. Miss Whitecomb was not one of the oppressive species that seeks constantly to impress people with the high character of their achievements, with their fame and importance in the Commonwealth, or to captivate by artful graciousness and effusive courtesies and pretences of devotion. In her greetings of old-time friends and acquaintances and in converse with them she was cordial. If ill health did not depress she was vivacious in conversation, quick in repartee; a winsome smile, illumining her clear blue eyes and finely chiseled features, would indicate her pleasure, or a blithesome laugh signify her appreciation of the point of a story or the edge of a witty remark. She did not cultivate people or seek to extend the circuit of her influence as is the wont of mortals. She enjoyed a small circle of friends and got pleasure in the ordinary forms of simple diversion. Conversation with her did not run into idle tittle-tattle either petty or malevolent. Books and nature, science and scholarship, and works of art, music and painting, the careers and doings of friends—and silence, the rarest privilege of friendship of the solid sort—characterized her intercourse with her friends. But her relations with her intimate friends and associates were not common.

Her normal human nature, her personal interest, her attachments and prejudices, she demonstrated in sundry subtle ways obvious only to the sharply observant, but her manner of address and converse was generally distinguished by aloofness and reserve. Her friends saw her, talked with her, knew her; nevertheless they were aware that she herself stood apart, remote. She indulged neither herself nor her friends nor associates with confidences that make up so much of the ordinary friendships and color relationships of life. Those she held in high esteem she not infrequently greeted with a brusqueness and hauteur, sometimes with an acerbity of speech that would perplex those unfamiliar with the charac-

teristics of her manner; but her intimates knew that physical distress or depression was the antecedent condition and immediate cause. The most notable phase of her reserve was her complete reticence respecting her life and personal experiences outside of the routine of the office.

In her relations with Mr. Aldrich, Miss Whitcomb exhibited another interesting phase of her self-restraint. In no respect was she forward or presumptuous with opinions—not even when the entire administration of the internal affairs of the Department had become her special charge. She tendered no opinions as to plans or policy unsolicited. If she proffered suggestions or made recommendations they were incident to work previously assigned her. She never went ahead on her own motion, even though she might feel certain that she would be directed to attend to the work in hand. Her deference was complete and likewise her courtesy. From these qualities, coupled with her efficiency, grew Mr. Aldrich's confidence in her loyalty and his assurance that the affairs of the Department were in safe hands under her prudent administration.

To her associates and co-workers in the Department there was no part of her character or conduct more interesting than her influence over Mr. Aldrich and the modes of its exercise. Mr. Aldrich was a man of vigorous character and staunch will, once his mind was made up—and from the major plans of his designs for the development of the Department he seldom or never retreated; but in the tactics of their promotion, in the minor manoeuvres of their daily advancement he would frequently act on impulse—particularly was he likely to allow personal friendships to obscure his vision and prompt to action that sundry considerations of far-sighted policy would enjoin. He seldom failed to ask her advice before proceeding and if she did not concur, her disapproval was usually effective. To Mr. Aldrich her disapproval created a presumption that he must be wrong and consequently her better judgment should prevail.

Miss Whitcomb cared nothing for the tawdry fame of much mention in the public prints, so anxiously sought by persons of common mould. She found her delight and her solace in her work, in its details and exactions. But she shrank from

the public responsibilities of office that brought her into clash with petty critics or collision with the warring elements of politics. Her health could not stand the wear and tear of contention. With her chief to serve as the steel edge of the wedge and take the brunt of the forward push of the work she could serve masterfully. In the latter years she carried easily the whole load of petty detail and supervised the general administration. Without a question she prolonged the life and vigor of Mr. Aldrich at the critical period of his public career, enabling him to prosecute his work with success and realize e'er death closed his eyes the dreams of his youth and to gaze upon the stately structure on Capitol hill wherein his precious collections are now safeguarded against the thieves of time. Her life and work, her charm and force of character will live long in the memories of those who had the privilege of coming within the circuit of her influence.

RESOLUTIONS.

ADOPTED BY BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE STATE LIBRARY AND HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT.

WHEREAS, since our last meeting death has removed Miss Mary R. Whitcomb, Assistant Curator of this Department and for many years the efficient and ever faithful Secretary of this Board;

And, WHEREAS, we desire to place of record some token of our high regard and esteem for the departed;

And, WHEREAS, we are fully aware of the inestimable value and importance of her work to the State increased and multiplied by the enfeebled condition of health and death of her superior, Hon. Charles Aldrich;

And, WHEREAS, she always bore her burdens without complaint, did more than her duty without grumbling, continued at her work without regard to her personal convenience, efficiently performed every task and satisfactorily served during many years as Secretary of this Board:

Now, therefore, *Be It Resolved*;

1. That we deeply deplore our loss, and knowing full well the value of her work to the State, sincerely regret that it has been deprived of her most efficient services.

2. That to her relatives we extend our sincere sympathy, and that

3. These resolutions be spread of record as a memento to her faithfulness and efficiency.

NOTABLE DEATHS.

JOSEPH WILLIAM BLYTHE was born at Cranberry, N. J., January 16, 1850; he died near Wapello, Louisa county, Iowa, while temporarily absent from his home at Burlington, March 6, 1909. He was the son of Joseph William and Ellen Henrietta (Green) Blythe. He was educated at Lawrenceville, N. J., High School and Princeton College, graduating with the degree of A. B. Subsequently he received the A. M. degree from his alma mater, that of LL. D. from Hanover (Ind.) College and Bethany (Kan.) College. He commenced the practice of the law in Burlington, Iowa, in 1874, and a year later the firm of Hedge & Blythe was organized, which was never formally dissolved. Mr. Blythe came to Iowa as assistant attorney for the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad Company, under Judge David Rorer, and his service for that Company was his life's work. At the time of his death, he held the position of General Counsel, with headquarters at Chicago, but always retained his home and residence in Burlington. He was a great lawyer, not a case lawyer who knew the law because he found it in the books, but one who knew that the law was or should be founded in reason. He was well grounded in the general principles of the profession. His intelligent application of fundamental rules enabled him to form clear, logical and correct opinions upon complicated matters. He was not a politician from either inclination or choice; it was simply with him the logic of events. Representing great corporate interests at a time when the public mind was governed by prejudice rather than reason, it was inevitable that his duties should require him to take an interest in public affairs. With his fascinating personal qualities, with his great powers of discernment, and above all, with his commanding intelligence and ability, he could not escape leadership. Much of Mr. Blythe's activity in politics, especially in his later years, was for the single purpose of helping his friends. Asking no personal preferment, he was always ready to help others. After his graduation from Princeton, he was for some years an instructor in the Lawrenceville, N. J., preparatory school. He was well informed upon all subjects of modern progress, his reading and information not being confined to his special line of work. He was at all times a most delightful, interesting and instructive companion. He was a wonderful judge of human nature. He took a broad, liberal, statesmanlike and common-sense view of important public questions. With his friends and with his adversaries he was fair and open. He hated dissimulation and hypocrisy. He admired frankness and courage. He was once asked how he accounted for his multitude of loyal friends. His reply was characteristic. He said, "If I have such friends, it must be because of my brutal frankness"; and so it was. He fearlessly told the truth, and men loved and admired him for it. No greater tribute can be paid to this man's memory than to say that for more than twenty years he was the dominant factor in the public life and affairs of Iowa, and during all of that time no man ever questioned his high sense of personal honor and integrity. If, instead of giving his life to corporate employment, he had accepted public office, he would easily have taken front rank with those of Iowa's sons who have given our State a place in history. Joseph

William Blythe, the man, as he really was, highly educated, thoroughly refined, a great lawyer, a cultured scholar, was unknown to a majority of the people of Iowa. Especially to those living outside of the territory of southern Iowa, he was only known as an able corporation lawyer and a politician of commanding power and influence. But to those who enjoyed his personal friendship and confidence, the accomplishments of the lawyer and the politician were the least of his acquirements. But because of the interests he represented, he received cruel and undeserved criticism. In the face of this he was a philosopher, uttering no unkind words and making no complaint. He believed that time would secure him a proper measure of justice.

J. C. D.

THOMAS D. HEALY was born in Lansing, Iowa, May 25, 1865; he died at Fort Dodge, January 15, 1909. He was educated at Notre Dame University, Indiana, the Law Department of the State University of Iowa, and the University of Michigan. With his parents he removed in 1883 to Fort Dodge, Iowa, where he continued to reside until his death. Soon after his admission to the bar, Mr. Healy entered upon the practice of his profession at Fort Dodge and continued therein actively during the remainder of his life. He early developed a deep and intelligent interest in public affairs, where his superior ability backed by an ardent temperament and unswerving courage soon won for him a position of leadership. In 1895 he was elected to the State Senate, where he served with high honor during the Twenty-sixth, Twenty-seventh, Twenty-eighth and Twenty-ninth General Assemblies. In constructive, reformatory and progressive legislation he was a leader among leaders. He was largely influential, if not the decisive factor, in the establishment of a State Board of Control. In framing the Code of 1897 he took a conspicuous part. He had a quick intuitive perception of the moral tendency of public measures and was at all times and everywhere the uncompromising foe of political indirection and official graft. The history of Iowa records the name of no more influential legislator and none whose vote, voice and influence were more uniformly or efficiently exercised for the benefit of the people whom he served. Upon the retirement of Judge O. P. Shiras from the bench of the Federal Court for the Northern District of Iowa, he became a candidate for that position. He had, to a remarkable degree, the support of the bar and the people of the district, but the positive nature of his convictions and the uncompromisingly independent character of his course as a member of the Senate had excited the set hostility of powerful interests whose influence in certain official quarters was sufficient to prevent his success. Events have moved rapidly since then, and of the Iowa names passing into history connected with that episode, the inner story of which has yet to be written, none will be remembered with deeper or more abiding respect than that of the defeated candidate. At the close of his second senatorial term, Mr. Healy took position as the Iowa attorney for the Great Western Railway Company and later entered into like relations with the Illinois Central Railroad Company, continuing meanwhile a large and important general practice in connection with the firm of which he was a member. He became the victim of his own passion for work. Never a man of robust health, the burdens of rapidly expanding

business and increasing responsibilities proved at length too great for even his limitless nervous energy and unconquerable determination. His death is a distinct loss to the State and his place in the van of the struggle for civic righteousness will not be easily filled. To his immediate circle of friends he was not simply Thomas D. Healy, lawyer, politician or statesman, but he was "Tom," the most lovable and loyal of companions. The flash of his righteous indignation over a mean or unworthy act was no quicker or warmer than his tear of sympathy with a friend in sorrow. Quick at repartee, the shaft of his wit was never tipped with poison. Generous to a fault, no draft upon his friendship ever went to protest. In his family relations as son, brother, husband and father he was singularly fortunate and in each his love and loyalty knew neither limit or reserve. Short as was his life it has shed honor upon his beloved native State, and the memory of his excellent personal qualities will long remain an inspiration to those who knew him best.

S. M. W.

NANNIE CANTWELL WALLACE was the second daughter of Col. James Cantwell, of Kenton, Ohio. She was educated in the schools of Mansfield and the college at Delaware, Ohio. Her father was the organizer of the Fourth Ohio regiment, of which he was lieutenant-colonel, from which he resigned and organized the Eighty-second Ohio, of which he was colonel. He fell in the second battle of Bull Run in August, 1862. She was married to Henry Wallace at Kenton, Ohio, in September, 1863, and entered upon the duties of a pastor's wife at Rock Island, Ill., and Davenport, Iowa. From 1871 to 1879 she discharged like duties at Morning Sun, Iowa, and from 1877 to 1889 at Winterset, Iowa. In 1889 her husband's work in agricultural journalism required their removal to Des Moines, where they have since resided. She became a valuable aid in her husband's agricultural publications and activities; for many years editing the department of Hearts and Homes in *Wallace's Farmer*. She was a charter member of the Des Moines Women's Club; one of the founders of the Des Moines Women's Press Club; a member of the Board of Trustees of the Iowa Home for the Aged from the beginning; a member of the Women's Relief Corps of Crocker Post, G. A. R.; and the organizer of the Daughters of Ceres, a club for the education of country women of which chapters were organized in nearly every section of the State. She was a delegate from Iowa to the National Federation of Women's Clubs in Boston, in 1908; was for a number of years a member of the Scudery Club, and of the Iowa Humane Society. At the time of her death she was about sixty-nine years of age. She was a friend of Charles Aldrich and an aid in his work of founding the Historical Department of Iowa.

SILAS CLARK MCFARLAND, a well known Iowa editor and publisher, died in Germany, October 24, 1908. If the deceased had lived until June 3d, of this year, he would have been fifty years of age. He was a son of Colonel Samuel C. McFarland, who commanded the 19th Iowa Infantry in the civil war, and who was killed leading his regiment at the battle of Prairie Grove. The deceased's mother was a sister to the late Judge John S. Woolson. Mr. McFarland had been in the consular service since 1899, serving at Nottingham,

England; Reichenberg, Austria; St. Gall, Switzerland, and being a supervisor of consulates with headquarters at Berlin at the time of his death. While he did not establish the Marshalltown *Times-Republican*, his sixteen years' work on that paper, from 1883 to 1899, made it one of the important publications of the State. As a writer he was incisive and direct; as a publisher wide awake and enterprising. He believed that the business of a newspaper was to publish the news. In attempting his ideals in that respect, he was willing to spend both time and money. Among his fellow editors his standing was high. His death in his prime is especially mourned. He was a tall, erect, strong, manly man, as his father was before him. He had the power to both originate and carry out ideas. He had the confidence of the readers of his paper. He never struck below the belt. In all his contests he fought fair. In politics he was a power. In his editorial work he was anxious to build up his home city and the State. He loved to pick out the strong men and to help them. His help was unselfish. In regard to himself, or any of his achievements, he was modest to the limit. L. Y.

RICHARD C. BARRETT was born at Waverly, Iowa, October 1, 1858; he died at Des Moines, Iowa, March 3, 1909. He was educated in the public schools and at Decorah Institute and began teaching at an early age. When but 19 he assumed the principalship of the Riceville schools. Six years later he was elected county superintendent of Mitchell county, serving ten years in that office. In 1895 Cornell College conferred upon him the degree of A. M., and in 1904 Drake University that of LL. D. In 1897 he was elected State Superintendent of Public Instruction, succeeding Henry Sabin, serving three terms. He was then elected to the Chair of Civics of Iowa State College at Ames. As a member of the faculty and as chairman of the Committee on Entrance Requirements and Secondary School Relations, Professor Barrett rendered very important service to the State. His wide acquaintance with public schools and public school teachers of Iowa, his intelligent sympathy with all educational interests and his personal qualities adapted him to a difficult task. He succeeded in an extraordinary degree. For at least a generation to come the State College and public schools of Iowa will bless his memory for his wise counsels and his inspiring influence. A. B. S.

WILLIAM H. QUICK was born in Hamburg, Sussex county, N. J., July 1, 1832; he died at the home of his daughter, Mrs. Foster Ingalls, in Des Moines, January 5, 1909. In 1852 he became a brakeman on the New York & Erie Railroad. In 1853 he became a baggageman on what is now the C. R. I. & P. Railway, and in 1855 was made conductor on the same road. He was appointed a messenger for Parker's Express Company between Iowa City and Dubuque in 1856. In 1857 he became agent for the United States Express Company at Iowa City, the Parker Company being absorbed by the United States about that time. Mr. Quick was in charge of the Company's offices at Marengo, Brooklyn, and Grinnell, and in 1863 became Superintendent in Iowa and Nebraska, his territory subsequently embracing the entire Rock Island system. Mr. Quick retained his official connection with the Company up to the time of his death.

SAMUEL HUSBAND FAIRALL was born in Alleghany county, Maryland, June 21, 1835; he died at his home near Iowa City, Iowa, March 8, 1909. He was descended from English and Welsh ancestry, who settled in Maryland early in the seventeenth century, being a direct descendant of Samuel Snowden, who was a member of Prince George's County Committee under the Continental Congress. He was a young man of industrious and studious habits, and entering Washington College at Washington, Pennsylvania, at an early age, was graduated in 1855. Shortly after his graduation he removed to Iowa, arriving at Iowa City, October 1st, 1855. He early manifested a preference for the study of the law, and soon after his arrival at Iowa City, entered the law office of William Penn Clarke, a leading lawyer, and then Supreme Court Reporter. He proved to be a diligent student, and was admitted to the bar on June 21, 1856. He formed a partnership the same year with James D. Templin, and in 1861 he entered into partnership with Hon. George J. Boal, continuing in this association until 1873, the firm during this time becoming one of the prominent law firms of the State, and enjoying a large and lucrative practice. He continued the practice of law part of the time alone, and part of the time in partnership with H. F. Bonorden, Hon. C. S. Ranck, and his brother, H. S. Fairall, until 1886, when he was elected District Judge of the Eighth Judicial District of Iowa, and in 1890 was re-elected for a second term. Upon leaving the bench, he resumed the active practice of law, in which he continued until his death. He was a member of the House of Representatives in the Ninth and Ninth extra sessions of the General Assembly, and of the Senate in the Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth sessions of the General Assembly. He was an active thoroughgoing Democratic leader, serving as delegate to county, district and state conventions, during the greater part of his active life, and presided over the Democratic State Convention, which elected him a delegate to the National Democratic Convention, in 1868. Judge Fairall was for many years and until his death an active and efficient member of the Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church in Iowa City, and a faithful member of its Board of Vestrymen, attending at different times the Diocesan Conventions of this Church. Judge Fairall was a notable character, prominent in public affairs, not only in his community, but throughout the State. He was an able legislator, whose lasting impress will remain as a part of the legislation of the State for all time; a careful, painstaking, competent judge, an able, industrious, tireless lawyer, ambitious and successful in his profession.

G. A. B.

GILBERT BALDWIN PRAY was born in Michigan City, Indiana, April 27, 1847; he died at Iowa City, Iowa, on February 28, 1909. Coming to Webster City, Iowa, by the removal of his family to that place in 1856, he was educated in the public schools of that city. In 1864, when seventeen years old, he enlisted in Company F, Sixteenth Iowa Infantry, participating in the battle of Nashville and the later campaigns of Sherman's army. At the close of the war he became a student in the law office of the late Judge D. D. Chase at Webster City, was admitted to the bar in 1868, and practiced his profession in Webster City until 1880. He was elected Clerk of the Supreme Court of Iowa in 1882 and served in that office for twelve years with marked efficiency. He was twice elected Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, and served as a member of that body for

many years. Mr. Pray was appointed Surveyor General of Alaska by President McKinley in 1897, and in declining that office was appointed a Special Representative of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. He resigned this office in 1890, removed to Des Moines and engaged actively in the service, as Treasurer of the Royal Union Mutual Life Insurance Company, in the organization of which institution, he had participated in 1886. He remained in this service until his death. In all the activities of a life more varied than is usual, he was courageous, loyal and efficient. F. D. J.

JOSEPH WENDELL MUFFLY was born in Clinton county, Pa., July 11, 1840; he died at Hot Springs, South Dakota, whence he had gone from his home in Des Moines for treatment, January 1, 1909. At the age of 17 he removed to Freeport, Illinois, teaching school for a time, but returned to complete his education at Dickinson Seminary at Williamsport, Pa. While pursuing his studies he responded to the first call for volunteers to put down the rebellion and enlisted as a private in Company B, 148th Pennsylvania Volunteers. He served throughout the war with this regiment, being appointed its adjutant before his discharge. He was wounded at Gettysburg. In later life he compiled "The History of the 148th Pennsylvania Volunteers," an authority on the campaigns of that regiment, accepted by its surviving members and by the War Department. Shortly after the close of the war, Captain Muffly removed to Des Moines, Iowa, and founded the Iowa Business College, which he managed until 1876. He served as Deputy County Clerk, Assistant Adjutant General of the G. A. R., Recorder of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion from the time of its organization until his death, and as Commander of Crocker Post, G. A. R.

HENRY J. B. CUMMING was born in Sussex county, N. J., May 21, 1831; he died at his home in Winterset, Iowa, April 16, 1909. His childhood was spent in Lycoming county, Pennsylvania, where he attended the common schools and had a year of instruction at a private academy. He was admitted to the bar in 1854, and migrated to Winterset, Iowa, in 1856, where he entered the practice and immediately became an influential factor in business and politics. He was one of the organizers and the leader of the Republican party in his locality. He was twice mayor of Winterset, served as prosecuting attorney and was a representative for the Seventh Iowa District in the Forty-fifth Congress. He was captain of a company of Home Guards which was mustered into the army at Council Bluffs, in 1861, as Company F of the 4th Iowa Infantry. He was transferred to the 39th Infantry with the commission of Colonel and mustered out January 1, 1865. He owned the Winterset *Madisonian* in whole or in part from 1869 for eighteen years. Upon retiring as a publisher he also gave up the law practice and concentrated his attention upon purely business matters. At his death he was heavily interested in real estate and banking enterprises.

FRANCIS WESLEY EVANS was born in Pittsburg, Pa., March 17, 1829; he died at his home, 1319 E. Ninth street, Des Moines, Iowa, September 3, 1908. He was brought to Lee county, Iowa, in 1839.

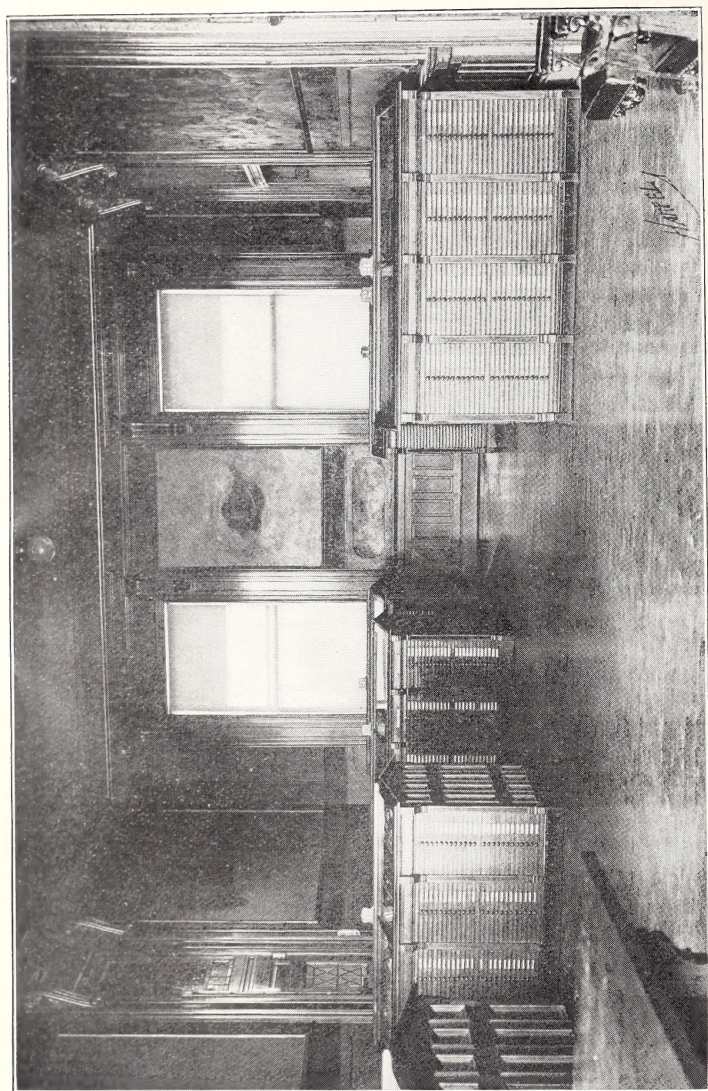
He was appointed to the ministry by the Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church in 1851 and continued in church pastorates throughout Iowa for nearly 40 years. He was a member of the first Methodist Conference in Iowa and when that was divided, was appointed to the Iowa Conference. Among his charges were the churches at Burlington, Washington, Mt. Pleasant, Albia, Ottumwa, Oskaloosa and Knoxville. He was one of the oldest members of the Methodist Conference when he retired from the ministry in 1890, removing permanently to Des Moines to become a lecturer for the Odd Fellows Lodge, which he served as Grand Chaplain. He also lectured on Masonry and on temperance subjects. He served as Chaplain of the 35th Iowa for two years during the civil war. He was a forceful and eloquent speaker.

LEMUEL KINKEAD was born in Guernsey county, Ohio, May 10, 1846; he died at his residence, 415 Center Street, Des Moines, December 11, 1908. He immigrated when a boy to Knoxville, Iowa, with his father's family. At sixteen he enlisted in Company E, 8th Iowa Infantry, the youngest enlisted man in his regiment. He was shot through the left lung at Shiloh, lying in the enemies' territory all the night of April 6, 1862, escaping the capture of his regiment. After his recovery he rejoined the army in the Union Brigade, participating in the siege of Vicksburg. He was mustered out in 1864 as a corporal. He was a painter by trade, but being possessed of a voice and presence suited admirably to the stage, he became an actor and pursued that calling for some five years, studying law in the meantime. He was admitted to the bar in 1880, and attained success. Through his legal practice and upon the platform in the delivery of his thrilling lecture on the Battle of Shiloh, he was widely known throughout the State. As a member of the staff of Governor Drake he acquired the honorary title of Colonel.

GEORGE SAUM was born in Highland county, Ohio, April 22, 1814; he died at the residence of his daughter, Mrs. Robert Johnson, at Anamosa, Iowa, July 2, 1908. He removed to Lee county, Iowa, in 1839, and to Jones county in 1840. He acquired 320 acres of land at the Dubuque land sales of the same year, residing on that land until 1878, by which time he had acquired 2,000 acres. In 1842 he brought from Richmond, Indiana, the first apple, pear and cherry trees planted in Jones county. He introduced three Short Horn cows and the bull Locomotive, an animal imported from England, these being the first in Jones county. He purchased the first McCormick reaper introduced into that county in 1844. He introduced metal moldboard plows. He had his first log cabin used as the first school in his township in 1842, and two years later erected a new schoolhouse with the labor of his own hands and men. He introduced Poland China hogs into his section of the State. He lived to see the land he acquired at \$1.25 per acre reach a value of \$150,000.

JAMES M. ROBB was born March 10, 1836, at Service, Beaver county, Pa.; he died at Albia, Iowa, January 9, 1909. He removed to Monroe county, Iowa, in 1853, settling in Bluff Creek township. He enlisted in the 13th Iowa Infantry, serving three years and being severely wounded. He was admitted to the bar about 1882. He served three terms as sheriff of Monroe county and as a Representative in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth General Assemblies.

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"The Aldrich Collection"—Autograph letters, manuscripts, portraits.

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3D SERIES.

THE BUILDING OF AN AUTOGRAPH COLLECTION.¹

BY CHARLES ALDRICH.

This is the way it was started: In the year 1848, I was the youngest hand in the printing-office of *The Mail*, at Warren, Pa. This was a small six-column paper, conducted at that time by one of my former schoolmates, Mr. Ephraim Cowan. He and I had roomed together in the little old Academy at Jamestown, Chautauqua county, N. Y., some years before. He was several years my senior and had preceded me some time in getting into business. He was the editor and publisher of *The Mail*. It was printed on an old-fashioned Ramage² press. If I remember correctly, the two sides of the frame of the press had been made from a couple of hardwood planks. The platen was of wood and was only large enough to cover a single page of the paper. It was necessary to run the bed of the press which held the forms half way under and pull the platen down upon that page. Then the lever was allowed to go back to its place and the next page was in like manner run under the platen and in its turn received its proper impression. This press was very similar to that used by Benjamin Franklin, which is now in Washington, D. C., though the Warren press was of a somewhat later date. It was, however, but a slight improvement on the ancient press used by Franklin.

I was sweeping out the office one morning when my employer received the mail. Among the parcels was an octavo document which bore the frank of Thomas H. Benton, who served in the U. S. Senate from the State of Missouri for

¹This article was prepared by the founder and curator of the Historical Department of Iowa during 1906, and is one of a number that disclose the labors and plans that filled his later years. Others will be published in THE ANNALS from time to time.

²This press was invented by Adam Ramage, a distinguished Scotch mechanician, who was born in 1770 and died in 1850. He came to this country where he spent his mature life.

thirty years. I noticed that Mr. Cowan tore the wrapper off from this document and threw it under the table. I had been reading something of autograph collections and happened at that moment to feel somewhat interested in them. Ordinarily this frank would have gone to waste with other refuse paper. I picked it up from under the table, however, and reaching for the editorial shears was about to cut it out. My employer asked me rather curtly what I was doing with that paper. "O," I said, "I propose to save this autograph if you don't want it." He said that I might have it and I cut it out of the wrapper. When, some time later, I acquired a copy of Benton's "Thirty Years in the United States Senate," I pasted this signature under the portrait. Years later some book agent borrowed it of me to use in canvassing McKean county, Pa. He placed no value upon the signature and let some subscriber up in the oil regions have the volume instead of waiting for a fresh copy, so I never saw it again.

From that time forward I preserved such signatures as easily fell in my way. For a time, like other boy and girl collectors, it was my habit to cut the signatures out of the letters. I outgrew this waste later on. My collection grew but slowly at the start, but I was soon compelled to procure a scrap-book to contain it. Some years later, when catalogues of autograph letters for sale came to my hands, it was my habit occasionally to buy one, though in those days boys in printing-offices had very little money to invest in that species of property. I was still reading, however, on the subject of autograph collections and acquiring an interest in them which I have not yet outgrown. Like other amateurs I grew into the habit of asking distinguished people by letter for a contribution to my collection. While I did not always get what I asked for, I was quite fortunate. Of course, I was snubbed a few times, but that never caused me to relax in my work. Many years afterward I sought to obtain some specimen of the writing of John Ericsson, the inventor of the Monitor. I called at his house in New York City one day, in the hope of obtaining one of his small drawings of some portion of the Monitor, but I soon learned that the old gentleman was

very irate in his dealings with autograph collectors. His private secretary told me that he would not give his autograph to Queen Victoria or the President of the United States. I retired in good order, the single effect of this rebuff being to make me still more determined to secure what I desired. I therefore wrote to Admiral John L. Worden, stating the case fully, and suggested that I would gratefully appreciate some brief letter by the great engineer, whose invention of the Monitor no doubt saved our national capital from destruction or capture. He wrote me very kindly, enclosing a letter by Capt. Ericsson, concerning 11-inch guns which were to go upon the Monitor. The glass that covers this letter by John Ericsson also protects the reply to my letter from Admiral Worden and may be seen by any visitor to the Historical Museum.

I was especially fortunate in securing a page of the handwriting of Queen Victoria, thanks to the generous aid of Sir Theodore Martin, K. C. B. The writing is an extract from Shakespeare's "King John." Some friend had secured for me signatures of the then Prince and Princess of Wales, the present gracious King and Queen of England. I greatly desired to add to the collection some lines in the Prince's handwriting, and I therefore wrote to Sir Francis, the Baron Knollys, who had been his private secretary since 1870, explaining that I had a most beautiful page written by Her Majesty the Queen, and suggesting that possibly the Prince might be willing to favor us equally with his mother. I stated that this page would be exhibited in the English department of the collection, and that it would always be open to the free inspection of visitors, and securely preserved under glass. I felt that this could not reasonably be regarded as an intrusion, if a man ever paid any attention to autograph collectors. Sir Francis, however, took the matter in high dudgeon, and went so far in exhibiting his resentment as to write an indignant letter to the Honorable Edward J. Phelps, our Minister at the Court of St. James. Of course he bore down upon me very bitterly, as though I had committed an unpardonable sin, but after the kindly manner in which I

had been treated by Lord Tennyson, our own Longfellow, the distinguished heirs of Macaulay, Darwin, Abraham Lincoln, Gen. Grant, and scores of others of the first people of the nineteenth century, it required very little philosophy to put up with this rebuff.

Speaking of Macaulay's heirs, it may interest the reader to see a brief statement of the manner in which they treated me as an autograph collector. I one day saw some pages of the original manuscript of his great "History of England" in the British Museum, and decided at once to try and obtain one or more for my collection. I had a general letter of introduction from Governor Buren R. Sherman, over the great seal of the State of Iowa, which I sent to Sir George O. Trevelyan—a nephew of Lord Macaulay and the author of his "Life and Letters"—requesting permission to call upon him. He gave me a prompt and pleasant reply, indicating a day and hour when I should call at his residence. When the time arrived I was at his door. A servant showed me into the library where I found Sir George seated before a blazing fire. I gave him my letters of introduction. After he had read them he waited to hear me. I explained that I had a large autograph collection (then) in the Iowa State Library, to which I would be glad to add something in the handwriting of Lord Macaulay. He replied that the manuscripts of his Lordship were owned and controlled by his sister, Lady Holland—now the Baroness Knutsford. He advised me to write her Ladyship, stating my wishes and enclosing my letters of introduction. He addressed an envelope to her, in which he suggested that I send her my letters. He further encouraged me by saying he would also write to her in my behalf, and that my request would no doubt be granted. Before I left these pleasant rooms Sir George showed me a copy of Horace in the original Latin, a gift to him by Lord Macaulay. His Lordship had read the volumes several times, and when one was finished he made a memorandum to that effect on the last page. These memoranda were all the writing of Macaulay then in his possession.

Returning to my room, I wrote Lady Holland, as her brother had suggested, and in a day or two received her assurance that

The Arrow and the Song

I shot an arrow into the air;
It fell to earth, I knew not where;
For so swiftly it flew, the eagle
Could not follow it in its flight.

I breathed a song into the air,
It fell to earth, I knew not where;
For who has sight so keen and strong
That it can follow the flight of song?

Long long afterward, in an oak,
I found the arrow still unbroke;
And the song, from beginning to end,
I found again in the heart of a friend.

Henry W. Longfellow.

July 24, 1879



some pages of her great uncle's manuscript should be sent to my home in Iowa.

Upon arriving there some weeks later, I found a letter from Lady Holland. She enclosed two pages of the original manuscript of Macaulay's "History of England," and one of his letters to her mother which I copy herewith. It reads as follows:

ALBANY, Oct. 24, 1848.

DEAREST HANNAH: I enclose a letter which I have just received from Charles, and a copy of one of his first performances as a journalist. I think his sentiments highly creditable to him. Bring the paper back with you that Trevelyan may see it.

Our Uncle John has just been here. Poor man, he looks a mere ruin. He came up to consult Brodie. I fear that he has very little life in him, and that his remaining days will be days of suffering. I was quite shocked to see him.

I do not know whether you have heard how pleasant a day Baba passed with me. We had a long, long walk, a great deal of pleasant chat, a very nice dinner, and a quiet happy evening. She is really the very best girl in the world.

That was my only holiday last week, and indeed the only fine day that we had last week. I work with scarcely an intermission, from 7 in the morning to 7 in the afternoon, and shall probably continue to do so during the next ten days. Then my labours will become lighter, and, in about three weeks will completely cease. There will still be a fortnight before the publication. I have armed myself with all my philosophy for the event of a failure, though Jeffrey, Ellis, Marion, Longman, and Mrs. Longman seem to think there is no chance of such a catastrophe. I might add Macleod, who has read the third chapter, and, though he makes some objection, professes to be, on the whole, better pleased than with any other history that he has read. The state of my own mind is this: When I compare my book with what I imagine that history ought to be, I feel dejected and ashamed; but when I compare it with some histories which have a high reputation, I feel reassured. But Alice will say that this is boasting. Love to her and to Mrs. Charles, and to Charles' bairns.

Ever yours,

T. B. MACAULAY.

Of course, I was delighted with this addition to my collection. I wondered at first that her Ladyship was willing to part with the above most interesting and valuable letter, but when I came to see that Macaulay had written scores of such

missives to his sister, Lady Hannah Trevelyan, I did not so much wonder at it. I consider it and the historic page as among the gems of my collection. They are always on exhibition in our Historical Museum. I should add that Lady Holland took occasion to enclose a certificate describing and authenticating the page of her uncle's manuscript, which accompanies it in the autograph case.

Some years later Prof. Frank I. Herriott, of Drake University, came to my rooms accompanied by Charles Philips Trevelyan, a young Englishman, grand-nephew of Lord Macaulay, who was then making a tour of the world. He was much interested in my autograph collection, saying that he never saw one even in England which surpassed it in interest and variety. I found him a very pleasant gentleman, cultured, brainy, and without a particle of the arrogance sometimes imputed to Englishmen. His card, with the date of his visit, is among these memorials of Macaulay and the Trevelyans. Later still, Sir George O. Trevelyan published a history of the American revolution. As soon as I saw it announced, I wrote him, asking for some pages of his original manuscript. He kindly sent them, and wrote me an exceedingly pleasant letter. I had mentioned the visit of his son to my collection, telling him that Charles P. could give him some information concerning it. In this letter he stated that the son had lately married very happily and that he was now a member of Parliament. He stated all this quite modestly but I could read between the lines that the father was very proud of his rising son. Later, I also received the son's portrait, and a very kind letter in which he mentioned my work as an autograph collector.

While in London, I called at the American Legation, where I was made very welcome by the Honorable James Russell Lowell. He asked me a great many questions about American politics. He is well known to have been a progressive and most independent republican. While he was talking with me he made some sharp comments upon Mr. Blaine and General Logan, both of whom were under discussion as possible candidates for the presidency. He emphatically stated that he

would vote for neither of them under any circumstances, and those who knew him were certain that he would do precisely as he stated. Personally, I was made very welcome at the legation, and Mr. Lowell assisted me in obtaining an autograph copy of a verse from Tennyson's "Locksley Hall." He cautioned me that it would not be best to write to Lord Tennyson for he was not in the habit of making replies to collectors. Later, however, I did write to his Lordship, receiving in response to my letter an autograph copy of the lines commencing, "Break, break, break." Later still, I asked him for a page of his writing after he had passed his 80th birthday. He sent me a holograph copy of his poem entitled "The Throstle."

On one of my visits to London I wrote Sir Richard Owen, asking for a signed and dated page of his writing, with his photograph. I received in answer to this request, a very pleasant invitation to come and spend a half day with him at his residence in Richmond Park. I journeyed thither very soon afterwards and was most kindly received by the great naturalist, who had founded the South Kensington Museum. He gave me a history of this effort, how grandly he had been seconded in his efforts by Mr. Gladstone, as well as how he had been snubbed by Lord Beaconsfield. He wasted no affection upon the last named gentleman. While there, he asked me if I would like to take a walk in his garden, to which I gladly assented. The garden consisted of a lot of perhaps two or three acres, which was a thick copse of native and exotic trees. A graveled walk seven or eight feet wide went around this enclosure, and there were numerous cross-walks. We reached a rustic seat, over which hung a drooping canopy of branches, which formed a thick shade, and sat down to rest. He stated that he had sat there many a pleasant hour with John Gould, the great English ornithologist, who must have been a counterpart of our Audubon. He also mentioned Tegetmeyer, who was quite distinguished in the same direction. He stated that John Gould could imitate the notes of many a wild bird and bring it down upon the graveled walk before us. Mr. Gould had once asked him how many wild birds he supposed nested in the copse, to which Sir Rich-

ard replied, "Perhaps twelve or fifteen." Mr. Gould answered that there were fifty or sixty at least. On the way back to the house we passed a bust of Shakespeare, to which he called my attention. He said that it had been in some noted theater and had been placed there because it had been practically discarded by the owners. Later that bust was restored and placed in one of the great theaters of London, and spoken of as a find of very great value. Sir Richard lived in a house owned by Queen Victoria. Her Majesty had kindly given him the rental of it during his lifetime. It was a commodious brick structure, but singularly enough the roof was thatched. However, it is not uncommon to see thatched roofs upon otherwise very elegant houses in that country. Following me to one of the windows facing south, he pointed to a small pond which was then filled with water. That, he stated, was once the site of a hunting lodge of one of the Henrys—Henry II, I believe. He said many pleasant things to me concerning the royal family of England, with whom he was a great favorite.

Having a letter of introduction to Francis Darwin, son of the great author of the "Origin of Species," who resided at Cambridge, I went there one day for the purpose of securing a page of the manuscript of his father's book. I found him at home and had a very pleasant visit with him. He had but three or four pages of the manuscript of that immortal book, as he stated it was not his father's habit to save his manuscripts. He gave me one of these pages, and the State of Iowa now owns it.

I naturally wished to obtain some of the manuscript of Chinese Gordon, who met with a cruel death at the hands of the Mahdi in Africa. I one day called upon the publisher of his life, Mr. C. Kegan Paul, with my letter of introduction from the Governor of Iowa. I found him an exceedingly pleasant gentleman. He had been educated for the Church of England, but had changed his mind and become a publisher and bookseller. He had none of General Gordon's manuscript and said that it might be easily obtained, or it might be very difficult to get. It was worth trying, however. He gave me the address of General Gordon's brother, who was

himself a retired General of the British army, suggesting that I write him and state the case. He also said that he would write a letter endorsing my application. The letter had but a short distance to go and within three days thereafter, I received manuscripts and letters of Chinese Gordon which would readily sell for more than a hundred dollars today.

I was very fortunate in making the acquaintance of William Michael Rossetti, brother of Dante Gabriel and Christina Rossetti. He gave me fifty or sixty letters of the distinguished friends of his family, including some by his brother and his sister. I have the original manuscript of two or three of Christina's memorable poems, together with a photograph which she signed and sent me. Later on Mr. Rossetti added many valuable letters and other manuscripts to the collection. These may now be seen in a section of one of the autograph cases.

I was also placed under special obligations by Miss Agnes Crane, a distinguished naturalist, who resides at Brighton, and who was one of the founders of the great Marine Aquarium at that place, an object of much interest which I advise every reader to visit when he goes to London. Her collection is mainly in the direction of naturalists, geologists and scientific explorers. One of the writers was Nansen, the great Swedish navigator of the Arctic regions.

I would not forget among others Aubrey DeVere, the Irish poet who died three or four years ago. He was a distinguished gentleman who resided at Curraugh Chase, a manor not far from Adare, the seat of Lord Dunraven. I was indebted to him for some very valuable letters, among which were those of Carlyle, Cardinal Newman, his own father, Sir Aubrey DeVere, Cardinal Manning and Lord Tennyson. Mr. DeVere was very much such a man in manners and speech as Hon. John A. Kasson, the illustrious Iowa diplomat and statesman. But Mr. DeVere was perhaps an inch taller and larger in proportion. Since my visit to his place he has died and his life has been written by a distinguished literary gentleman. My recollections of him are vivid and my obligations to him I feel are very great.

I should mention that when I visited Mr. Lowell I secured two copies of his beautiful poem, "The First Snowfall," in his handwriting. The way I came to get two copies was as follows. The first one he sent me was written on both sides of the paper. I suggested to him that I would greatly prefer the writing on but one side of the paper, so that it could be conveniently exhibited under glass. He thereupon at once sent me another.

Really, there is such a mass of materials in my autograph collection, every item of which is loaded down with a memory more or less precious, that I am greatly embarrassed in essaying to write this article. I would like to tell the reader of other pleasant interviews with distinguished people of England and the United States, but space fails me. However, there are a few things that I shall attempt to set forth.

The Hon. Edward J. Phelps, our Ambassador to England, who succeeded Lowell, was one of the pleasantest and most agreeable gentlemen it has ever been my good fortune to meet. He told me that he thoroughly sympathized with me in my efforts to increase my collection, and that he would help me in every possible direction, as he did upon many occasions. He said to me one day, "I have a brother in Burlington, Iowa, who has been a local judge. When you go to Burlington, please call upon him and tell him of the pleasant interviews we have had." Not long after my arrival at home, I did visit Burlington, and had it in mind that while there I would certainly call to see Judge Phelps. I had spent an evening at the residence of Col. W. W. Dodge, the son of Hon. Augustus Caesar Dodge, and at that time a State senator. The evening was one during the full moon, and it was almost as light as day. Passing through the little park as I descended the hill I saw a stranger coming in at the opposite corner. It occurred to me at once that this was Judge Phelps, and when I met him I accosted him and found that my supposition was correct. I told him that I had intended to call upon him, but that this meeting must suffice as my time was limited. I found him an exceedingly attractive gentleman, who seemed highly pleased with what I had to say about his distinguished brother. Not

Mauchline 29th Sept^r 1788

I send you the book, my dear Sir, along with this letter by our Mauchline Carrier. — I am just arrived from Mithsdale, jaded & fatigued to death, so I shall ^{only} say, the book is to me as a right hand, & a right eye, so I know you will take proper care of it and return it soon. — Drop me a line by post on return of Carrier, if the book comes to hand. —

I am most truly, My D^r Sir

Yours
Robt. Burns

many months later I was deeply pained to learn that both were removed by death. I regretted this most sincerely, for they had given me distinct evidences of friendship and both were honored and useful men. The Ambassador was one of the finest legal scholars in the United States and a born diplomat. As a man of great affairs he did not suffer by comparison with James Russell Lowell.

While I was still in England I had the precious privilege of hearing Spurgeon preach in Exeter Hall. Later he responded to my application and sent me a kind letter, his photograph, and several engraved portraits, with some pages of his manuscript. One of these was the memorandum of a sermon he had preached, written on both sides of a page not larger than one's hand. I was also indebted to George Augustus Sala, the distinguished novelist for similar gifts. I acquired a military order signed by Sir John Moore whom

We buried darkly at dead of night
The sods with our bayonets turning.

Letters and portraits of the Duke of Wellington; fine letters of Cowper, Burns, Hogg the "Ettrick Shepherd"; a little fragment of the writing of Charlotte Bronte, accompanied by a letter from her father; some pages in the beautiful manuscript of "George Eliot"; letters by Mrs. Hemans, George Meredith, Blackmore, who wrote the great story of "Lorna Doone"; Huxley, the world-renowned scientist, Sir Joseph Hooker, who did so much for the world's botany, Boyd Dawkins, who investigated the mounds and bone caves of England and France, were acquired and scores of others.

In American literature, I have a large collection including such names as Longfellow, Bryant, Whitman, Lowell, Bayard Taylor, Stedman, Whittier, Edgar A. Poe, Thomas Bailey Aldrich, George William Curtis, James Whitecomb Riley, "Mark Twain," "Bill Nye," "Bob Burdette," "Josh Billings," William Lloyd Garrison, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Helen Hunt Jackson.

I also secured a set of the letters of the Presidents of the United States. with the exception of Andrew Johnson and General Taylor. Of these two names, however, I have several

signatures. Neither of them wrote much and their letters are practically impossible to obtain. There are also letters by such men as Salmon P. Chase, James G. Blaine, William H. Seward, Joshua R. Giddings, "Old Ben Butler," Fred Douglass, Booker T. Washington and many others.

While making this collection I have secured some valuable manuscripts which have been placed in fine bindings. Among these are the following: The manuscript copy of the address delivered by Gov. Kirkwood at the dedication of the monument to Gen. N. B. Baker; the manuscript of an address by the Rev. Dr. William Salter, of Iowa, in presenting the oil portrait of Judge Francis Springer, who presided at our last constitutional convention; manuscripts of Henry Ward Beecher and Phillips Brooks; the first inaugural address of Governor William Larrabee; the farewell address to his old regiment of Gen. James A. Williamson, who had just been promoted to brigadier-general; letters from the correspondence of Gen. James M. Tuttle, at Des Moines—including the names of Grant, Sherman, McPherson, Logan, Kirkwood; two beautiful volumes of nearly one hundred letters by the territorial governors of Iowa, Robert Lucas, John Chambers and James Clark; four volumes of letters from the correspondence of Hon. John A. Kasson—including four letters by Abraham Lincoln, with others from Senator Allison, Kirkwood, Grant, etc.; one splendid volume from the correspondence of Gen. Joseph M. Street, the great Indian Agent who spent the better part of his life at Prairie du Chien, and at Agency City in Iowa, at which last place he died and was buried. This last collection includes letters by Presidents Madison and Monroe, Henry Clay, and many illustrious men of that period. Among the volumes of letters from the other side of the water may be mentioned those of Rossetti, Edward H. Freeman, the historian of the Norman Conquest, Gilbert White, author of "The Natural History of Selbourne," Rev. George Crabbe, "the poet of the poor," Austin Dobson, the Rev. Bishop Stubbs, Haeckel, the great German scientist, and others which have not yet been put into binding. Upon the exhibition of these bound manuscripts at the St. Louis Exposition, I was, in 1904, awarded a gold medal.

In the section devoted to the Union Army we have letters by Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Logan, Dodge, Williamson, McPherson, Hazen, Hammond, Scott, Curtis, Rice, Crocker, Brackett, Hunt, Sickles.

In the section devoted to the Southern Confederacy, there are interesting letters by Jefferson Davis, Mrs. Davis and their daughter, Miss Winnie Davis. Letters or other specimens of the handwriting of Generals Joe Johnston, Beauregard, Hood, Pickett, Longstreet, Mosby, Admiral Semmes, Kirby Smith, Tombs, Wigfall, Mason, and Slidell. An important and valuable letter by Gen. Robert E. Lee was presented to me by Gen. G. M. Dodge.

In the Iowa section there are letters by our U. S. Senators, Governors and Judges of the Supreme Court. Especially fine are the mementos of Jones, Dodge, Grimes, Harlan, Allison, Kirkwood and Wright.

We have the commissions of Gen. Henry Dodge, the first territorial governor of Wisconsin, when that territory included what is now the State of Iowa. These commissions bear the signatures of the Presidents from Madison to Polk. We also have the order book of Gen. Henry Dodge, which he carried through the Black Hawk war. Some of his commissions were issued to him by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark when they were governors of territories. We have many commissions which have the signatures of Lincoln, Grant, Johnson, Harrison, Hayes, McKinley and Roosevelt.

The work of autograph collecting is by many good and great people deemed of very little consequence but it has proven a great satisfaction to me ever since I started it in the office of the little country newspaper at Warren, Pa. The fact that several multi-millionaires are now engaged in the pleasant pastime may have a tendency to endue it with high respectability. But Carlyle, and our great Emerson, denounced the entire fraternity in the worst language they were wont to command. In the case of my collection, I may, however, say that it was the foundation of the Historical Department of Iowa, and that it is visited with every mark of interest and approval by hundreds of people of our State

every year. It has had the substantial aid of some of the greatest men and women at home and abroad. Really, in spite of any adverse criticism, it "has done the State some service and they know it."

Mention should be made here of the cases in which this collection is carefully preserved under glass and in such convenient shape that visitors may see it at their pleasure. A little drawer or horizontal picture frame is pulled out and you have before you letters and small portraits of some distinguished person. Manuscripts are well known to fade when exposed to the light. These are secluded from the light except for the brief periods when they are under observation. The general form of these cases was designed by me. I had the aid of Hon. Robert Finkbine in reducing my rough drawings to shape. The cases answer their purpose admirably. They have been copied in the Masonic Library at Cedar Rapids and in the libraries of Boone, Council Bluffs, Oskaloosa, and partially in Burlington. Inquiries in regard to their style and the expense of manufacturing them have come from the libraries of Omaha, Denver, St. Paul and other places, but I am not informed as to whether any have been manufactured.

THE UPPER DES MOINES VALLEY—1848.

The manuscript of the article printed herewith is a fragment of a journal found among the papers of Edwin Goddard of Keosauqua, Iowa. While the author's name is unknown, the journal is valuable for the minute and very interesting description it gives of the country explored. With the fragments there were found two pencil sketched maps respectively of the St. Anthony Falls and the Fort Snelling localities on the Mississippi, drawn to a scale of two miles to the inch.

Mr. Goddard was a careful collector of materials bearing on the settlement and civilization of Iowa and the west. He served as a private in Co. F, of the Second Iowa Infantry, being severely wounded at the capture of Fort Donelson. He

I am satisfied that we are north of the
north boundary of Iowa and on
the edge of the high country, the
Coteau Des prairies, of Nocollet.
We will go up the river to Mollon
yet & the river east for the Missi-
sippie

Friday, July 7th 1848 The valley of the
desm oises, during the day has gen-
erally north, but the stream,
has preserved a serpentine course
as it generally - old course was
over the high prairie generally
north, very broken with many
high ridges & nobz, high and
on our west timber perceptible
which must be at lakes on the
top of the Coteau Des prairies
which is the divide between the
waters of the Mississippi & the Miss-
sippi river, at 3 miles cross a little
branch falling in from the west
3 feet wide deep and brick running
where we crossed but at some places
wider and sluggish some scatter-
ing timber down to valley, mostly
Birch oak, nine miles reach a point
of timber on a deep ravine and
one half mile farther a brook
similar to the one last de-
scribed. The valleys of these little
streams here is very deep owing
to the elevation of the water west



was recorder of Van Buren county. His residence was continuous in Van Buren county from territorial days until his death in 1881. A mass of his collected papers was found by the writer in 1906 while renovating the old court-house at Keosauqua, and they have been added to the collections of the Historical Department.

E. R. H.

June ²⁸/₄₈. Leave Fort Des Moines at 9 o'clock morning. In company with A. Randall & — Lott.

Up Des Moines $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles on old trail under bluffs Strike prairie & main road up E side of River. Pass grove 8 miles from Fort and travel parallel with river at a distance of from 3 to 5 miles from it. 15 miles at 1 o'clock Stop one hour at Bebes for dinner. The timber appear to be of good quality and to extend out to a distance of several miles on the small creek. Big creek is 30 feet wide with a depth of 20 inches and is some 25 miles long course south nearly. Bebee has a fine location on this creek formed by an elevated situation of prairie between the timber & creek 3 miles from river. The Ridge between this creek & the River is of gentle ascent good 2nd rate soil and covered with a growth of white Bur & Red oak and hickory suitable for farming purposes. 2 or 3 miles the prairie opens to the west bearing southwest where we leave the timber. the prairies after leaving the timber a short distance is much obstructed with small ponds or basins and has no regular ridges & divides & valleys as we have farther south In fact all the prairie that I have seen north of Fort Des Moines appears to have a different character from that south having but few small streams, all the water being drawn off by these basins or depressions, they vary from $\frac{1}{2}$ to 10 acres and are generally miry & producing falgg Bull Rush or a large kind of cane grass there is however many desirable localities on the margins of the prairies where the highland break off such places affording good water in never failing spring & the ridges & slopes towards the river are well timbered Points project far out into the prairie a few miles apart where an abundance of good water is mostly found The prairies are generally flat with the exception before stated and from the appearances in the ravines are underlaid with a stiff clay sub-soil that prevents the speedy sinking of the water from the basins before spoken of, so that the water scarcely ever dries up in some of them that have scarcely any depth The elevations in the prairie appear to be gravelly and freely take up the water that falls on the and probably may be the cause of the ponds continuing full so long. Reach Peas point after passing a number of handsome locations for farms at most of which a commencement has already been made, though many have only marked out the place for a future farm.

29. Peas has a handsome location for a farm excellent dry prairie & good timber joining it, is three miles from Des Moines. Proceeding north the prairie opens to the west and extend far towards the river & farms appear to be making along its margins. The prairies along the trail still possess the same character as described yesterday [ponds] and rather approach the timber more nealy. at a distance of 10 or 12 miles from Peas we reach what is called by some the Mineral Ridge though we saw nothing to justify even calling it so, except that the [mounds] partake in some degree of the form of this in mineral regions.

This Ridge appear to extend from the Des Moines to Skunk river and probably farther the mounds are fom 75 to 120 feet above the level of the surrounding prairie being about on half or $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mil wide at the base stretching easte and appearing to widen as they approach Skink no stone to be seen on the mounds except granite boulders and ricks of a primitive character detached. From this range we have a fair vew of a small grove of timber E. N.E. 9 or 10 miles said to be at a lake near the head of skink or Checauqua river. no other tim- perceptible of East. One mile north of the Ridge past the township corner of T. 85 & 6 Rang 26 & 7 Heare again the prairie stretches several miles west toward the Des Moines river. it is flat and has a great number of ponds, and the rout is many times circuatous. at about 4 miles from the Ridge past an elevated mound $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 miles east in the flat prairie at 5 miles prairie runs up to bluff 150 feet high generally not so abrupt as to prevent the growth of timer on it. The prairie bear a N.E. course from this bluff, the river here running S.S.W. fine looking prairie both bottom and upland on the opposite side interspersed with groves of good timber fine spring along the Bluffs one mile north of this place is the mouth of the East fork, or Boons, or as called on some maps Cottonwood, River, not so large as Racoon river probably makes $\frac{1}{4}$ of the Des Moines below it. On the Bottom above the mouth of this stream are two considerable mounds supposed to be artificial one of an obling shape the Bottoms are from one half to one mile in wedth then the bluff rising to the level of the prairie so steep that it is not convenient to ride up them. About on half mile above the East fork on the E. side of the desMoines is the furthes up that any settlement has been made. Henry Lott settled here in the spring of 46 and was robbed by the Sioux Indians in the latter part of that year and has abandoned it for the present. On the top of the ridge east of the house where Lott lived is a level prairie. I think it is one of the prettyest I have seen on the river, it is dry so what [lower] in the middle and has the best quality of timber around it. North after crossing a narrow belt of timber the prairie streches of N.E. between a small creek and the East fork. The prairie appear to be good with fewer ponds. Above Lotts 2

miles is the mouth of a creek 20 feet wide falling into the Des Moines. on this creek near the mouth the Sioux Indians robbed Henry Nothington and Boman last fall. On mile farther up the river at the foot of a steep hill 175 feet high is the line of the Neutral Land the present location of the Winebago tribe of Indians. The course of River south bottom—on west side from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ wide but little timber on the bottom—back from river said to be of first quality extending 3 or 4 miles west. one and a half miles further north the River makes a great bend to the west. Prairie bears N.E. up brushy creek. This prairie is of better quality than any I have seen above the fork of Coon and Des Moines considering its extent, though it would generally be thought to wet in many places for cultivation.

There are many desirable locations around this prairie for making farms the best quality of oak timber around the head of the ravines, all of which are abundantly supplied with springs. At a point 9 or 10 miles above the Neutral line the prairie bears off N.W. where we presume the mouth of Lizard to be we will see however when we reach it. All the points round this prairie with but few exceptions present fair prospects for settlements. The only thing objectionable is the number of little ponds met with the moment you leave the timber in many parts of the country. The River timber here is from 2 to 5 miles wide in most places and of good quality. After leaving the point last spoken of we come some 5 or 6 miles N.W. to this point and camped at the head of ravine at the timber, quite a handsome location for a farm provided a man wished to make one here.

July 1st, 1848. This morning we visited the river from which we are now about one mile. The bottom on this side is not more than $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile wide bluff on the west side washed by the river. Here on a small Brook at an elevation of 80 feet above the river is deposits of Plaster Paris to the depth of 18 or 20 feet which appear to be of good quality it is found in abundance on both sides of the river and appears to be inexhaustable. The place may be known by a bluff on the west side that has been nearly cut away by a brook the lower end is elevated from the river about 30 feet, and up the river it rises abruptly present an appearance of coal and Iron [bank] on that point is the [nearest plaster] that is found to the river. The river at this point runs S.S.E. is about 250 or 300 feet wide from on to 2 feet deep brisk current, handsom banks and bottom. by a more minute examination the Gypsum is found to extend farther up the brook on the East said [side] and compose quite bluffs on each side of the same some places to the height of 20 feet. A strata of soft sand stone lies a few feet below. The ridge between the Brook & the river is flat and rich covered with a growth of hickory Lind

Black Walnut red oak & about the bluffs Lind white walnut sugar tree Ironwood. On top of flat white oak and near prairie Bur oak & hickory. The Soil is better here than general in timber and is mostly covered with pea vine and other vegetation denoting good soil.

July 2nd. After making more thorough examination of the Plaster Paris this morning which we find more abundant than had been anticipated, we travel N.W. 3 miles and passing two points of timber on our left a high grove on the right, we strike the Des Moines bearing S.30°.E. this we suppose to be the point at which the centre line of the Neutral Ground crosses the river, on its continuation towards Lake Boyer. Round the points and the curves in the timber are some of the most desirable locations for farms that I have met with on the Des Moines. The prairie rises butifully from the timber Surface undulating but very few of those basins or ponds so commonly met with farther South. The soil is dry and rich and the timber adjoining of the quality of white Bur and Red oak, some hickory, good water is found in all the points of timber.

The prairie here runs up on both sides to the margin of the river, where it slopes down to the waters edge making a bank of from 18 to 25 feet high to the level of the bottom. the bottom are from 3 to 600 yards wide generally rising back towards the hills dry & suitable for cultivation. the hills back of this rise from 75 to 90 or 100 feet but not so abruptly as to prevent travelling any direction over them.

The scenery at this place is the finest I have seen on the river. from the hills the Des Moines is to be seen for 3 miles winding its course through the green prairie, with a stripe of a deeper hue immediate the edge of the water. the current is brisk but not rapid width 250 to 300 feet. opposite where we touched the river is a bluff of dark coloured slat or shale with a small grove of timber extendding a short distance back. The prairie here bears N.W. we north to point one mile The prairie here bears west to river which make a considerable bend west. N. some West over rolling dry prairie strike the river from north one mile along prairie bottom on both sides reach a rocky Branch 12 or 15 feet wide not much water above this a low bluff sets in on the side for $\frac{1}{2}$ mile limestone from 20 to 30 feet high. west side prairie, timber between the bluff and creek back some distance. here prairie comes again to the river for $\frac{1}{2}$ mile cours N- to a point of timber into prairie Timber on west side of river running out some distance. from description must be the place where The Sioux Indians murdered the Delawares in 1841. one mile strike river at the head of prairie bottom at a rapid, where the river fall probably 2 feet in 100 yards over a bed of limestone, open prairie on the west and a sandstone bluff timber as far

as we can see up on this side. Think the East fork must be within a few miles.

From here we followed a north west course struck timber at the distance of $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile and a Brook 8 or 10 feet wide from N.E. and one half mile travel north brought us to the mouth of Lizard creek a small stream from the west from 30 to 50 feet wide near the or at the mouth surrounded with high hills and limestone bed and banks to the height of several feet. This is a good mill stream and in the afternoon as we travelled over the hills considerable bodies of timber were perceptible on and about in valley.

Course from here N.E. at $\frac{1}{4}$ mile bluff approaches river at 130 feet high sand stone shale, and here the plaster paris again makes its appearance though not in such quantities as below. After ascending the bluff and passing $\frac{1}{4}$ mile over a flat rich soil well timbered with Bur and red oak, Elm, Lind hackberry & some sugar tree a beautiful prairie of small extent stretches of East rich dry and level surrounded except the S.E. end with the kind of timber spoken of of all the desirable places I have seen this I think excels. We passed the west end and continuing our course through the woods one mile struck the open prairie, considerable timber off east on the head of brook passes below the mouth of Lizard.

July 3d 1848. Start at 10 o'clock pursue a N.E. course over the bluff through timber the bluff is some 40 feet high the land [land] running back level as far as we could see for the thick growth of timber, good soil, covered with a tolerable growth of Red & Bur oak Elm hickory some lind & Ironwood small brook from the East rocky bottom but little water. 2 miles cross river and leave bottom course north over dry rolling prairie Timber at points on E side of river and at 3 miles appear to be a small creek falling in from east, could not tell the size. At about 5 miles reach The Moingonan or Brother fork it is difficult to tell at the junction which is the larger of the two rivers. The East Branch seems to be as large as the main fork but looks rather more deep and sluggish near the mouth at the junction the width of each stream is from 125 to 150 feet wide and an average of 2 feet deep, brisk current rock bottom and banks up 3 or 4 feet. There is but little timber about the fork but both streams seem to have timber farther up.

There is no timber in the forks, but $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile up the Moingonan north a grove sets in running north along the point of the ridge between the Rivers and there seems to be considerable timbered land north on the same river.

North 20 west 3 miles past the point of grove on the main or west branch of the Des Moines grove bears N.W. & S.E. and looks like it extends down to the river bur and red oak. The prairie here is generally dry and rolling with occasionally a slue or pond, the bluff and hills here appear to be much lower than a few miles

below N.W. one mile past the [Iron] bank where Capt. Allen [crossed] on his first campaign in [1844] There are many elevations over the bottom prairie, here covered with small particles of limestone of from $\frac{1}{8}$ to $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick and from $\frac{1}{4}$ to 3 inches square. the stone appears to be near the surface in many part of the low ground and the bed of the stream is principally limestone, current brisk stream not to exceed one hundred feet wide.

Continue N.W. 3 mile no timber on north side scattering groves on south come to river again at bend, small willow Island, no timber except scattering trees along the margin for some distance up and down.

River bears west several miles course N.W. to south point of a high grove running N. & S. along the top of the bluff between the high and low prairies after passing the south point of grove $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile strike the river bearing south, course to fort N. 5 miles, above forks 18 to 20 miles N.W. The river below this runs south 3 or 4 miles, thence E. to where we left it. good groves of timber about the bend from appearances, but narrow down for some distance below this point.

July. After striking east across the grove on to the high prairie and following the grove $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles N. with two or three bluffs washed by the bends of the river, we take a course for a point of timber up the river N.30°W. at $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles pass the mouth of a small stream 8 or 10 feet wide keeping the course of the highland. at 1 mile farther cross the stream above spoken of, which we called Allen's run from the difficulty Capt. Allen experienced passing it on his expedition. he says it head in a small lake or large pond some miles north. The prairie here is much cut up with slues and irregular elevates, and would be difficult to pass in wet season. The grove we passed this morning was principally bur oak some red oak & hickory, the prairie adjacent of good quality for cultivation. abt the mouth of Allens creek the timber appear to be narrow and mostly confined to the bottom along the margin of the river. Elm & maple, some bur oak. At 10 miles strike a point of timber in the river bottim at a slue or old channel of the river geese & duck abundant sign of otter on the bank and some signs of elk in the bottom prairie. the low ground here are rather inclined to be wet with a high heavy coat of grass difficult to get through.

Strike N.W. to small clmp of trees that seem to be in prairie, at $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles come in sight of elk on an elevation. they had the wind of us and could not be approached. I attempted to go round through the bottom and get a shot at one whilst Mr. Randall would go north but did not succeed. they had the wind of us and commenced gathering on the rise snuffing and looking at us, all marching up into line to take a look at us and then they bounded of over the prairie North. there were 52 of all sizes from the young fawn to the old

buck with his majestic horns. at 14 miles reach small grove before spoken of which proved to be some tall willow trees on the edge of a slue or lake about 50 feet wide bearing along the foot of hills, E. S.E. at this point there is some current and the water is passably good gees young & old in abundance much sign of elk along the bank the bottom between this lake and the river appear to be dry and level and about one mile wide.

July 5th. course N.W. for first 2 miles come to a small creek 8 or 10 feet wide probably the outlet of some lake up north in the prairie and supplies the lake where we camped last night, and appear to be the only branch flowing into it. 2 miles further N.30°W. come to a lake one mile long and from 2 to 300 yards wide. The prairie here abounds with small lakes where you leave the river any distance. They are generally connected by irregular slues, or outlets, with elevation of the same irregular character sometimes rising into mounds and at others running off to a distance.

After travelling a distance of 14 miles 12 of it on the course last spoken of over a country such as described we reach a butiful lake of some 4 miles in length and from $\frac{1}{8}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ mile in bredth. General course N.20°E: The land around this lake is fine as could be desired for farming purposes, sloping toward the margin of the water just sufficient to make the soil dry and pleasant. Some of the points along the lake are pretty well timbered but not sufficet to supply the purposes of farming extensively on the rich land adjacent to the lake at least not sufficient to induce speedy settlements. The timber as far as I could see appeared to be bur oak with some ash & occasionally a cottonwood. there is a handsome little island about half way down the Lake, covered with a rich looking growth of timber and just east of the island is a grove of good looking timber. This Lake appears to have no name on any of our maps if indeed a location on Nicholet map or any other, and we took the liberty of giving it the name of Swan Lake from a flock of swans being the first thing that attracted our attention on reaching its shore. This would be a most desirable location for a residence, the land rises gently from the firm and pebly margin of the clear chrystal water back of a great distance, giving just such an appearance to the country as a person fond of fine scenery would be delighted with. There has been no human being about this part of the country this summer or last spring. The Indians do not frequent this part except late in the fall or during the winter, they have a more abundant field of operation for the summer in the pursuit of the buffalow more north & west. I can see no remains of buffalow on the prairies probably they are hidden by the grass. We have not seen a deer since we left our camp below the mouth of Lizard Creek a distance of over sixty miles. From the maps as near as we can judge we must now be within 10 miles or less of the boundary line of Iowa

on the North and cannot be many miles east and south of Spirit Lake.

July 6th. This morning is cold after the rain of last night with a strong N.W. wind about 11 o'clock start a N.W. course after going one mile North to pass the head of this lake. The prairie from here to the river a distance of 6 miles slopes gently towards the river which pursues a S.E. course from 2 to 3 miles to left of our rout. The soil is fine and but few places too wet for cultivation, and I was surprised to find so handsome a country in the vally of so small a stream. At $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles reach a brook 10 feet wide water 10 to 12 inches deep, current brisk muddy bed and banks, running south supposed to be the outlet of some lake in the highlands off N.E. as we can now see timber that [course] which we suppose to be on the bank of a cluster of lakes laid down on Nicolet' map about this point and which have outlets to the DesMoines. At 7 miles reach the river running south. the Des Moines here is from 25 to 35 feet wide water from 12 to 18 inches deep on the rapids or where it runs over gravel, though between those points it is wider more sluggish & deep sometimes 60 or 70 feet wide and 3 or 4 feet deep. The stream is remarkably crooked here and the banks muddy and alluvial bank from 8 to 10 feet above the level of low water, but not appear to be subject to inundation.

The timber consists mostly of a narrow fringe of elm, maple and willow near the edge of the water and occasionally a few black walnuts and some small ash on the bottom. There just sufficient of timber along the river in many places so as to enable the traveller to define the course of the stream. The DesMoines here is about the size of the North of the three rivers below rackoon and in government survey would be called from 50 to 100 links wide at various places. cross the river & pursue a course nearly North along the foot of the hills and over the points which are here high and run in all directions. the points are generally filled with grael som of limeston but most of granite of various kinds The soil is dark and rich looking inclined to be sandy generally producing a luxuriant growth of grass except on the higher parts where I infer the dry season has ca[u]sed it to be short on the more elevated and dry situations. West & N.W. of us at a distance of from 5 to 10 miles on an elevated hilly country we can trace a line of groves along some lakes which we thought likely was the east end of Spirit Lake as from where we now are we must be within from 5 to 15 miles of the east and N. end of that lake. Strike the Des Moines 7 miles from where we crossed at a bend and camp for the night, one half mile south we crossed a pretty little brook of from 2 to 4 feet wide with a fringe of willow and occasionally a cottonwood or elm tre the bed is deep and current brisk on to two feet water except at riffles. This may be the outlet of the Lakes on which we saw the

timber supposed to be Spirit Lake but looks like it could not pass water sufficient to drain the extent of country around where we could trace the timber and which we suppose to be the lake. Spirit Lake is the head the little Sioux River and flows south. This may still be an outlet on the North and East as those lakes frequently have outlets at different points flowing into different rivers. or the small stream we crossed may be from some small lake that is not connected with the timber we saw.

On our rout during the evening we could see groves of timber off East on the high land East of the river which groves on the margin of the numerous lakes scattered over that country between the Des Moines and Blue Earth rivers, most of those on which we [can mark] the timber appear to flow into the Des Moines and in our rout after crossing the river we could distinctly see vallies leding down from the east with streaks of timber which we supposed wer[e] the outlets of the lakes. There is no means of tracing up their connection without spending much time an labour

I am satisfied that we are north of the north boundary of Iowa, and on the edge of the high country, the Coteau De Praire of Nocollet. We will goo up the river tomorrow yet & then turn East for the Mississippi

Friday July 7th 1848 The valley of the Des Moines during the day has generally North but the stream has pursued a serpention corse as it generally. Our course was over the high prairie generally North, verry broken with many high ridges and nobbs, highlands on our west timber perceptable which must be at lakes on the top of the Coteau De Prairie which is the divide between the waters of the Missouri & Mississippi rivers. At 3 miles cross a [slender] branch falling in from the west 3 feet wide deepe and brisk running where we crossed but at some points wider and sluggish. Some scattering timber down its vally, scrubby bur oak. nine miles reach a point of timber on a deep ravine and one half mile farther a brook similar to the one last described. The vallies of these little streams here is very deep owing to the elevation of the prairie west

From here we strike N.E. towards the Des Moines and decend the high points towards the river which is here running a south course nearly. Timber on both sides though but little on the west for some distance above this. The stream her is at this time from 25 to 40 feet wide with one foot on the riffles, it rises 7 feet and is then 100 feet wide. Here for the first time we discover fresh sign of the Indians a on rising the bank to the prairie on the east side of the river we find an encampment which had been vacated some 10 or 12 days there had been 4 lodges and from the looks of things they had been successful in hunting the buffalo, &c. We encamped here but kept a more close lookout than common as this

is the first marks of the Indians that we have seen that have been made this season

July 8th Slepte badly not on account of Indians but musketoes. Make an early start. Strike East a little north to a point of timber perceptible to us yesterday from the high hills on the, from where we took the bearing knowing we could not see it from the vally 12 miles strike S.W. arm of a handsome lake it stretches round after running 2 miles East to where there is an outlet south 20 feet wide & 2 feet deep flowing out rapidly probably on account of a heavy N. wind. This outlet we followed down until we concluded from its south course it must flow either into the East or West branch of the des Moines. We then returned & followed the lake round further N.E. for one mile and there took our course East for a body of timber about 5 miles where we arrived at sun down and which proved to be a lake extending for several miles in a direction nearly N. & S. with points putting in from the East covered with a good growth of oak timber and generally elevated. The prairie passed over today was generally of a fine quality & is not full of knobs & slues as some we have travelled over Soil of the richest quality. I do not recollect of passing any portion of prairie of a similar character that is better adapted to cultivation as far as soil and handsome locality is concerned.

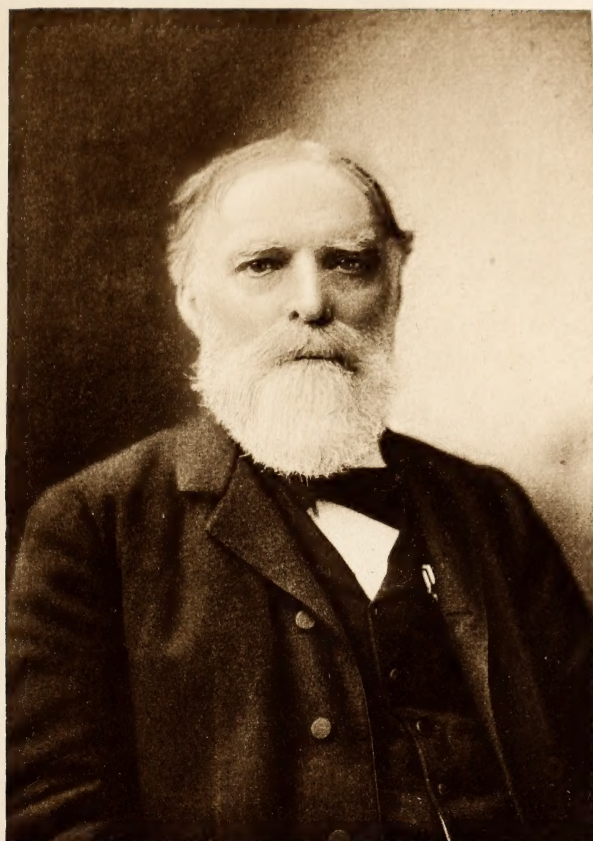
JUDGE JOHN F. DILLON.¹

BY EDWARD H. STILES.

The retirement of Judge Dillon from the bench was the occasion of profound regret; so strikingly and spontaneously profound that I cannot omit some of its public expressions, as they will serve to throw light upon his character as a man, upon his fitness as a Judge, and strongly tend to establish proper estimates of both, as well as to confirm what I have already said or may hereafter say in that behalf.

His letter to the president tendering his resignation was dated May 26th, 1879. By its terms it was not to take effect until the first day of the following September, in order that in the meantime he might dispose of the unfinished business, and his successor be enabled, if nominated and confirmed be-

¹The first instalment of Mr. Stiles' article appeared in the April ANNALS. The portrait accompanying that part of the article was made about the time of his removal from Iowa (1879). The one which appears in this number represents him at the present time.



John F. Dillon.

fore the adjournment of congress, to qualify in time for the fall terms. He was notified that his resignation had been accepted, on the eleventh of June, through a letter expressing the regret of the president and that of the attorney-general for the loss the judicial service of the government would sustain by his retirement.

The bar of every State embraced in his circuit took prompt action through meetings, resolutions, addresses, and other testimonials to show their personal affection and their ardent appreciation of his rare qualities and valuable services. They were of no ordinary character, and from some of them I make brief excerpts. The following are from an address presented by Mr. A. L. Williams, late Attorney-General of Kansas, on behalf of the Kansas bar at the opening of the June, 1879, term of the United States Circuit Court at Leavenworth, Mr. Justice Miller of the United States Supreme Court, presiding:

It is seldom, we believe, that there is mingled in so great a degree the respect and admiration due to an able and upright Judge with the tender regard which only characterizes sincere and intimate friendship as may be found in the case of the bar of your Circuit towards yourself.

We can not hope to add by this tribute anything to your great fame as a Chancellor and Judge. Neither can we extend your reputation as a philosophic student and writer upon the law, already firmly established amongst all Anglo-Saxon people.

The bar of your Circuit owe you a debt of gratitude for many things, and not the least for the uniform help and encouragement you have ever extended to young practitioners. Your unfailing patience, the stimulus of your approving smile, your genial obliviousness of the crudities of the young lawyer struggling for a place with his abler fellows, have endeared you to both young and old, and taught us all lessons of charity and forbearance.

You have taught us not only that there is no excellence without great labor, but how marvelous a degree of excellence labor united to probity of conduct may attain. We behold in you one who owes nothing to fortune, and but little to preferment: one who has risen by force of merit alone. No envy or detraction can shadow any honor you have received, or any fortune with which you may be endowed, for it must be admitted on all hands that every step in your ascending ladder has been fairly and industriously scaled. You have ever impressed upon the laity no less than the bar, by your clear and comprehensive judgments, that law is a rational and coherent science, the end of which is justice. Your decisions have

always been illustrated with clear and judicious expositions which satisfied the reason and convinced the judgment. Your practical intellect has always penetrated the husks of discussion to the kernel of controversy, and your conclusions have not only met the approval of the bar generally, but for the most part have been acquiesced in by counsel whom your judgments have defeated.

A term of this Court has not only been regarded by the oldest and most experienced of our practitioners as a school where the better parts of their profession were ably taught, but it has been a source of pride to us all that, as counselors here, we were assisting in as pure and efficient an administration of public justice as is possible anywhere.

Following the address remarks were made by several distinguished members of the bar. These extracts are from those of Mr. Geo. R. Peck, sometime President of the American Bar Association:

This is no time for praise, unless it comes from the heart. What I could wish to do is to impress upon this proceeding that it is a tribute, not to the Judge, but to the friend. As has been so well suggested by Mr. Williams, no motive for mere compliment exists. Whatever may be said here is the genuine and spontaneous feeling of the heart, or it is nothing.

Genius may inspire admiration, but it is only the kind and sympathetic heart that can win affection. Judge Dillon's crowning glory is that goodness and greatness which have endeared him to all, and especially to those who, by reason of their professional duties, know him best.

I ought to speak of his learning, known and recognized by jurists and lawyers everywhere; of his legal writings, which are cited as authority in the rude court-room of the frontier and in the classic walls of Westminster Hall; of his industry, that devotion to the laborious duties of his station which has enabled him to do what I believe no other circuit judge has done—to hold two terms of court in each district of his circuit during every year of his administration of the judicial office; and when we remember that his circuit is an empire extending from the British possessions to Louisiana, from the Mississippi to the mountains and beyond, it seems almost marvelous. I ought to speak of that high sense of duty which governed all his judgments, and by which he measured all rights in the just and even balances of the law; of that clearness of vision which guided him straight through all our fallacies and all our argumentation to the very heart and truth of the matter; of that dignity mingled with human sympathy, which made it plain to all men that here was a man who never forgot that he was a

judge, a judge who never forgot that he was a man; of that strong sense of justice and equity, that hatred of wrong and oppression, which were so marked in his judicial character, that I have thought if, like Sir Matthew Hale, he should enter unheralded the court-room of the unjust judge, robed only in a miller's coat and hat, all heads would bow and tongues exclaim, "This is a judge"! I ought to speak of our pardonable pride that when that venerable institution of learning, seated at the commercial gateway of the continent, with wealth and power at its command, sought to find the one man who could fill a most important chair, she reached her hand across the prairies and plucked this flower of our western civilization. But I have no heart to speak of these things at this parting moment. I can think only of his goodness, his kindness, and his sympathy. I know not whether a lawyer's prayer can avail anything in the chancery above, but, speaking for all my brethren of the bar, if I would take him by the hand—that hand which has led us all so long—I would say, good bye, and may God give you peace, health, strength, and happiness, always.

And these from the remarks of Mr. Robert Crozier, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Kansas, on behalf of the State judiciary:

Before the advent of Judge Dillon, as Judge of the Eighth Circuit, we were prepared, looking to his former reputation as a jurist, with which we were to a considerable extent acquainted, to welcome him with glad faces and hearts, and we did so. We have all looked to the recurrence of his terms as seasons when we might be enlightened by his luminous exposition of the laws and the acknowledged justness of the decisions he made. After an experience of ten years, I can now say, for the judiciary of the State, that our highest expectations have been more than satisfied; and now that the fates have decreed there shall be a final separation, our admiration is as glowing as at the beginning.

Mr. Justice Miller then said:

The Court is in full sympathy with the bar in the sentiments which have just been expressed in regard to the retirement of one of its members. Judge Dillon's resignation is a loss which must be felt by the bar of the Eighth Circuit, by the people among whom he has administered justice so long and so well, and by his associates on the bench of which he is about to take leave. This loss, however, is not equal to its effects upon all these classes. His brethren in the courts, who have co-operated with him in the arduous duties of a judge, who have received his aid, who have been with him in council and shared his labors, are the heaviest losers. It is,

therefore, eminently appropriate that they should join in testifying to their appreciation of the man and his services by directing that the communication from the bar be spread upon the records of the court.

If I may be permitted, as the presiding justice for the circuit for a period including the entire time of Judge Dillon's service in the court, to indulge in a suggestion of my own special misfortune in the matter, I must say that it is greater than that of others; for he whom I had hoped, as he came later, might remain longer in this court than I, and to whom would have fallen the duty of making the sad comments appropriate to the severance of our official relations, is the first to leave our common sphere of official duty.

Though in his case the cause is one which carries him to a less laborious, a more profitable, and let us hope a more agreeable and perhaps useful field of labor, and though this must, as it ought, mitigate the pains of separation, it remains true, as regards myself, that I cannot hope in any successor, however talented by nature or accomplished by learning, the same assistance in the performance of my own judicial duties, and the same relief from unnecessary responsibility as presiding justice, which have made my relations with him so pleasant.

When you add to this the interruption, more or less, of our social relations—relations which are imperfectly expressed by the strongest terms of affectionate friendship and unlimited confidence—it will be seen with what emphasis I unite with the bar and other members of the court throughout the circuit in this cordial tribute of respect and expression of regret at the retirement of Judge Dillon from the bench.

The following excerpts are from an address on behalf of the Minnesota bar, prepared by its committee consisting of former Chief Justice Charles E. Flandrau, General John B. Sanborn, George L. Otis, Judge George B. Young, Harvey Officer, and presented at the opening of the June, 1879, term of the United States Circuit Court, at St. Paul, Judges Dillon and Nelson being on the bench:

On this occasion nothing could induce us to give expression to what we did not conscientiously believe. Let the value of our views, then, be measured by their sincerity.

We recognize in you a man of extraordinary learning in all the branches of knowledge that combine to make a thoroughly good Judge. We also concede to you all those qualities of temperament which are essential to the same end. You have been patient when we have been tedious; you have been amiable when we have been irritable; you have always been clear when we have been in doubt.

It has been an edifying pleasure to us to listen to your lucid expositions of the many difficult questions which we have, in the discharge of our professional duties, so often submitted to you for solution. The varied interests that have been referred to your decision have involved the welfare of the greatest enterprises of the northwest, and these contests have arrayed in antagonism forces of corresponding magnitude; yet your wisdom and impartial justice have enabled you to satisfy all interests and make your judgments respected by all parties.

We have, by our long and intimate association with you, not only respected and venerated you as a judge, but also have learned to love you as a friend.

The loss to the bench may be supplied, and the wheels of the law revolve as before, but the severance of the closer ties which unite us is irreparable.

The following are from the remarks of Mr. District Attorney Billson:

I only give voice to the common experience of our bar, when I say that the opportunities we have enjoyed of observing your ample learning and your skillful methods in the dispatch of business have been the most stimulating and highly prized of our professional privileges.

The patience and circumspection with which you have been cheerful to listen and inquire; the rapidity with which you have grasped, and the tenacity with which you have remembered the most intricate statements of facts; your quickness to apprehend an argument of counsel, and to further illustrate its correctness, or to expose its fallacy; your happy combination of capacities for the widest generalization and for the most detailed and discriminating analysis; above all, the benevolent solicitude, the consummate skill, the sound discretion, and the splendid success with which you have ever striven to avert that sometimes inevitable, but always deplorable catastrophe, an incompatibility between fixed principles of law and the equities of a particular case—all these are salient features of your official character, as we have learned it and loved it during ten years of professional contact, and as we shall bear it in perpetual remembrance.

Your decisions upon the grave and often novel questions presented to you, have been perused by the profession throughout the country, and with a gratifying degree of confidence, are everywhere cited as authority by bench and bar alike.

In a word, you have made solid and fame-worthy contributions to the noble science of the law, upon which have labored the closest thinkers of many ages.

And this from the remarks of Mr. Gordon E. Cole:

The patience and painstaking with which you have ever sought to solve the most difficult problems of both law and fact; the wisdom with which, under your administration, the harshest and most technical rules of the common law have been attempered by equity; the ripe legal learning and felicitous language which has adorned your judicial decisions; the uniform kindness and courtesy which has characterized the intercourse of the bench with the bar, have endeared you to the bar of this district in a vastly more than common degree. Every country and state has, or has had, its golden age of the law, to which the profession loves to recur. The era of Marshall in the nation, of Kent in New York, of Shaw in Massachusetts, of Gibson in Pennsylvania, of Mansfield in England, and of your honor's administration in the eighth circuit, were all such periods, and will alike be remembered as luminous epochs of judicial history.

And this from those of Governor, afterwards United States Senator C. K. Davis:

The bar of this State received the announcement of your resignation with expressions of regret more touchingly eulogistic than words can here express with due regard to the formality of this proceeding.

It so happened that we urged your appointment as Circuit Judge, many years ago. Of the many eminent names which were under consideration for that nomination, your own was preferred by us, not for any personal reasons, because few of us then enjoyed your acquaintance. We had, however, become familiarized with your judicial character by a frequent application in our courts of your decisions as Judge of the Supreme Court of Iowa, and we were guided to our preference by them. We found in them learning always more than sufficient for the case; intellectual vigor, to which that learning was an armor, not an incumbrance; mental independence creative in its character, a judicial conscience which dealt with the case and not with its consequences. With these prepossessions you came to us, and there is not a member of this bar in whom they have not passed into convictions which are adorned and made forever beautiful by an abiding love and esteem for those personal traits which experience can only teach, and which absence can not destroy or even dim.

There are limitations to all endeavor and ambition, and surely the administration of the laws of seven commonwealths, which hold six millions of people, which present diverse institutions, codes which, though perhaps analogous, are yet so different as to perplex; where civilization and empire are so visibly over-spreading, where Terminus has not yet set up his land mark; where a legal system

must be created in a few years which will survive when the erasing finger of time has made illegible the decrees which establish it; surely these are boundaries which circumscribe the greatest capacity and resolution.

It was for you, and not for us, to say when you should pause. It is our gain and your glory that so much of the vast work has been done. It will not pass away. It will endure in precedents, guiding human concerns when all recollection of us is lost.

I will not stop to mark the like proceedings in the other States of the circuit. The foregoing will suffice to confirm my statements in the outset, respecting the universal affection in which Judge Dillon was held by his contemporaries, and the exalted opinion they entertained of his abilities. There is no mistaking the sincerity and depth of the common voice in which they speak. They clearly reveal a character of superlative traits.

And since I have so far touched upon his personal side, I feel justified in further illustrating its lovable qualities by the production of two rare letters which twenty-four years afterwards passed between Judge U. M. Rose, of Little Rock, Arkansas, and himself. Both were then over three score and ten. Who U. M. Rose was, it is unnecessary to explain, further than to say that he was the President of the American Bar Association, our representative at the Hague Peace Conference, a finished scholar, and one of the most accomplished lawyers of the American bar.

Judge Rose to Judge Dillon :

TERMINAL, CALIFORNIA, Sept. 21. 1903.

DEAR JUDGE: As one gets older he is more prone to think of absent friends; accordingly I have been thinking of you much and often of late, wondering how you were, and in what manner you were spending the summer, and finally I am impelled to trespass on your time by sending you a note, and thus putting an end to a long silence.

As I do not know how you have passed these last months, I must fall back on myself and tell you what I have been doing of late. You may remember that I have a married daughter, Mrs. Gibbon, living in Los Angeles. She has two very bright, lovely boys of nine and three years respectively, and she and the family occupy a cottage here by the sea. I and my wife left home on the 13th of July, and have been here ever since, staying in the cottage with

them, and all of us boarding at a hotel. On the whole I have never spent a summer more pleasantly; and I might well compare the days thus spent to those we passed in Paris years ago, fishing for books in the Rue Soufflot and on the Quai Voltaire. Men's capacity for happiness is certainly varied, since I have found equal pleasure in the busy city and here in the seclusion of a small watering place, listening to the incessant moaning of the disconsolate sea, with but little companionship, but plenty of good books to read. All summer the weather has been superb; and not a drop of rain or a cloudy day have I seen since leaving home. The sea bathing has proved unusually pleasant, and now we are about to start for home with feelings of joy mingled with sentiments of regret to think that we are leaving so pleasant a spot; remembering also that in the nature of things we may be going away for the last time.

I suppose you may have been in this part of the country, which is so full of interest of many kinds. I know of no part of America that seems to be so highly advanced in civilization; and to the traveler it is a striking revelation. When I was first here, 19 years ago, Los Angeles had about 20,000 inhabitants; now it has about 130,000 and the evidences of prosperity are everywhere visible. The aspect of the country, with its mountains and fruitful plains, is extremely attractive; but it is perhaps the climate that is the greatest factor in the universal progress. My health has greatly improved since I came out here, and my wife is quite as well as ever she was in her life. I do not think of coming here to live; but I should be glad of an opportunity of spending other summers here like that just closing, engaged in the genial occupation of Lotus eating, and rejoicing in the ebb and flow of the sea, shimmering in the triumphant and unvarying sunshine. And this brings me to another theme. Is it not time that you and I were leaving off the courts and the law, with all of the turmoil of this weary and unintelligible world, forever incorrigible, both to precept and example? I am beginning to think so; and to long for rest like the overworked steer. Still the future is as yet not quite clear to me; perhaps it will never be.

Wishing you, my dear sir, health and contentment and long life, with some rest from the arduous labors, so well performed, of many years, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

U. M. ROSE.

Hon Jno. F. Dillon.

Judge Dillon to Judge Rose:

NEW YORK, October 19th, 1903.

MY DEAR JUDGE ROSE: I am doubly indebted to you. It filled me with pleasure to receive your delightful letter from Terminal, California, giving me a relation of your pleasant summer in the companionship of wife, children and grandchildren, and in communion

with nature and with that unfailing resource at all times and in all situations,—plenty of good books. No possessions or treasures are more secure or of more value than your unextinguishable love of study and reading. I have read and re-read your letter, so replete with interesting suggestions and thoughts, and which reflects throughout that contentment and tranquil serenity of mind which befits, but unhappily does not always accompany age.

I am also under obligations for the valued invitation of Mrs. Rose and yourself to attend your golden wedding anniversary next week. Let me with all my heart felicitate you, your wife and family, on an event which so many hope for, but alas! so few realize. I note your interdiction, but I hope I do not disobey it in sending to Mrs. Rose not a "present", but a slight souvenir or memorial, which I hope may remind her and possibly those who survive her of my warm friendship and regard, deeply regretting that the wide distance will deprive me of the pleasure of being present in person.

Answering your inquiry, I am glad to say that my health remains very good, even better than when I saw you at Saratoga last year. I have spent the summer here at my country place with all of my children and their families. My son Hiram and family were with me and have just returned home to Topeka to celebrate their silver wedding next month.

The closing inquiry in your letter, whether it is not time for us to leave off courts, the law and the turmoil and burden of professional life, opens a question which constantly recurs, seriously demanding solution, but one which is too large to enter upon here. I hardly know what it is best to do. I sometimes gloomily think that old age is almost an unmixed misfortune, and that there is nothing for one of my years to do but to keep drifting on and on till Fate settles what the man cannot himself decide. Idleness to me would be intolerable, and as much as I love books, I fear if left with them only, I should feel as Gibbon expressed it, that I would be "alone in Paradise."

And having referred to Gibbon perhaps the conclusion of his delightful Autobiography best expresses my own feelings. I enjoy the "autumnal felicity" of life, "but reluctantly have to observe that two causes, the abbreviation of time and the failure of hope (with me the former rather than the latter) tinge with a browner shade the evening of life." But I am not unhappy and have no dread of the future, and as Landor says of Pericles, I am ready when the time comes to "extend my hand to the urn, and take without reluctance or hesitation what is the lot of all".

Wishing you and Mrs. Rose many, many years of health and happiness, I am, as ever,

Most sincerely yours,

JOHN F. DILLON.

Hon. U. M. Rose, Little Rock, Arkansas.

A copy of this correspondence was sent by his son, Hiram P. Dillon, to Judge John F. Philips of the United States District Court for the Western Division of the Western District of Missouri, one of the most learned and distinguished Judges of the Federal Court and an active practitioner in the United States Court when Judge Dillon was upon the bench. As apropos to the subject, I feel constrained to here give his reply:

KANSAS CITY, Mo., Dec. 30, 1908.

Hiram P. Dillon, Esq., Attorney at Law, Topeka, Kansas.

MY DEAR SIR: I greatly appreciate your considerate act in sending me copies of the letters between your father and Hon. U. M. Rose. The sentimental intercourse and exchange of views on the philosophy of Old Age, between two such noble spirits and exalted minds is, to me, as beautiful as it is pleasing and instructive. Both are great lawyers and thinkers, whose wide experience and reading give them a wealth of information that enriches the universe of knowledge. Though looking at the sunset glow from somewhat different view-points, in reading their letters, in connection with my own reflections, I recall the statement of Steele:

"An healthy old fellow, that is not a fool, is the happiest creature living. It is at that time of life only that men enjoy their faculties with pleasure and satisfaction. It is then we have nothing to manage, as the phrase is; we speak the downright Truth, and whether the rest of the world will give us the privilege or not, we have so little to ask of them that we can take it".

To my thinking Judge Dillon was the most gracious, self-poised and best equipped presiding Judge of any court I ever appeared before; and the judiciary sustained an irreparable loss in the failure of the President to call him to the Supreme Court of the United States. For him I entertain the sincerest respect, unbounded admiration, and a feeling akin to affection. May he live long in honors, peace and happiness.

Very truly your friend

JNO. F. PHILIPS.

As further apropos from the point of view under consideration, I cannot refrain from giving an excerpt from a letter of his son, Hiram, on the unveiling of his father's portrait in the court-house at Davenport, in 1900. I appreciate that a letter, coming from a son, would naturally speak well of his father, but there is in this one a spontaneous vein so graphically, as well as touchingly true, that it throws, as it were, a new light on the inner life and being of his father. The

letter was received by Mr. S. F. Smith, Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements on the occasion referred to, and the excerpt is as follows:

You meet at this time to do my father honor as a lawyer, but I know him as a man. He is a great lawyer, but he is a greater man. In saying this my judgment is not warped by filial pride, but is the result of seeing and knowing him day in and day out for years. When I see him after years of experience, burdened with large interests and many cares, in a world that is as our world, dealing with each man as a fellow man, treating the tramp at his door with the same kindness that he would a president, giving him the consideration that he believes is due because he is in the likeness of his Maker, I forget the father and believe in the man.

In view of the length which this sketch has already reached and the limitations under which I am necessarily placed, it remains for me only to touch briefly some of the salient features of Judge Dillon's life after his removal to New York, and his matured views on the underlying principles of our government and laws.

On account of his rapidly increasing practice in New York he felt obliged to relinquish his professorship in Columbia College, which he had filled with eminent distinction. In a comparatively few years his clientage embraced some of the largest interests of the metropolis, and he came to be regarded as one of its ablest lawyers, and one of the most profound jurists of the American bar. By high authority he was ranked as its foremost leader, and, taken all in all—the depth and comprehensiveness of his learning, his distinction as a judge, the accuracy of his opinions, his strength of argument, his judicial aptness, his fame as an author, his felicity of speech, his general literary merit, in short, the *tout ensemble* of his varied accomplishments—he may justly be so regarded. The following instance will, I think, exemplify the general estimate: At the Annual Meeting of the State Bar Association of Rhode Island, in 1904, Josiah H. Benton, one of the leading lawyers of Boston, delivered the principal address. His subject was "The Qualifications of Judges." He strongly inculcated patience as an important one of them, and in illustrating this topic of his discourse, said: "Now, my friends, I remember

an incident about which I want to tell you. When lawyers, whom, with the exception of the one who speaks to you, I may designate as leaders of the bar in New England, had gone on for two hot June days in that miserable, stuffy Federal Court-House in Boston before Judge Colt, in a very important case, and the case was closed, Judge Dillon, whom I regard as, perhaps, in all respects the leader of the bar in the United States, who had himself held high judicial position, said, looking at our friend, Judge Colt, who had sat through those two hot days clothed in his judicial robe, and who had been most courteous and kind to us all: 'Your Honor has, in this cause, exemplified the highest and finest of judicial qualities—patience.' ”

Like reference was made to Judge Dillon in the address of James A. C. Bond, a distinguished Maryland lawyer and President of the Bar Association of that State, at its Annual Meeting in 1905.

Judge Maxwell in delivering the opinion of the Supreme Court of Florida in *Skinner vs. Henderson*, 26 Florida, 122, uses this language: "A similar ruling in Iowa is valuable as coming from Judge Dillon, one of the most eminent American jurists and law authors now living."

Upon questions relating to the law of Municipal Corporations, especially, his opinions were relied upon as absolute authority. Many large cities, as did my own municipality of Kansas City, Missouri, when about to place an issue of bonds upon the market, submitted the question of their validity to his opinion. If this was favorable, his certificate never failed to furnish a ready sale of the bonds. It was as potent in that respect as Webster described the touch of Hamilton to have been on the "dead corpse of the Public Credit."

His work on Municipal Corporations is the most celebrated and generally useful legal production of the time. "Dillon on the Law of Municipal Corporations" stands supremely alone; a *chef d'oeuvre* that has carried the fame of its author to the remotest English-speaking people. Mr. Justice Bradley of the Supreme Court of the United States declared it to be "A Legal Classic," and so it is regarded. In the June number,

1908, of the "Bench and Bar," its editor, Archibald Robinson Watson, makes the following statement which shows how widely followed it is by the courts:

It will interest the bar generally to know that a new edition of that famous legal classic, "Dillon on Municipal Corporations", is soon to be forthcoming . . . Judge Dillon's treatise, to a greater extent than most text-books, has, in its successive editions, moulded and served as a model for contemporary judicial decisions. Paragraph after paragraph of Judge Dillon's text will be found incorporated, bodily, into the law reports of the several states,—and occasionally we regret to say,—without the proper credit being given. The writer knows this, because he once essayed to monograph the "Law of Municipal Corporations" himself, and, during the course of his work, he was told by a law publisher of long and successful experience, that such a thing was impossible without infringing Dillon. But aside from the occasional instances in which judges have used without acknowledging, as a general thing one will find most judicial opinions, whether in the United States Supreme Court, or the State courts of last resort, in which the law of Municipal Corporations is discussed, liberally and approvingly punctuated with citations of "Dillon on Municipal Corporations."

We are naturally curious to know in view of his other absorbing duties, why and how he undertook and carried on this work, which he amplified from time to time through successive editions until the fifth was reached, which is now in press. This, the following excerpt from his address at the dedication of the Davenport Public Library, will show:

It so chanced in the course of time that I found myself on the bench of the Supreme Court of the State, with an ambition not unnatural to write a work upon some subject that I hoped might be useful to the profession. The first indispensable requisite to such an undertaking was access to a full law library. That of Judge Grant, which was one of the largest private law libraries in this country, supplied this condition. The next requisite equally indispensable, was the needed leisure for study and research, and the only leisure possible to a judge was in the intervals of uncertain length between terms of court. The library being at hand in my own city, enabled me to do what otherwise I could not have done at all, that is, utilize my days, snatched from judicial labor, by working in the Grant library, collecting material for my projected book. I selected my subject—"Municipal Corporations"—and entered upon the work of thorough and systematic preparation. Without the aid of stenographer or typewriter, I began an examination,

one by one of the thousands of law reports, commencing with Vol. I of the state of Maine and continuing down through successive reports to date, and so on, in like manner, the reports of every one of the states, and of the Federal and English courts, occupying all of my available time for about six years. The result I have never had occasion to regret. It has profoundly affected my whole professional career.

He thus feelingly wrote of the edition now in press:

Forty years and over have elapsed since the preparation was begun, and more than thirty-five years since the publication of the first edition. The work is thus not only a child, but the companion, of the far larger part of a prolonged professional career. Any justifiable satisfaction I might feel in its success is somewhat subdued, if not saddened, by the reflection that in this edition I am taking my final leave of a work which is so intimately incorporated with the studies and labors of so many years. We must, however, accept, as I do, without murmur or regret, the inevitable. Every scientific work, like the present, can have but a limited period of existence. The progress of society and the corresponding development and changes in the laws that govern and regulate the interests of the people, never cease, and a work of this practical and technical character commences to become obsolete from the moment of its birth. Such a limitation and such a doom can neither be averted nor rationally regretted.

To me it is a wonder that with his manifold duties as an overworked judge, and then as a lawyer, with a clientage covering in its course, either as general or advisory counsel, such interests as those of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, the Missouri Pacific, the Texas Pacific, the Manhattan Elevated, the Western Union Telegraph Company, the estate of Jay Gould and of different members of that family, and the various other matters that came before him, he could have possibly found time to give to the world productions of his pen, so numerous and worthy, that they have strewn his entire pathway with a wealth of solid and useful literature.

I shall not attempt to enumerate productions not specifically mentioned in the outset of this sketch, but among them are:

The Inns of Court and Westminster Hall. (Before Iowa State Bar Association, 1876.)

Iowa's Contribution to the Constitutional Jurisprudence of the United States. (Before the Iowa Society of New York, March, 1908.)

Early Iowa Lawyers and Judges. (Judges Mason, Wright, Love, Miller. Before the same Society, 1906.)

Dedicatory Address Davenport Free Public Library. (Davenport, 1904.)

Chancellor Kent: His Career and Labors. (Before New York State Bar Association, Albany, 1903.)

Uncertainty in Our Laws. (Before South Carolina State Bar Association, Charleston, 1885.)

Law Reports and Law Reporting. (Before American Bar Association, New York, 1886.)

American Institutions and Laws. (Before American Bar Association, Saratoga, 1884.)

Commemoration Address on Chief Justice Marshall. (Before New York State Bar Association, Albany, 1901.)

Opening Address First General Meeting New York County Lawyers' Association. (New York, 1908.)

Address of Welcome at Banquet of New York County Lawyers' Association. (New York, 1909.)

Bentham and His School of Jurisprudence. (Before Ohio State Bar Association, 1890.)

Our Law: Its Essential Nature, Ethical Foundations and Relations. (Before Graduating Class of Law Department, Iowa State University, 1893.)

Bentham's Influence in the Reforms of the Nineteenth Century. (In Select Essays on Anglo-American Legal History, Boston. Little, Brown & Co., 1908.)

John Marshall: Life, Character and Judicial Services. (Three Vols. Chicago. Callaghan & Co., 1903.)

Laws and Jurisprudence of England and America. (Being a series of lectures delivered before Yale University. Boston. Little, Brown & Co., 1895.)

Anna Price Dillon: Memoir and Memorials. (Privately printed for distribution among relatives and friends.)

He also delivered an address before the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893, and at the St. Louis Exposition in 1904.

An important work in his professional career was as a member of the Commission appointed under an act of the legislature of New York to prepare the charter for the greater City of New York; that is to say, the preparation of the charter uniting into one city, three existing cities (New York, Brooklyn, and Long Island City), each living to a considerable extent under local laws and each with different charters; and

that would also bring into the enlarged city a considerable area of territory, besides that still remaining under town and village government. These different communities to be consolidated into one, were located upon three different islands and upon the mainland, with distinct histories and antecedents. The problem was to form a charter which would combine these into one great municipality, with working machinery adapted to the whole and to the separate parts. He took an active and leading part in framing this charter of greater New York, which went into effect on the first of January, 1898. The difficult niceties of this work are apparent, and its vastness will be appreciated by referring to the charter which is embodied in the legislative act which vitalized and put it into effect. It consists of sixteen hundred and twenty sections and covers seven hundred and forty-two pages. The report of the Commissioners recommending the charter to the favorable consideration of the legislature, covered thirty-two pages. The consolidation thus effected remains, with certain minor changes, and I am authentically told that it is remarkable how little litigation has sprung out of the consolidation itself as respects the meaning and application of the different sections of the charter. I think this result may be largely traced to the clear vision, keen foresight and wide and varied legal experience of Judge Dillon, which enabled him to practically apply his thorough knowledge of the law relating to municipal corporations to the particular work in hand.

His "Laws and Jurisprudence of England and America," embracing the series of his lectures before Yale University, it seems to me cannot be too highly estimated. After reading and re-reading it many times, I do not hesitate to pronounce, that, to the serious reader who desires in the narrowest limit to gain at once the most interesting and instructive information respecting the fundamental principles of our government, and the prime objects of its administrative justice, it is the most valuable and philosophical collection that, in the same space, has ever been given to the public.

These lectures were delivered in 1891-2, and embody his mature views on many of the great practical topics of the

law. Upon them the author has bestowed the ripened powers of his mind. Every line teems with a warmth of interest that unmistakably reveals the infusion of his highest forces. They display the amplitude of his learning, not only in the field of law, but of the best literature. They are so replete with rare and forceful statement and are so strikingly illustrative of the man, that I cannot forbear making a few extracts:

It is natural for some minds to revere the past, to accept the present, and consciously or unconsciously to resist agitation and change. It is equally natural for other minds to question the wisdom of the past, to refuse to accept its lessons or results as final, to be discontented with them, and to welcome novelty as the means of effecting improvement.

When recently crossing the bay of New York, the Statue of Liberty with its uplifted torch enlightening the world, suggested to me that the true ideal of a modern judge was no longer a figure with bandaged eyes, but rather the figure of one who carries in his up-raised hand the torch of truth lighted from on high, and who, throughout the arguments of counsel and in the maze and labyrinth of adjudged cases, walks ever with firm step in the illumination of its constant and steady flame.

Unadmonished and undeterred, I venture a timid forecast of some of the changes which our laws and jurisprudence will witness within the next century:

I predict that the rational practice of settling disputes between nations by arbitration, so successfully applied in recent years, will become general; that wars, the opprobrium of christian civilization, if they shall not wholly cease, will be comparatively infrequent.

I predict that the existing apathy of the public conscience will be aroused, and that the avarice of publishers will not be able to continue the present system of literary piracy, since all civilized nations will recognize the principle that an author has by the highest of all titles, that of creation, a right of property in his work, which treaties and legislation will protect on the basis of reciprocity.

I predict in view of the universality and increasing intimacy of commercial intercourse between nations, that substantial unity in the various departments of mercantile and maritime law on the great subjects of Bills of Exchange, Maritime Contracts, Marine Insurance, Marine Torts, etc., will replace the diversity and conflict which now exist.

The separation of what we call equity from law was originally accidental,—or at any rate was unnecessary; and the development of an independent system of equitable rights and remedies is anomo-

lous, and rests upon no principle. The continued existence of these two sets of rights and remedies is not only unnecessary, but its inevitable effect is to make confusion and conflict. The existing diversity of rights and remedies must disappear, and be replaced by a uniform system of rights as well as remedies,—what we call a legal right ceasing to exist if it is in conflict with what we now distinguish as the equitable right.

The forecast may be ventured, that while the law will in its development undoubtedly keep pace with the changing wants of society, yet the work of jurists and legislators during the next century will be pre-eminently the work of systematic restatement, probably in sections, of the body of our jurisprudence. Call it a code, or what you will, this work must be done; if not done from choice, the inexorable logic of necessity will compel its performance.

Scientific jurisprudence, already a necessity, will play a more important part in the future of our law than it has in the past. It is a mistake to suppose that the jurist, any more than the legislator must look only to the past. He must also study the present, and bring himself into actual contact with the existing conditions of society, its sentiments, its moral convictions, and its actual needs. This work, as important, as noble, as any that can engage the attention of men, will fall to the profession to do . . . It will not be performed by men whose sun, like mine, has passed the zenith, and whose faces are already turned to follow its setting, but by young men who are hailing the advance of their sun up the eastern sky, and who are full of the hopes, the aspirations, the generous illusions, the sublime audacity, which give to that interesting stage of life, when animated by high resolves, a present charm and a prophetic splendor all its own.

When the idea of legal education shall be the mastery of principles, so that the first impulse of the lawyer in cases not depending upon local legislation, will be to find the *principle*, and not some *case*, that governs the matter in hand; when arguments at the bar shall be directed to an ascertainment of the controlling facts of the case under consideration, and then to the principles of law, which apply to these facts; when the bench shall be constituted of the flower of the bar, and appellate judgments shall not be given without a previous conference of the judges, at which the grounds of judgment shall be agreed upon, before the record is allotted for the opinion to be written; when opinions shall be rigidly restricted, without unnecessary disquisition and essay-writing, to the precise points needful to the decision, we shall have an abler bar, better judgments, and an improved jurisprudence, in which erroneous and conflicting decisions will be few.

As a means of eliciting the very truth of the matter both of law and fact, there is no substitute for oral argument. I distrust the

undness of the decision of any court, in any novel or complex case, which has been submitted wholly upon briefs. Speaking from my own experience, I always felt a reasonable assurance in my own judgment when I had patiently heard all that opposing counsel could say to aid me; and a very diminished faith in any judgment given in a difficult cause not orally argued . . . The mischievous substitute of printers' ink for face-to-face argument, impoverishes our case-law at its very source, since it tends to prevent the growth of able lawyers, who are developed only in the conflicts of the bar, and of great judges, who can become great only by the aid of the facts that surrounds them.

Another practice which injuriously affects our case-law, is the practice of assigning the record of causes submitted on printed arguments to one of the judges to look into and write an opinion, without a previous examination of the record and arguments by the judges in consultation. This course ought to be forbidden, peremptorily forbidden, by statute. This most delicate and most important of all judicial duties, ought always to be performed by the judges in full conference *before* the record is delivered to one of their number to write the opinion of the court.

A stable and independent judiciary is the strongest hope of our country. A stable and permanent tenure secures that independence which is essential to a good judicial system and to the fearless administration of justice. Whenever we weaken the independence or degrade the dignity of the judicial office, either by the mode of selection, or by a restricted tenure, or by the inadequate compensation of the judges, or in any other way, we make a most serious mistake.

Trial by jury is an essential part of our judicial system . . . Its roots strike down deep into the experience, the life, and the nature of the people who have developed and perfected it. Its shortcomings are not inherent. If judges will do their full duty, jurors will do theirs. I have tried literally thousands of cases with juries, and the instances are few where I had reason to be dissatisfied with their verdicts . . . In the solemn act of passing upon the guilt of those charged with offences against the public, the jury represent the majesty of the people as a whole; and when acting under the guidance of a capable judge, their verdicts are almost always right. If the courts will clearly instruct juries, and will exercise when they ought to do so, the power to set aside verdicts and grant new trials, there will be less complaints about trial by jury and less agitation for a change in the law whereby verdicts may be rendered by a less number than the whole of the jury,—a change which I believe to be based upon no necessity and in the highest degree unwise.

I have made the jury the subject of much observation and reflection . . . In my judgment the jury is both a valuable and essential part of our judicial and political system . . . I protest against

the continentalization of our law. I invoke the conservative judgment of the profession against the iconoclast who in the name of reform, comes to destroy the jury; against the rash surgery which holds not a cautery to cure, but a knife to amputate. Twelve good and lawful men are better judges of disputed facts than twelve learned judges.

The absolutely unique feature of the political and legal institutions of the American republic, is its written constitutions, which are organic limitations whereby the people by an act of unprecedented wisdom have . . . protected themselves against themselves. The spectacle is that of the acknowledged possessors of political power voluntarily circumscribing and limiting the plenary and unrestrained use of it.

History affords many examples where the holders of political power have been *forced* to surrender or to curtail it for the general good; but the example of the people constituting the American political communities in limiting, by their own free will, the exercise of their own power, stood alone when this sublime sacrifice was made, and it has not been followed in any country in Europe, nor successfully put in operation elsewhere than in the United States.

The value of constitutional guarantees, wholly depends upon whether they are fairly interpreted, and justly and with even hand, fully and fearlessly enforced by the courts.

If there is any problem which can be said to be yet unsettled, it is whether the bench of this country, State and Federal, is able to bear the great burden of supporting under all circumstances the fundamental law against popular, or supposed popular, demands for enactments in conflict with it. It is the loftiest function and the most sacred duty of the judiciary, to support, maintain, and give full effect to the constitution against every act of the legislature, or of the executive, in violation of it . . .

The constitution is the final breakwater against the haste and passions of the people; against the tumultuous ocean of democracy. It must at all costs be maintained. This done, and all is safe; this omitted, and all is put in peril and may be lost.

Local self-government is the true and the only solid basis of our free institutions. A jealous state pride and watchfulness in all that justly belongs to the state, and a dominating national pride and concern in all that justly belongs to the nation, are the valid, healthful, and recognized sentiments of American citizenship and patriotism.

The great fundamental rights guaranteed by the constitution are life, liberty, contracts, and property . . . But we can not close our eyes to the fact that to some extent the inviolability of contracts, and especially of private property, is menaced both by open and covert attacks. Property is attacked openly by the advo-

cates of the various heresies that go under the general name of socialism or communism, who seek to array the body of the community against individual right to exclusive property, and in favor of the right of the community in some form to deprive the owner of it, or of its full and equal possession and enjoyment . . . Among the people of our race the era of the despotism of the monarch, or of an oligarchy has passed away. If we are not struck with judicial blindness, we cannot fail to see that what is now to be feared and guarded against is the despotism of the majority.

There may be some reason for the various forms of socialism, communism, anarchism, among the struggling and oppressed people of the Old World. They are the unreasoning and desperate remedies of caste, and hunger, and despair; but among us such ideas are baneful exotics.

Kant's philosophy is to me unprofitable enough in practical results; but there is one noble passage of his that has made on me an impression that years have never effaced or dimmed: "There are two things which, the more I contemplate them, the more they fill my mind with admiration—the starry heavens above me, and the moral law within me."

Ethical considerations can no more be excluded from the administration of justice, which is the end and purpose of all civil laws, than one can exclude the vital air from his room and live. A thousand times have I realized the force of this truth. I always felt, in the exercise of the Judicial office, irresistibly drawn to the intrinsic justice of the case, with the inclination, and if possible the determination, to rest the judgment upon the very right of the matter.

In the practice of the profession, I always feel an abiding confidence that if my case is morally right and just it will succeed, whatever technical difficulties may appear to stand in the way; and the result usually justifies the confidence.

It is a most remarkable fact that if one casts his eye over the map of the enlightened world he will find, generically speaking, but two systems of law or jurisprudence—the one of England, the other of Rome. The legal systems of the nations of the continent of Europe and of the South American States are based upon the Roman law; but the Roman law never obtained controlling authority in or among any people who speak the tongue of England.

In respect to law reforms he took an active and leading, though an altogether sane and conservative part, and left along those lines a deep and lasting impression upon our jurisprudence. As a continuous member of the American Bar Association, for a time its President, and as an author, and

deliverer of occasional addresses before learned bodies, his opportunities were favorable to this end.

Probably the most important of law reforms, and the one that has most agitated, and continues to agitate, the professional and, as well, the public mind, is what is commonly known as "codification" of the law; its reduction to systematic arrangement, restatement, and rules, generally governing its principles. Although much of actual accomplishments has as yet not been reached, it is pretty clear that such results must be gained eventually, in order to relieve us from the thousands of law reports, that are continually piling up and multiplying with our rapidly increasing interests and consequent litigation, and which, by their conflicting decisions and overwhelming numbers, keep the law in confusion, and its ascertainment frequently impossible. To this work he has given much thought. His views thereon will be found at length in the work we have just been considering.

While giving all praise to Blackstone and Eldon for their work as conservatives, he gives to Bentham, the radical, the palm of being the initiator of this, as well as nearly every other law reform of the last century, quoting, with apparent approval, the following statement of Sir Henry Maine: "I do not know a single law reform effected since Bentham's day which cannot be traced to his influence." Bentham gave it the name by which it is now universally known, "codification." He also originated the common expression, "judge made law," as applied to the decisions of the judges and even the common law itself. "He meant," says Judge Dillon, "that a code should embrace all general legislation, not simply as it exists but as it ought to be amended and made to exist—that is, all legislation except local and special statutes; that it should also embody all of the principles of the common law which it were expedient to adopt; the whole to be systematically arranged, so that all possible cases would be expressly provided for by written rules; that the function of the court to make 'judge made law,' as he stigmatized it, should cease, and that thereafter all changes or additions to this complete body of law should be made by the lawmaking body and it alone."

To Judge Dillon this did not seem practical. "Bentham," said he, "believed it was possible to extract from the reports all that was valuable in them and to embody it in a code; whereupon he would have been willing, I fancy, to have burned the law reports, and himself to have applied the torch. Unfortunately there is no alchemy by which the value of the law reports can all be extracted and transmuted into statutory coin."

Judge Dillon thus expressed in epitome his own views on the subject:

We have two great divisions of law—statute-law and case-law. The statutes are frequently fragmentary, superimposed one upon another. Case-law has to be sought in almost numberless reports and often among conflicting decisions. Our law is thus fairly open to the threefold objection of want of certainty, want of publicity, and want of convenience.

Our laws will, I believe, even if codification be not adopted, become relatively more and more embodied in legislative forms. The greater certainty and convenience of a carefully considered enactment which covers the entire subject with which it deals, over the chaotic and unmethodized condition of the law when it has to be sought through volumes of reports and a variety of detached statutes, will constantly operate with no inconsiderable force in expanding the scope of legislative action.

To me it has always seemed inexpedient, even if it were possible (which it is not), to attempt a scheme so ambitious as the embodying into a code or statutory form rules applicable to all the complicated transactions of modern business and society, with a view to supersede the reports.

The judicial office will, at all times, under any possible code have to deal with and determine questions and cases not possible to be provided for by any express statutory provision. A well constructed code may, and doubtless will, lessen the number of such questions and cases; but no code can do more.

The infinite details of this mountainous mass of case-law, no industry can master and no memory retain. I do not believe it is practicable to codify it all in the sense that the resulting code shall supersede for all purposes the law reports; but on many subjects, and to a very large extent in respect of all, codification is practicable, and so far as it is practicable, it is, *if well done*, desirable.

A capital need of our law today is for some gifted expositor who shall perform upon it the same operation performed by Blackstone more than a hundred years ago; that is, an institutional work sys-

tematically arranging and expounding its great principles as they have been modified, expanded, and developed since Blackstone's day, so as to make it as faithful and complete a mirror of the law, as it now exists, as Blackstone's work was of the law as it existed when his commentaries were produced.

But I can no longer pursue these subjects. I both refer and recommend the reader to the book of lectures I have been speaking of. There he will find, not only clear disquisitions upon law reforms, but of the great actors that have lived along the lines of Bentham, Blackstone, Marshall, Kent, and Story; and constant evidence as well, of his wide reading and cultured mind.

In the outset of this sketch I referred to his love of books. This, or rather its result, is especially exemplified in these lectures, and in his address at the dedication of the Davenport Free Public Library. In the latter, he referred to this quality in Mr. Lincoln. Following this, Robert T. Lincoln wrote him a letter of appreciation, which, for its manifest interest in this connection I here give:

MY DEAR JUDGE DILLON: I have read with great pleasure your address at the opening of the library at Davenport. This must have been a very interesting occasion to you in your old relation. I noticed especially, of course, what you said about my father. You could not say too much of his love for books. I do not remember ever seeing him without a book in his hand. From my earliest recollections he was devoted to Shakespeare and Milton. Bunyan, of course, he had, and it was in consequence of his having it at hand, that it was one of the first large books that I myself ever read. In the latter years of his life, he always had a Bible and a set of Shakespeare very near him, and went to them for relief at all times.

Very sincerely yours,

ROBERT T. LINCOLN.

Jan. 5th, 1905.

This shows not only a parallel between Judge Dillon and Mr. Lincoln in the respect mentioned, but, as it seems to me, throws a new or added light on the latter.

Among the important labors of his latter years were those in connection with the work hereinbefore mentioned in the list of his productions, "John Marshall. Life, Character and Judicial Services," consisting of portrayals in the centenary memorial services that were held throughout the country on

what was known as "Marshall Day," in 1901, and his introduction to the three volumes composing them. In this movement he was a leading initiator, and in preserving its results the principal factor—at once, the collector, the compiler, the editor, and in a sense, the author. His introduction, as well as his address, is remarkably strong in all its features. He portrays with vivid force the personality of the "great Chief Justice," and demonstrates by successive steps, and particular cases in which certain provisions of the Constitution of the United States were construed by him, that his services to the Republic in its infancy, when the workings of its constitution and governmental machinery were experimental, were not only invaluable, but really furnished the preservatives of the nation in its subsequent perils. In these brief excerpts he characteristically summarizes the situation in a nutshell:

Marshall has no parallel but himself, and like the Saladin in Dante's vivid picture of the immortals he stands by himself apart. The inquiry fitly comes, whether this veneration is a mistaken idolatry or whether it rests upon rational and enduring grounds.

The nature and value of Marshall's judicial services can only be satisfactorily shown by selecting and briefly stating a few of his leading judgments which determine the boundaries and establish the vital and fundamental principles of our Constitution. This was his distinctive work. On this his fame chiefly rests.

In the course of his long service as Chief Justice, he construed and expounded for the first time, nearly all of the leading provisions of the Constitution, and in this he performed an original work of the most transcendent importance, and one which it is the universal conviction no one else could have performed as well.

It was the supreme work of Marshall that carried our Constitution successfully through its early and perilous stages and settled it on its present firm and immovable foundation.

He had the golden opportunity, which he promptly took by the hand, the singular, the solitary felicity, of connecting his name and fame imperishably with the origin, development, and establishment of constitutional law and liberty in the great American Republic.

Marshall belonged to one political school, and Jefferson was the leader of the other. Marshall was penetrated by the sentiment and spirit of nationality, and believed that the Constitution properly construed conferred upon the Union all the essential powers of national sovereignty. Jefferson believed that powers in the central government

in such amplitude as Marshall held them to exist, were dangerous to the existence of the state and to the liberties of the people. For this he should not be blamed, nor does it diminish our sentiments of respect and gratitude for his great public services. He will go down to posterity proudly holding in his hand the Declaration of Independence, and Marshall will go down holding in his the Federal Constitution.

Was the new government another confederation, and the Constitution simply the mechanical bond by which the States were for certain enumerated purposes, and for such only, loosely articulated? Or was it a new nation, instinct with life and clothed with all the powers and attributes of sovereignty necessary for its growth, development, preservation, protection and defense, against all hostile comers, foreign and domestic?

Each one of the cases which I have brought under review today, could have been decided the other way. Many lawyers and statesmen firmly believed and earnestly maintained at the time, that they ought to have been decided the other way. On all these subjects, Marshall's views have been finally accepted by the country as necessary to the integrity and welfare of the Union, and are no longer disputed or challenged.

When Marshall went upon the bench, the new government itself, and the Constitution as the only bond of union, were in the experimental stage of their existence. When he left it both were firmly established. Marshall's great service to the country was, that his celebrated judgments expounding the Constitution supported it and carried it safely through the feebleness and perils of its infancy, and placed it securely upon the foundations on which it has ever since rested.

In the past, coming down even to the present, States have passed many laws of a character that would have broken up the Union, had it not been for the limitations on their powers, which they disregarded, and which have only been made effectual by the judicial enforcement of Marshall's principles of nationality.

Of his numberless judicial opinions, I cannot further speak or particularize than I have in the first part of this sketch; nor can I of the arguments which he has from time to time delivered before the courts. His argument in the *Mercantile Trust Company vs. The Texas and Pacific Railway Company et al.*, 154 U. S. Rep., in which were involved the constitutionality of the Texas Railroad Commission Act, and the rates of tariff fixed by the Texas Railroad Commission, in the course of which he reviewed the leading cases on the subject, is one of his ablest and most elaborate ones in the Supreme Court

the United States. Its general views were sustained by the court (pp. 362-420 of the report alluded to).

In spite of his accumulated years, of his long and exhausting labors, and the continuous sorrow that shrouded the remainder of his life in the loss of his wife and daughter at an early age, he kept up his professional labors and his daily office hours until a very advanced age. Without this, he once told me, it would have been impossible for him to have borne this affliction. In his seventy-eighth year, he made the journey and the forensic effort disclosed in the following letter to me, dated December 1, 1908, in response to the communications referred to by him:

'Your deeply esteemed favors of November 6th and November 7th, came to New York during my absence in West Virginia. On the 5th of November I left this city for Charleston, the capital of West Virginia, to argue an important case in the Supreme Court of Appeals of that State, involving some sixty thousand acres of coal lands. The court gave me five days to the arguments, extending from the 9th to the 13th. I hesitated somewhat at my age to take the trip and undergo the exertion of such an argument, but I found after attending the court during the five days, that I was able to make a three hours' argument without being more than usually tired. I mention these circumstances to show that the delay in answering your letters was unavoidable.'

In the "Memoirs and Memorials of Anna Price Dillon" he pays the noblest of tributes to the memory of his devoted wife. In this connection I must be pardoned for saying a word or two concerning her, as being a part of his own life, and from whom he drew constant inspiration in his multitudinous labors. She was the daughter of Hiram Price, for a long time one of Iowa's distinguished men. He was successively school fund commissioner (1847); registrar and treasurer of his county, Scott (1848-1856); president of the State Bank of Iowa from its organization, 1859 to 1866, when it was superseded by the National Bank; paymaster general of the State during the civil war; five times elected to Congress between 1862 and 1881, and Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1881 to 1885.

She and John Dillon had been schoolmates. They had grown up in Davenport together. Their lives were closely intertwined from childhood. In Davenport they commenced their married life, and on one of its sightly bluffs built an attractive home. There their children were born and there they lived until their removal to New York. It was my good fortune on more than one occasion to sit at their table as a guest. In the home and house affairs she reigned supreme. This home in all of its features and surroundings displayed both exquisite taste of selection and family comfort. She was a bountiful hostess, and in appearance superb and queenly. She was preeminently a strong character, bounteously endowed with intellectual gifts and womanly graces. Her letters to her husband and personal friends written during her different sojourns in Europe, whither she went mostly on account of the lovely daughter who perished with her and who for some years had been a patient sufferer, are models of graphic and interesting descriptions of foreign countries, their people and ways.

His "Laws and Jurisprudence of England and America," composed of his Yale lectures, he dedicated to her. Why he did so he thus tells in the "Memoir and Memorials":

"Prior to 1875, and while she lived in Davenport, she gave considerable time to charitable and other work, as already stated, but during the years when her children were young it was to them that she devoted her paramount attention. She found time, however, to assist her husband, in 1872, in putting his book on "Municipal Corporations" through the press. He always realized that his itinerant professional and judicial life had thrown almost exclusively upon his wife the care and anxieties of the family; and years afterward, when, in 1894, his Yale University Law Lectures were published, he publicly recognized the obligation which it created, in the dedication of the volume to her in these words:

A. P. D.

The years of professional studies, circuit journeyings and judicial itinerancies whereof this book is in some measure the outcome, as well as the time required for its preparation, have been taken

from your society and companionship. The only reparation possible is to lay these imperfect fruits upon your lap. As to you, indeed, they justly belong, this formal dedication serves alike to accredit your title and to manifest my grateful sense of obligation and affectionate regard.

This inscription was pleasing to Mrs. Dillon, and on her return from Europe a friend called her attention to a review of the book in which the writer, speaking of dedications to wives, compared this not unfavorably with John Stuart Mill's, whereupon her husband said that his was as much inferior to Mill's as Mill's to Tennyson's.'*^{*}

I must now bring this narrative to a close. If I have not accomplished all I desired, I have at least massed or indicated the material on which some future biographer may do better.

I have spoken of Judge Dillon as if he were dead. He is still alive. Verging close to four score years, he calmly awaits the final summons. His setting sun will soon sink beyond the horizon, leaving behind it, like that of the day, the mellow influence of its departing rays.

*Mrs. Tennyson, always seemingly fragile, outlived her husband, who died October 6, 1892; but, not long before his death, he signalized their long and felicitous union by dedicating to her, in these words, his last book:

"I thought to myself I would offer this book to you,
This and my love together,
To you that are seventy-seven,
With a faith as clear as the heights of the June-blue heaven
And a fancy as summer new
As the green of the bracken amid the gloom of the heather."

RECOLLECTIONS OF WAR TIMES.¹

BY COL. DAVID PALMER.

I enlisted in Company C, 8th Iowa Infantry, commanded by Capt. Wm. B. Bell, afterwards Colonel of the regiment. On the 10th of July, 1861, in the organization of the company I was made 3d Corporal and went into camp with the company August 10, 1861, at Camp McClellan, Davenport, Iowa, there taking part in the drills and maneuvers of the company and regiment as it was then organized, with Gen. Fred Steele as its Colonel. Soon after we were put on board a transport and sent south to St. Louis, Mo. Disembarked there, we were placed in Benton Barracks, where we were drilled and disciplined thoroughly, to prepare us for the front. From there we went by railroad west through Jefferson City, Mo., and into the interior of the State to Syracuse; there we became a part of the army under Gen. McKinstry whose purpose it was to attack the forces of the Confederate General Price. We took up our line of march towards Springfield, Mo., following Price's troops in hot pursuit. We were then ordered back to Sedalia, Mo., to go into winter quarters, where we remained until about the month of March, 1862, when we were directed to return to St. Louis, where we were put on board a transport, sent down the river to Cairo and up the Tennessee river to Pittsburg Landing. We disembarked there and went into camp in the timber about three-fourths of a mile from the landing. While remaining there we were effectually drilled and inspected preparatory to the impending battle of Shiloh. On the morning of the 6th of April, 1862, a beautiful Sabbath morning, about daylight, we heard cannonading and musket firing on the out-posts away out beyond the Shiloh church. In a very little while, before we scarcely had time to eat our breakfast, the long roll sounded in our camp and we were marched to the front, and, as I recollect it, about nine o'clock we were put upon the firing line near what is now known as

¹Address given by Col. Palmer before the Y. M. C. A. in Des Moines, February, 1896.

the Hornet's Nest. This name was given it by the Confederates. There we were put in support of a battery which, in a short time, lost every horse and man in it. A detail of men was made from our regiment to rush out and pull the cannon and caissons to the rear to save them from capture by the enemy. During the time we occupied that position, we received and repulsed several distinctive bayonet charges made by the Confederates, holding our ground with persistency until, later in the day, the left wing of our army was driven back, compelling our regiment to make a change of front to the left. In the meantime our commanding officer, Col. James L. Geddes, had his horse shot from under him and was slightly wounded in the knee, but very soon, procuring another horse, he was mounted and we held our position.

Along toward the middle of the afternoon, the left wing of our army, being sorely pressed, was compelled to withdraw a little more, again requiring our regiment to change front to comply with this change in the left of our army. About four or five o'clock in the afternoon, the left wing of our army, still giving way, compelled us to change front and move to our left; and as near as I can remember now, about an hour and a half before sundown, I received a gunshot wound in the left breast that brought me to my knees. Two of my comrades seized me, walked me back a couple of hundred feet and laid me in behind the root of a large oak tree that had been overturned by the wind, there ministering to my wants as best they could. The blood flowed freely from the wound, and I soon became unconscious. By this time, as I was told afterwards, our troops were compelled to retreat, and I was left in the hands of the enemy for dead. As reported to me afterwards, the regiment retreated nearly a fourth of a mile and, in connection with the 12th and 14th Iowa regiments and some other troops, were surrounded by the enemy and compelled to surrender. Apparently not very long after the regiment had retreated and left me, I became conscious and realized that I was alone. Hearing a rustling among the leaves, I turned my head and saw the Confederate line of skirmishers advancing close to me. Having heard fre-

quently during my service that wounded men were bayoneted by the Confederates when found alive, I closed my eyes and feigned myself dead and the skirmishers passed on, paying no attention whatever to me. Shortly after this, two comrades of my own company, Cousin S. R. Palmer, now of Dexter, Iowa, and Corporal R. M. Kilgore, knowing the condition in which I was left, got permission from a Confederate lieutenant, who had them in charge, to pass by the place where I was left, on their way to the prison pen, the Confederate lieutenant and three soldiers accompanying them. Much to their surprise they found me still alive and able to speak, having regained consciousness, but not able to get up. They asked permission of the lieutenant to carry me over into a little field near a log cabin, a little to the right of the position the regiment occupied during the day. There they left me on the ground, the Confederate officer refusing them permission to remain with me. Giving me a canteen of water, my two comrades went off to the prison pen, expecting never to see me again. I was full of regret as I thought they were taken prisoners because they had spent too much time with me on the field. I did not know then that the entire regiment and many others were captured. At the time when they first ministered to my wants, immediately after I was wounded, the Confederates had stripped me of my coat and cap, leaving nothing but my shirt, trousers, shoes and stockings. The little field in which I was left by my comrades was well filled with Confederate soldiers who had stacked their arms and who were exulting over the capture of prisoners. By this time it was nearly dark and the dampness of the evening was making me chilly.

One very large Confederate Irishman came to me and asked, "Are ye cowl'd?" I answered "Yes," and he said, "Here taak this blanket and poot it over ye," and he stooped down and gently tucked around me a good U. S. blanket that he had captured from one of our camps during the day. Very soon another Confederate soldier, a young fellow about my own age, came along and noticing my condition, asked, "Would you like to have a drink?" I answered in the affirmative, and

he handed me a bottle from which I took several good swallows of what I thought then, about the best liquor I had ever drunk. By this time it was getting about dark and I began to think of where I would spend the night. Seeing a wedge tent standing close to the old cabin, about one hundred feet from me, I resolved to try and reach it. Stimulated by the liquor, I felt I could do so. I could not stand so I managed to get on my hands and knees and crawl to the tent, at a snail's pace, dragging my blanket and canteen with me. On entering the tent I found it occupied by a wounded Confederate soldier. Having no one to care for him just then, I proceeded at once to pull some of the straw from under him to make a pallet for myself. He tried to give the alarm by yelling as loud as he could, but I insisted that I must have some of that straw and continued until I made a fair division between us and lay down for the night, covering myself with the blanket. Evidently I must have been unconscious a good part of the night, for I only remember two or three incidents that occurred; one was the shelling of the field by our gunboats, when the shells exploded so near that it made everything light in the tent. Another was the rain that fell at one time in the night, and the third was, I missed my companion. Soldiers had evidently come along and taken him out, leaving me for dead, or considering I was a "Yank" thought I didn't need any attention.

When morning came it gave promise of a beautiful day. The rain was over, the Confederates gone out of the field and not a soul near. About sunrise, however, there came out of the timber south of the little field, a very fine looking General Officer, Confederate, accompanied by two or three staff officers and perhaps a half dozen mounted men as bodyguard. They rode immediately past the tent where I could see them, but they did not see me. Riding out to the north of the cabin in plain view of the position we had occupied the day before, they halted, took out their field-glasses and proceeded to view the situation. Scarcely had they gotten a good look through their glasses, when one of our pieces of artillery dropped a shell among them. They disappeared, some going around one side of the tent and some the other. A couple of empty saddles

went back; whether the riders were wounded or killed I know not, but the General and his staff and bodyguard retreated into the woods out of sight. This, to me, was great encouragement. I felt about as much stimulated as I did the night before after drinking out of the Confederate boy's bottle.

I had not long to wait, however, until the battle recommenced, and such terrific firing I never heard, unless it was what I had heard the day before. I needn't say that I kept my entire body very close along the ground in that tent. I had no curiosity to get up and go out and see how the battle was raging. Not having any timepiece, I can only guess that the battle raged the entire forenoon, and I was between the fires nearly all of that time. As I guessed at it, about noon or a very little thereafter, the firing ceased on our end of the line, the Confederates dropped back into the timber on the south side of the field and our troops into the timber on the north side. I could still hear musketry and cannonading away down the river, which I supposed afterwards was Buell's command going into position.

Having an abhorrence of being a prisoner of war, I felt that now, possibly, was the time to make my escape. Crawling to the tent door I managed, with the aid of the tent pole, to draw myself up on my feet and steadying myself by the pole, I stepped outside of the tent and commenced my observation of the situation both north and south of me. In an instant, everything disappeared from me, for how long I do not know; when I came to consciousness I was lying headlong out of the tent with my nose run into the ground. Never having fainted in my life before, I came to a full realization of what it was to faint. I crawled back into the tent much discouraged. After resting a little while, the feeling came to me again that I must not be a prisoner and I would try it again. Pulling myself up by the tent pole as before, I stood a few seconds to see how it operated, when I noticed that my eyesight was leaving me, and realizing what that meant, I dropped down on the ground and I could see again. I now began to realize that I could not stand or walk, and I resolved that I would, after the fashion of the snake, undertake to crawl. Proceeding on this theory I

was able to crawl fifteen or twenty feet, when my eyesight gave way again, and I dropped down, when it instantly returned. Persevering, however, I made another advance of about the same distance with the same result. I kept up that procedure of crawling and resting, moving as fast as I could in the direction where I thought our own troops were.

I presume it was about the middle of the afternoon when I reached the skirmish line. Getting behind the skirmish line I took quite a little rest and then proceeded to get behind the first main line. Finding a big oak tree behind this first main line, I crawled behind it, and feeling perfectly secure in the company of my friends, I concluded I would take a good long rest. By this time it was nearly night of Monday, the second day of the battle. While lying on the safe side of the root of this tree a very funny incident occurred in a regiment that occupied the second line. One of the rank and file of the regiment stepped forward some thirty feet behind a large tree and was standing there when the Confederates commenced artillery firing, undertaking to shell these troops out of the timber preparatory to a charge that was made afterwards. While this soldier was standing by that tree, a shell struck it above his head some eight or ten feet, knocking out a big piece from the tree and casting it with great force to the ground right by his side. Frightened by this, he dropped his gun, whirled to the rear, ran as fast as his legs would carry him through his own regiment, knocked out a file of men and proceeded to the rear, his officers yelling at him to halt. He paid no attention to them, but ran on out of sight, and so far as I know he may be running yet. I never heard of him again. It caused the entire regiment to break out in a roar of laughter.

Immediately after this the Confederates came across the field from which I had crawled, yelling at the top of their voices, their own artillery throwing shells in front of them amongst our men. They made a very violent charge, but failed to break through the first line, and were repulsed with great loss. You can imagine my feelings when this charge was going on. I felt as though they were going to break through and I would again be a prisoner, but our boys were on the alert and

gave them a warm reception, sending them back fully as fast as they came, with fewer numbers. After this charge I felt as though I was not as safe as I might be, and I proceeded to crawl through the second line. Here I came in contact with the ambulances that had been busy all day gathering up the wounded of the day before and taking them to the hospitals. I tried to persuade a driver to take me into his ambulance, but he said he did not know me and he was only hauling for his own regiment.

While I was lying at the root of the tree, the old Second Iowa, grand regiment as it was, came past on the double quick. When Company H, with whose members I was well acquainted, saw me they cried out, "There's Dave Palmer!" and two or three of them stopped with me. I pointed out the ambulance driver in the timber, who had refused to take me to the hospital in his ambulance. They immediately ordered him around with his ambulance and arbitrarily, and with force, put me into the ambulance, and I was taken direct to the camp of the 7th Iowa, where I was placed in a Sibley tent along with many other wounded men. Co. H of this 7th Iowa, having been organized in our county, I felt at liberty to send up to that company and ask for help. One of my intimate friends from my own town, Wm. Vanatta, who was left in camp sick that morning, came down, and when he found who it was, secured a towel, a bucket of water and a good light suit of clothes. I was stripped, bathed and dressed with the light suit and put to bed on a pallet of straw for the night, where I rested very comfortably. The next day I was taken to my own camp hospital in the 8th Iowa, and there received the attention of our Assistant Surgeon, Dr. A. W. Hoffmeister, who was a very good friend to the boys and was very attentive to their wants.

A little less than a week later, while lying in this camp hospital, the sub-clavian artery burst about an inch and a half from the main artery of the heart, causing a flow of blood out through the wound that would have taken my life in a very few minutes. Neither myself nor anyone in the tent knew what to do, but Dr. Hoffmeister was fortunately in his

tent not twenty feet away. He was called at once and stopped the flow of blood instantly by pressing his fingers down behind the collar bone. He secured a man to take his place in turn, and kept up this compress continually until the next day when I was hauled to the hospital boat at Pittsburg Landing and there the operation of taking up the artery was performed by Dr. Azpell, of the regular army. This operation destroyed the section of this artery in my left arm, completely paralyzing it, so I had, of necessity, to carry it in a sling to keep it out of my way.

From there I was brought on this same hospital boat to Keokuk, Iowa, and transferred to the Soldiers' Hospital there, where I received the kind attention of the management. I shall never forget the kindness of good, loyal friends in Keokuk, more particularly the Smith-Hamil family who, during the six weeks I lay in that hospital, did not fail to send some one to minister to my wants each day. Through the kindness of the management of the hospital, my father was permitted to come in and be one of the nurses in my ward. About the middle of June it was thought I was able to be furloughed home. While not yet able to walk, I was carried on a cot to the river and brought to Muscatine by boat, from Muscatine to Washington by rail, and from Washington out to my home in the country by a lumber wagon with a box well filled with hay. By the first of July I was able to get up and walk around a little, and from that on I gained rapidly.

By the middle of July I received a commission from the Governor of the State to recruit a company under the 300,000 call then made by the President. I was elected Captain of the company that was filled up and organized, and went into Camp McKean, Mount Pleasant, Iowa, as Co. A, 25th Iowa Infantry, Sept. 1, 1862. My arm was still in a sling, perfectly useless, although otherwise I enjoyed good health and had gained almost my usual physical strength.

I owe a debt of gratitude to very many friends, of whom I had a legion, for their kindness to me both in hospital and at home, during the period I was disabled by my wound. I was more fortunate in my service in the 25th Iowa. I received only

two wounds during the entire three years, one a slight wound in the foot at Arkansas Post—where we captured 7,000 prisoners—the other, in the knee, at Taylor's Ridge, Georgia. Neither of these wounds kept me off duty. Having good health, I was not absent from the regiment twenty-four hours from the date of its muster into the service in 1862 until its muster out in June, 1865.

GOVERNOR KIRKWOOD AND THE SKUNK RIVER WAR.

BY HON. FRANK W. EICHELBERGER.

During the dark days of the summer of 1863, when Grant was investing Vicksburg and Lee marching on Pennsylvania, there existed in portions of Keokuk, Poweshiek and Wapello counties a large number of Southern sympathizers, who had from the outset of the war made a fierce opposition to its prosecution.

A man named Tally, living near Ioka, in Keokuk county, a Baptist preacher, made himself a leader among this element by his blatant, disloyal speeches in different parts of the country, rendering himself obnoxious to the union-loving portion of the community. He usually went armed with a couple of revolvers and a bowie knife and openly defied the authorities to arrest him. The fall of Vicksburg and defeat of Lee at Gettysburg seemed to embitter him and his harangue became more violent and threatening.

On the first of August, accompanied by seventy or eighty men in wagons, all armed, he went to South English in Keokuk county, and held a meeting in the outskirts of the village. Whilst this was in progress, a Republican meeting was organized in the street opposite the hotel, which was addressed by a man named Settler, from Mt. Pleasant, who happened to be at the hotel. During the progress of this meeting, Tally and his crowd in wagons drove through the meeting, exhibiting butternut and copperhead pins, which were the recognized badges of disloyalty in the North at that time.

A wounded soldier named Moorman, seized one of the men bearing a butternut and stripped it off and was proceeding to save others in the same way when he was seized by some of them. His father went to his rescue and discharged his revolver. At this, Tally raised up in his wagon and gave the word to fire, at the same time firing his own revolver into the crowd and a regular fusilade was discharged by his armed followers, but singular to relate without hitting anyone. I was there the next day and saw many bullets imbedded in the hotel front. The firing was returned and Tally was killed and one of his men wounded. On the fall of their leader they drove off vowing to return and hang a number of the citizens and burn the town.

Word was set to Washington, Iowa, where Col. N. P. Chipman, Chief of Staff for General Samuel R. Curtis, happened to be at home on a short furlough. He left immediately for South English, whither I accompanied him in the interests of the *Muscatine Daily Journal*, of which paper I was then city Editor.

On our arrival Col. Chipman organized a company, erected barricades and prepared to resist any effort to take the town. During the day companies of state militia arrived from Washington and others came in from Poweshiek and Iowa counties, and the town was turned into a military camp, with Col. Chipman in command and J. F. McJunkin of Washington, afterwards attorney-general of Iowa, as Adjutant.

In the meantime a mob of six or seven hundred men had gathered in the bottoms of Skunk river armed with all kinds of weapons from shot guns to meat axes. They demanded that ten of the best citizens of South English should be arrested and immediately tried, charged with the crime of murder in the first degree, and threatening to march on the town and burn it, and seize the men themselves and hang them, unless their demand was complied with.

The messenger sent by them, discovering the preparations made for their reception, returned and reported that the men were willing to give themselves up to the proper authorities for trial, which under the circumstances of Col. Chipman's preparation was accepted.

They were arrested by Sheriff Adams, had a preliminary hearing before a Justice of the Peace, and were bound over in the sum of \$1,000 each for their appearance at the next term of the District Court. The army of the Skunk was dispersed and Col Chipman's forces sent home and it was supposed the affair had ended. But during the night another mob of nearly a thousand men gathered on Skunk river bottom near Sigourney and threatened to march on that place and destroy it unless the men bound over at South English were immediately brought to Sigourney and placed on trial. There was great excitement at Sigourney, the business houses were closed and nearly every man turned out to defend the place. There was no railroad or telegraph line to Sigourney at the time.

Mr. Sanders, the clerk of the court, who afterwards established and conducted Sanders' Stock Journal at Chicago, drove to Washington and took an engine from there to Muscatine, where he got into telegraphic communication with Governor Kirkwood. I went back on the engine and drove to Sigourney, finding the town in a state of great excitement, patrolled by a company of home guards only half of them armed. The town was filled with ugly, scowling, armed rioters from the rendezvous on Skunk river and things looked pretty squally.

During the night Governor Kirkwood came in from Washington accompanied only by Col. Trumbull of his staff, afterwards Colonel of the 9th Cavalry. They drove direct to the court-house and Governor Kirkwood at once proceeded to make a speech.

It is only once in a lifetime that a man is permitted to hear such a speech, and especially to such an audience under such circumstances. The grand old man seemed to be inspired; he was utterly fearless, although apparently in imminent danger from the rough crowd that surrounded and threatened at times to hang him, hissing and howling curses at him, which however failed to interrupt his speech. And such a speech! Its like never came from the mouth of any other governor of any state. It was far from ladylike, in fact would hardly

do for print, but was vigorous, virile and to the point, filled with good old English and interspersed with an occasional round mouth-filling epithet as he referred to the rebels. It was exhilarating, exciting but fearsome to see that rugged, fearless, earnest, grand man standing up in the middle of the night hurling denunciations and threats to such a mob. He told them he had come to see that the law was enforced; that the people of South English would be fairly tried and if guilty punished, but not by such a scoundrelly mob as confronted him; that he had reason to believe that they were drawn together not so much to punish crime or see that it was punished, as to throw obstacles in the way of the government in putting down the rebellion; that he didn't propose to have any fire-in-the-rear rebellion in Iowa and unless they dispersed before morning he would have them shot down like dogs; that he had ordered troops which were on their way, and when they arrived the next day they would shoot, and shoot straight, and shoot leaden bullets, not blank cartridges; that he would put down this mob if he had to kill every mother's son of them—although that was not exactly the name he applied, but it would not be polite to give it verbatim.

His appearance and bravery cowed them and they commenced to slink away, and before the Governor would go to bed most of them had left town. The next morning a company came in from Muscatine and during the day others arrived from Mt. Pleasant, Washington and other towns, and by evening there were ten companies of militia quartered in and around the town and the mob had entirely dissolved and gone home.

I have always thought that there would have been bloodshed if Governor Kirkwood had not fearlessly met the crisis.

A number of the rioters were arrested and bound over, charged with exciting a riot, but they, together with the South English prisoners, were released and all prosecution was wisely dropped at the next term of court.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

STATUE OF MAHASKA.

An ideal portrait in bronze of Mahaska, a chieftain of the Iowa tribe of Indians, was unveiled and dedicated at Oskaloosa on May 12, 1909. It is the gift of Mr. James D. Edmundson, of Des Moines. The figure is seven and one-half feet in height, on a pedestal of granite of about the same height, which bears four bronze tablets whose inscriptions read as follows:

ON THE FRONT OR WEST TABLET.

MAHASKA.

ON SOUTH TABLET.

Mahaska, for whom Mahaska county was named, was chief of the Ioway tribe of Indians. He lived at peace with the white man and was slain by an Indian in 1834, at the age of fifty years, in what is now Cass county, Iowa.

ON EAST TABLET.

Presented to the city of Oskaloosa by James Depew Edmundson, in memory of his father, William Edmundson, who settled in Iowa in 1836, and who as sheriff under appointment by the territorial legislature, had charge of the organization of Mahaska county, which was completed on the 13th day of May, 1844.

ON NORTH TABLET.

The Ioways, a powerful tribe of Indians for which the State of Iowa was named, at one time inhabited the southeastern portion of the territory which now constitutes the State of Iowa, and which includes in its borders the county of Mahaska.



Statue of Mahaska, at Oskaloosa, Iowa.



The statue was modeled by Mr. Sherry E. Frye, a young Iowa sculptor then residing in Paris. The model in clay won for the sculptor honorable mention when exhibited in the Paris Salon. The statue in bronze was also exhibited in the Salon of 1908, winning for the sculptor a gold medal and membership in the American Academy at Rome.

At the dedication, Hon. J. F. Lacey, in the principal address said:

"The Iowa Indians, whose name first appears in Lewis and Clark's journals as Ayauway, occupied this fertile and lovely land. Among the chiefs was Mahaska, a splendid specimen of mental and physical manhood, six feet and two inches tall.

Mahaska realized the power of the white people and the necessity of accepting the new order of things that the establishment of the republic had brought about. He took pride in the fact that he was guiltless of any white man's blood, and it was only to avenge the wanton murder of his own father that he took up arms against enemies of his own race. He gave up some Indians for the murder of white people, and fell a victim in 1834, in his tepee out on the Nodaway, killed in revenge for his friendly conduct towards the white race."

The chieftain whose life this monument commemorates participated in most of the councils and signed many of the treaties whereby his tribe dealt with other tribes and with the United States with respect to the use and title of lands now within or bordering on the State of Iowa. He was joined by Mah-ne-hah-nah, "The Great Walker," in agreeing on behalf of the Iowa tribe on August 14, 1824, to the west and north boundaries of the State of Missouri. He was joined by nine other braves and head men in signing a treaty at Prairie du Chien on August 19, 1825, wherein the inter-tribal dissensions over lands in our State and the grievances of some of the tribes against the United States were settled. In this treaty the tribes were allotted specific portions of land. But the Iowa and the Sac and Fox tribes agreed to the use in common of lands now within the State of Iowa south of a line "commencing at the mouth of the Upper Ioway river on the west

bank of the Mississippi, and ascending the said Ioway river to its left fork; thence up that fork to its source; thence crossing the fork of Red Cedar river in a direct line to the second or upper fork of the Des Moines river; and thence in a direct line to the lower fork of the Calumet river; and down that river to its juncture with the Missouri."

THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association was organized at Lincoln, Nebraska, in October, 1907. It resulted from a conference called by Mr. C. S. Paine, Secretary of the Nebraska Historical Society, and was participated in by representatives from activities in the States of Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Minnesota and Montana. Mr. F. A. Sampson, Secretary of the Missouri State Historical Society, was elected president and Mr. C. S. Paine, secretary. The first regular meeting was held at Madison, Wisconsin, in December, 1907, at which Hon. Thomas M. Owen, Director of the Alabama Department of Archives and History, was made president and Mr. Paine, secretary. At that meeting a constitution was adopted. The object of the Association is stated to be the promotion of historical study and research, and of co-operation between historical activities of the Mississippi Valley. It provides that any one interested in these matters may become a member, and also provides for two meetings each year, one to be held in June and one in connection with the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in December. The annual dues are one dollar. The midsummer meeting of 1908 was held at Lake Minnetonka, Minnesota. At this meeting Dr. Clarence W. Alvord, Assistant Professor of History in the University of Illinois, was made president. The midwinter meeting of that year was held at Richmond, Virginia. The second annual meeting of the Association was held in the rooms of the Missouri Historical Society in St. Louis, June 17-19, 1909.

At this meeting an excellent program was presented and it was decided to publish the first volume of transactions at once, and distribute the same to all members. Dr. Benjamin F.

Shambaugh will edit this volume, which will contain all of the papers that have been presented at the meetings of the Society to date. It was voted to name a board of publication, to be composed of one representative from each of the States of the Mississippi Valley; this board to be authorized to raise a publication fund for the purpose of issuing a series of Mississippi Valley Historical Collections, and to have entire direction of all matters pertaining to the publication of such collections. It was suggested that if \$100 could be raised by popular subscription or otherwise in each of the States represented, a fund would be created sufficient to publish the first volume, and that the proceeds from the sale of the first volume would publish another, and so on. At this meeting a committee of five was appointed whose business it will be to encourage local societies to provide, through legislative appropriations or otherwise, funds for the appropriate marking of historic sites.

The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President, Orin G. Libby, Professor of History, University of North Dakota; Vice-President, Benjamin F. Shambaugh, Professor of Political Science, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa; Secretary-Treasurer, Clarence S. Paine, Secretary Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln, Nebraska. Executive Committee (in addition to the above named officers who are members ex-officio), Dunbar Rowland, Director Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Mississippi; Charles E. Brown, Chief State Historical Museum, Madison, Wisconsin; Francis A. Sampson, Secretary and Librarian State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri; Thomas M. Owen, Director Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama; Clarence W. Alvord, Assistant Professor of History, University of Illinois.

Invitations were received from several cities which desired the honor of entertaining the next annual meeting. These invitations were referred to the executive committee with power to act. It is understood that either Iowa City or Des Moines will be selected.

The membership of the Association at present numbers three hundred, distributed over thirty-eight states, the District

of Columbia and Canada. Illinois leads all the other states with fifty-six members, Missouri comes second with twenty-six, Iowa and Nebraska tie with twenty-five each, while Ohio has nineteen, Wisconsin fifteen, Michigan eleven, Wyoming ten, etc. These members represent seventy-one colleges, universities and normal schools, sixty-seven public and state libraries, and forty-four historical societies.

REMOVAL OF GOVERNOR BRIGGS' BODY TO IOWA.

One of the most commendable things accomplished by the Thirty-third General Assembly was the carrying out of the plan of Hon. J. W. Ellis, the Representative from Jackson county, of returning to Iowa soil the body of Ansel Briggs, the first governor of Iowa. Jackson county was the home of Governor Briggs when he was elected in 1846 and during his incumbency of the office for two terms. He resided at the old town of Andrew until 1870, except for a few years spent in Colorado. In 1870 he removed to Council Bluffs, where his home remained until his death, May 5, 1881. He died at the residence of his son, J. S. Briggs, in Omaha, Nebraska, and his body was interred at that place. For a number of years the return of Gov. Briggs' body to Iowa and to his former home was urged by prominent citizens, but the credit of accomplishing this good work is almost wholly due to Mr. Ellis, whose election to the House and whose labors there had this as the central purpose. An appropriation of \$1,000 was made by the State from which to defray the expense and provide a suitable monument to be erected over the grave. The monument, as designed, is to be of granite, in the form of a monolith twelve feet high, on a base bearing a bronze medallion portrait of Governor Briggs, appropriate inscriptions commemorating his life and services, and an outline map of the State of Iowa.

RECENT ACQUISITIONS.

Interesting and valuable items consisting of a sword and the various commissions received by the late Alfred Roberts, a lieutenant in the 3d Iowa Cavalry, have been sent by Mrs. Roberts from her home in San Luis Obispo, Cal.

The pulpit from which Dominie Scholte preached prior to his leading to America the emigrants from Holland who became the founders of Pella, Iowa, has been sent to us by Miss Sara M. Nollen, a granddaughter of Mr. Scholte.

Mrs. Foster Ingalls, daughter of the late William H. Quick, of Des Moines, has presented a collection of lithograph and other pictures of early transportation scenes and personages.

The Misses Lora and Mae and Messrs. Arthur and Harry Hinkle of Selma, Iowa, children of the late Captain Abram Hinkle, have presented a collection of objects and manuscript materials of their grandfather, Captain James H. Jordan, of Iowaville. Captain Jordan came to the Des Moines Valley in 1832 and established trading posts at different points before he opened his post at Iowaville. He remained a trader with the Indians until their removal from the State, when he acquired the land on which the old Sac and Fox village stood, and where Black Hawk died. Among the materials are photographs of the pioneers, Isaac and Jonathan Nelson, Joel T. Avery and Captain Jordan, account books of the trading post, letters from early leaders, original plats of Iowaville, and many museum items of rare interest. Among the latter is the blade of a sword loaned by Captain Jordan to a local Masonic Lodge, in whose possession it was burned with their building. It was presented to Captain Jordan by Black Hawk, who represented it as being received by him from Andrew Jackson. This sword comes to the Department by the special kindness of Mr. Arthur Hinkle, as a loan.

The portrait of Isaiah Meek, a pioneer manufacturer and business man of Bonaparte, Iowa, has been received from his daughter, Mrs. Phoebe L. Moore, of Keokuk.

An oil portrait of the late Justice and member of the Board of Control, Hon. LaVega G. Kinne, has been received and

forms a very valuable addition to the collection of portraits of Justices of the Iowa Supreme Court. It was provided through the generosity of friends of Judge Kinne, and was painted by Prof. Charles A. Cumming of Des Moines.

An interesting and valuable oil portrait of the late Col. H. H. Merritt has been received. It represents him at about the age of thirty years. The family who present it attribute it to George P. A. Healy. Judge George Greene, late of Cedar Rapids, a brother-in-law of Col. Merritt, sat for his portrait at the same time. Judge Greene's portrait, signed by Healy, has been copied by Adeline A. Wiegand, and is among our collections.

The acquisition and installation of the portrait of Gen. James B. Weaver, in February, was attended with unusual interest. Gen. Weaver from his arrival at maturity until the present time, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, has been an active worker in the front ranks of reform. He had been invited some years ago to provide his portrait for the collections, but had not complied, when Mrs. Caroline Young Smith, of Des Moines, daughter of an old friend and comrade, aroused the friends of Gen. Weaver to the purpose of immediately securing and presenting the portrait. Hundreds of friends and comrades of Gen. Weaver responded to the suggestion, and the commission was given to Mr. Charles Atherton Cumming, of Des Moines, whose finished work was turned over to the committee February first. After arranging a public ceremony of installation, the Historical Department of Iowa accepted an invitation from the House of Representatives, then in session, to hold the exercises in its Hall. Governor Carroll presided, and addresses were delivered by Rev. Father Nugent of Des Moines, Hon. J. F. Lacey of Oskaloosa, Judge Horace E. Deemer of Red Oak and Mr. William Jennings Bryan.

"THE ALDRICH COLLECTION."

Iowa possesses few collections of materials which surpass in educational value "The Aldrich Collection." The leading article of the present number of *The Annals* is a partial account by the founder of the Historical Department, of his ex-

periences in building this collection. He was wont at times to doubt the appreciation of the public for the manuscripts, the letters and the memorabilia of the American and foreign men of note, and in justification of his own enthusiasm in the matter, was apt to cite the fact that the great patrons of art and science frequently indulge their taste for autographs; and especially that Mr. Adrian H. Joline, the lawyer and capitalist, not only collected, but wrote a book on the subject, and that Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, the financier, includes the collection of autographs among the enterprises he prosecutes. Mr. Aldrich had become known to the foremost collectors before he presented his collection to the State. When he founded the Historical Department, he began the collecting of autograph materials of Iowa citizens, and it is due to him that there is assembled in easily accessible condition, the portrait and one or more personal missives or manuscripts of nearly every man that has served the State as a prominent official or pioneer. It seems appropriate in this connection, to publish an allusion to Mr. Aldrich which occurs in the writings of the English author, William Michael Rossetti,¹ through whose esteem for Mr. Aldrich an Iowa public came to possess one of the strongest collections of materials of the donor's distinguished brother and sister, Dante Gabriel and Christina G. Rossetti, to be found outside of England.

In 1884 I received a letter from an American, the Honourable Charles Aldrich, living in the State of Iowa, asking me for some autographs, those of Dante and Christina Rossetti being principally in demand. I sent him these, and at various subsequent intervals, numerous other autographs, I dare say more than a couple of hundred, for during many years past I have made it a practice to set apart letters, etc., coming into my hands from interesting persons, and to give them away as autographs to applicants, casual though these may be. Of course, I do not treat thus such letters as are valued by myself, nor such as contain confidential matter. I don't know how many such papers I may by this time have presented in all—perhaps at least fifteen to eighteen hundred, besides several hundred (not all of them unimportant) made over to my daughter Helen. Mr. Aldrich, as I learned, had collected, and still went on collecting, autographs at

¹"Some Reminiscences of William Michael Rossetti." New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906 (Vol. II., p. 508).

a great rate, including many historical and other documents of marked importance. I presume this was at first a private hobby of his own, but it had developed into a public-spirited plan for the benefit of the Iowa State Library. Here are lodged all Mr. Aldrich's copious gleanings, including a "Rossetti section" by no means inconsiderable: and I have seen divers newspaper paragraphs and articles (besides letters from Aldrich to the same effect) showing that this section is—what I should hardly have anticipated—an object of substantial interest to the visitors from various parts of Iowa and elsewhere. Mr. Aldrich, who was engaged in farming when first I knew of him, is now the curator of the "Historical Department of Iowa," in the State capital, Des Moines. I saw him in two instances when he visited England, and I keep up to this day a correspondence with him; and it is no more than justice to say that I never met a man to whom the duties of citizenship seem to come more natural—he appears constantly to merge his personal interests in those of his Institution, his State, and ultimately the American Union. At an advanced age he continues to work hard, and always with a public end in view. On one of his visits to Europe he was accompanied by Mrs. Aldrich, a well informed and well-bred but perfectly unpretentious specimen of the American housewife. My wife conceived a high regard for her, and it was a sorrow to both of us to hear of her decease some few years afterwards.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

ter and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion, Together with Historical Sketches of Volunteer Organizations, 1861-1866. Vol. II, 9th-16th Regiments—Infantry. Des Moines: Published by authority of the General Assembly, under the direction of Brig. Gen. Wm. H. Thrift, Adjutant General. 1908. Pp. 1199.

Under this head the October, 1908, number of *The Annals* contained a review of Vol. I of the Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion. That review described in detail the nature and character of the work. Vol. II has now been published. It is evident that the same painstaking care has been exercised in the compilation of this volume, and the high standard of excellence maintained, which characterized the initial number. About one-third of the space in this second volume is devoted to the history and rosters of the four Iowa regiments which constituted the famous "Packer's Iowa Brigade," which won great distinction during the war and whose survivors still maintain the old brigade organization in a semi-military way. The entire contents of the volume include the histories and rosters of eight infantry regiments, the 9th to Sixteenth inclusive. Even a casual examination of the two volumes now published will show the immense amount of labor and patient investigation involved in the completion of this great work. The compiler now has the material for the third and fourth volumes in an advanced state of preparation and the work is being executed as rapidly as the necessary care in making it as nearly correct as possible will permit. It is estimated that the completed work will consist of not less than eight volumes of the size of those already published, comprising over 1,200 pages each, or approximately 10,000 pages in all.

The persistent efforts of the lamented Charles Aldrich—extended over all the years since the great War of the Rebellion ended—to secure the publication of this work, are finally being rewarded. The State of Iowa has honored itself in yielding to his importunities and providing for the permanent preservation of the records of our soldiers and the military organizations to which they belonged.

NOTABLE DEATHS.

COL. SAMUEL W. DURHAM, one of the oldest pioneers of Linn county, died at Marion, Iowa, May 2, 1909, at the advanced age of ninety-two years. Mr. Durham was descended from Kentucky pioneers; his grandfather, John Durham, having crossed the mountains from Virginia in 1783 in company with Rev. Frank Clark, who established the first Methodist church in Kentucky. In 1815 Samuel Durham's father, Jesse B. Durham, migrated to Indiana where Samuel Durham was born two years later. In 1839 he journeyed on horseback from Indiana and Illinois to Linn county, Iowa, which was his home from that time on. Mr. Durham was a member of the first Constitutional Convention of Iowa and served as its secretary. He surveyed large portions of northern and northwestern Iowa and southern Minnesota under government contracts. He surveyed the city of Des Moines, and also made some of the first surveys in Cedar Rapids and other cities. Col. Durham, as he was familiarly called, was in all respects the type of the old school, honest, obliging, and an honored citizen who had a host of friends. He was a Democrat and personally knew most of the pioneer politicians in Iowa. He was known by every one in earlier Iowa, and he appeared many times as a witness in our courts when questions arose as to disputed corners, and old established roads and streets which he had laid out long ago. Mr. Durham was married in 1843 to Ellen Wolcott who died in 1901. Five children survive them, C. Durham, Mrs. F. L. Tillotson, Mary Durham, B. H. Durham, and Louise Durham. B. L. W.

JACKSON HAYWARD CARTER was born in Bath county, Kentucky, September 27, 1833; he died at Redfield, Iowa, April 10, 1909. His father died in 1836, and he removed with his mother to Morgan county, Indiana. He there learned the blacksmith's trade and for several years engaged in this business and in farming. He removed to Iowa in 1862 and soon thereafter located at Redfield, where he worked at his trade for eighteen years; later he engaged in the hardware business. In 1892 he was elected to the Iowa legislature, representing Dallas county in the lower house of the 24th and 25th General Assemblies. He was later appointed doorkeeper of the Senate and served as such for several sessions.

MATTHEW LONG was born in Columbus, Ohio, in 1824; he died in Marshfield, Mo., about May 1, 1909. He came to Iowa in 1861, locating near Williamsburg. He was a Republican in politics and was elected Senator from Iowa county, serving in the 12th and 13th General Assemblies. After his political career, he removed to Des Moines, where he occupied the position of Secretary of the State Insurance Company. Retiring from this position, he removed to Los Angeles, where he became identified with the insurance business. About twenty years ago he removed to Marshfield, Mo., which place remained his home to the time of his death.

JOHN F. HOPKINS was born October 4, 1821, in Marion county, Ohio; he died at Madrid, Iowa, April 19, 1909. His father, Robert Hopkins, was a veteran of the war of 1812 and a member of the General Assembly of Ohio. His early educational advantages were meagre, but he was a great student and gained a wide knowledge through reading, experience and observation. In 1849 he made an overland trip to California, where he remained two years. He removed to Iowa about 1854, settling in Boone county. Mr. Hopkins represented Boone county in the House of the Thirteenth General Assembly and was instrumental in securing the appropriation for the present State capitol. He was for six years a member of the board of supervisors of Boone county. He was a member of the Pioneer Lawmakers' Association, of the Octogenarian Association of the State, and took a prominent part in the organization of the Old Settlers' Association.

JOHN DAVID NICHOLS was born in Leeds county, Canada, July 22, 1834; he died at Vinton, Iowa, June 20, 1909. When a boy he was apprenticed for seven years to a wagon maker. Finishing his trade before his time had expired, he purchased his release, and was for a time a sailor on the lakes. He studied for the ministry, and was ordained and preached for several years. He came to Henry county, Iowa, in 1857, where he resided until 1863, when he removed to Urbana, Benton county. In 1870 he removed to Vinton, where he studied law with Traer and Gilchrist, and was admitted to the bar in 1872, forming a partnership with Robert St. Clair. He remained in active practice until 1897, the later years of which were in partnership with his son. He served as school director and as mayor of Vinton, and was a member of the Iowa Senate from Benton county in the 17th, 18th and 19th General Assemblies.

WILLIAM SPENCER HALL was born in Sutton, Merrimac county, N. H., April 8, 1823; he died at Onslow, Iowa, April 8, 1909. His boyhood was spent in Michigan and he received his education in the Kalamazoo branch of the University of Michigan. In 1841 he came to Iowa, settling in Dubuque, where he engaged in mining for three years. He removed to Cascade in 1844, and entered the mercantile and real estate business. After a residence of thirty-three years in Cascade, in 1877, Mr. Hall removed to Onslow, Jones county. He served for twelve years as postmaster of Cascade, from 1848 to 1860, and in 1854 was elected representative of Dubuque county in the Fifth General Assembly, and also served in the special session of 1856.

CAPT. MILTON P. RUSSELL was born in North Salem, Hendricks county, Indiana, September 25, 1836; he died in Oakland, Cal., July 2, 1908. He enlisted in the 51st Indiana Regiment October 11, 1861, as a private, but was soon elected first sergeant. He later became First Lieutenant and afterwards Captain. He was in the battles of Shiloh, Murfreesboro, Stone River, and commanded the forces that opposed Mosby. He was captured in May, 1863, and put in Libby prison, from which he escaped through the tunnel. He was recaptured, but later succeeded in getting away. He was discharged May 11, 1865. Soon after the war he removed to Iowa,

residing first at Mitchellville, where he engaged in the grain business. He came to Des Moines about the year 1870. In 1889 he became a member of the board of park commissioners, and during his administration the present park system was planned. He was at one time commander of the Iowa Department, G. A. R. Few men in Polk county were better known, and none had more friends.

JOHN DOZIER SANDS was born at Fakenham Norfolk, England, February 8, 1815; he died March 7, 1909, at Belmond, Wright county, Iowa. He was a private in the English volunteers brought into Canada in 1835 to put down the Papineau Rebellion. After a service for four years, he attended Grand Ligne Academy for three years; thereafter taking the course in theology at Yale, graduating in 1847. From his residence in Essex, Vermont, where he was ordained and served as pastor of a Congregational church for nine years, he migrated to Keosauqua, Iowa. He served as chaplain of the 19th Iowa Infantry throughout the war. He removed to Belmond in 1869. In 1871 he was elected county superintendent. He served as chaplain of his Grand Army Post from its organization until his death. He was a thorough scholar of Greek, Hebrew and French, as well as English; a preacher and teacher throughout his life.

RUTH MCPHERSON MORRIS was born in Grayson county, Virginia, August 22, 1806; she died March 11, 1909, at the home of her granddaughter, Mrs. Anna McPherson Edworthy, Des Moines, Iowa. She was a daughter of John Carey, a Quaker, who removed to Hillsboro, Ohio, in 1816. She was married at twenty-five to Joseph McPherson, and to them were born two children, Daniel and Mary. At sixty she was married to Zadok Morris, who died seventeen years later. In 1900 she removed to Des Moines, thereafter residing with Mrs. Edworthy. She has a brother, Dr. Isaac Carey, residing at Marion, Indiana, at the age of ninety-six. There also reside a grandson, a granddaughter, a great-great-grandson and a great-great-great-granddaughter. She has a sister, Peninah Townsend, aged eighty-five, residing at 853 Barr Street, Cincinnati, Ohio. She was the oldest White Ribboner in the world at her death.

EDWARD AMES TEMPLE was born at Lebanon, Illinois, September 23, 1831; he died at Orlando, Florida, his winter home, February 12, 1909. He was a son of Major George Temple, a territorial legislator of Burlington, Iowa. He was a clerk in the Federal land office at Fairfield, and thereafter at Chariton, Iowa. He acquired land from the government at \$1.25 an acre on which he laid out the town of Mt. Ayr, Iowa, disposing of the last of his lands there some six years ago. He followed a similar course near Council Bluffs, Iowa, and Portland, Oregon, closing out his real estate business soon after forming, with Mr. Simon Casady, the Bankers Life Association, in Des Moines, in 1879. Of this company he became the President and so remained until his death. In his will he made a bequest of \$1,000 for the purpose of placing a tablet in the Historical Building to the memory of his father and certain other Iowa pioneers.

MARCUS C. WOODRUFF was born March 21, 1831, at Aurora, Illinois; he died at the residence of his daughter, Mrs. P. S. Fawkes, at Dubuque, Iowa, March 20, 1909. He was educated at Aurora Academy, migrated to Boone county, Illinois, thence to Hardin county, Iowa, in 1855. He purchased the *Eldora Sentinel* in 1863. In May, 1870, he disposed of the *Sentinel*, and with Charles Aldrich purchased the *Waterloo Courier*, of which he disposed in 1874, immediately purchasing a half interest in the *Dubuque Times*, becoming and remaining its editor-in-chief for several years. He was Chief Clerk of the Iowa House of Representatives in the Twelfth General Assembly. He served as Railroad Commissioner by appointment of Governor Gear for four years. After leaving the service of the State, he was made General Claim Agent for the Chicago Great Western Railroad, continuing in that employment, with his residence at St. Paul, until his death.

JOHN A. EVANS was born in Otsego county, N. Y., May 11, 1833; he died near West Liberty, Iowa, November 16, 1908. He was a son of Simeon and Polly Evans, who removed with their family to Huntsburg, Ohio, in 1834. At the age of 19 Mr. Evans removed to Rock Island county, Ill., where he taught school, soon returning to Ohio, where he remained until 1856, when he removed to West Liberty, Iowa. He was a member of the House of Representatives in the Twenty-second General Assembly from Muscatine county. He was a director of the Iowa Agricultural Society from 1887 to 1892, Vice-President from 1892 to 1894, and President from 1894 to 1896. At the time of his death he was Deputy U. S. Revenue Collector for the Southern District of Iowa.

L. L. ESTES was born in Madison county, N. Y., August 7, 1832; he died April 19, 1909, at Webster City, Iowa. He migrated to Webster City, Iowa, in 1857. He joined the Spirit Lake Expedition for the protection of the settlers in 1857 and was a member of the Northern Border Brigade in 1861. After some years in the mercantile business, he established the banking firm of Young, Estes & Co., composed of the late Kendall Young and himself, which became the First National Bank of Webster City, and was interested in banking enterprises elsewhere. He was once mayor of Webster City, served on the school board and was postmaster during Lincoln's administration.

S. A. FEAY was born at Point Marion, Pa., January 7, 1852; he died at Rock Rapids, Iowa, February 27, 1909. He came to Clayton county in 1855, and to Lyon county in 1879, establishing his residence at Rock Rapids in 1892. In that year he was elected auditor of Lyon county and also to the school board of Rock Rapids, on which he served continuously to the time of his death. He represented the Ninety-ninth District in the Iowa House of Representatives in the Thirty-second and the Thirty-second extra General Assemblies.

WILLIAM HARPER was born in Ross county, Ohio, November 13, 1819; he died January 2, 1909, at Mediapolis, Iowa. He removed from the State of his birth to Yellowspring township, Des Moines

county, in 1842, residing on a farm and teaching school. He spent three years in Burlington as a teacher and later as Deputy Clerk of the Courts. He was a member of the Iowa House of Representatives in the Third and the Thirteenth General Assemblies. In 1877 he took up his residence at Mediapolis, where he opened a real estate, loan and insurance office and became, in 1891, president of the State Bank of Mediapolis.

JOHN H. JENNINGS was born in Greene county, Pennsylvania, April 3, 1825; he died at his home in Boone, Iowa, November 5, 1908. He removed with his father's family in 1839 to Knox county, Ohio, and in 1852 to a farm of 320 acres, which he purchased in Boone county, Iowa, where his home remained during the greater part of his active life. He was a lifelong and active member of the Baptist church; was ever a willing and influential incumbent of the modest, but important offices in the school district, town or county of his residence and represented his county in the House of the Eighteenth General Assembly.

DANIEL FRANCIS was born in Dark county, Ohio, December 5, 1826; he died at his home in Des Moines, Iowa, May 29, 1908. He removed to Penn township, Madison county, Iowa, in May, 1855, and was among the first and most active settlers of that township. He served as justice of the peace two years, assessor fifteen years, county supervisor five years, and was Representative of Madison county in the Eighteenth General Assembly. He removed to Des Moines in 1880, where his home afterward remained.

SAMUEL B. ZEIGLER was born in Center county, Pennsylvania, December 6, 1831; he died at his home in West Union, Iowa, April 19, 1909. He migrated to Dubuque in 1854, and to West Union in 1856, in which year he was admitted to the bar. He established the West Union Bank in 1866, which was merged with the Fayette County Bank in 1872. At the time of his death he was President of the Board of Trustees of Upper Iowa University. He served as United States Consul at Aix-la-Chapelle under the McKinley administration.

GREEN T. CLARK was born in White county, Tennessee, March 25, 1823; he died at Pella, Iowa, Nov. 26, 1908. In 1834 he removed with his parents into the Black Hawk country, settling in what is now Lee county, Iowa. He removed to Marion county, settling in Lake Prairie township in 1843. He was at one time member of the board of supervisors of his county, and served as Representative in the Fifth extra, Sixth, Fifteenth and Sixteenth General Assemblies.

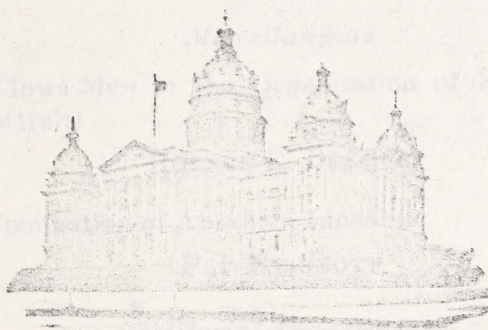
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OCTOBER, 1909.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

A HISTORICAL QUARTERLY.



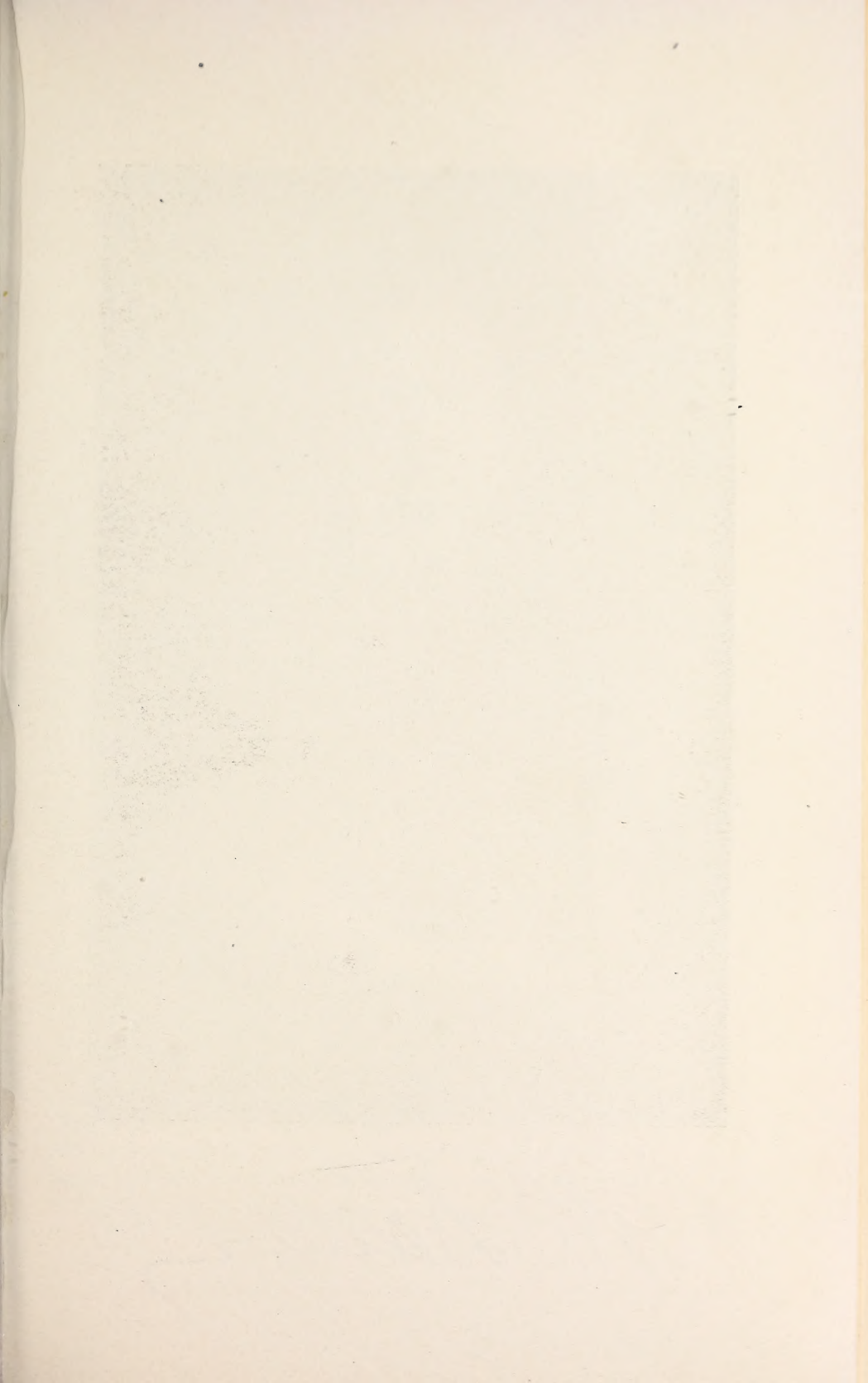
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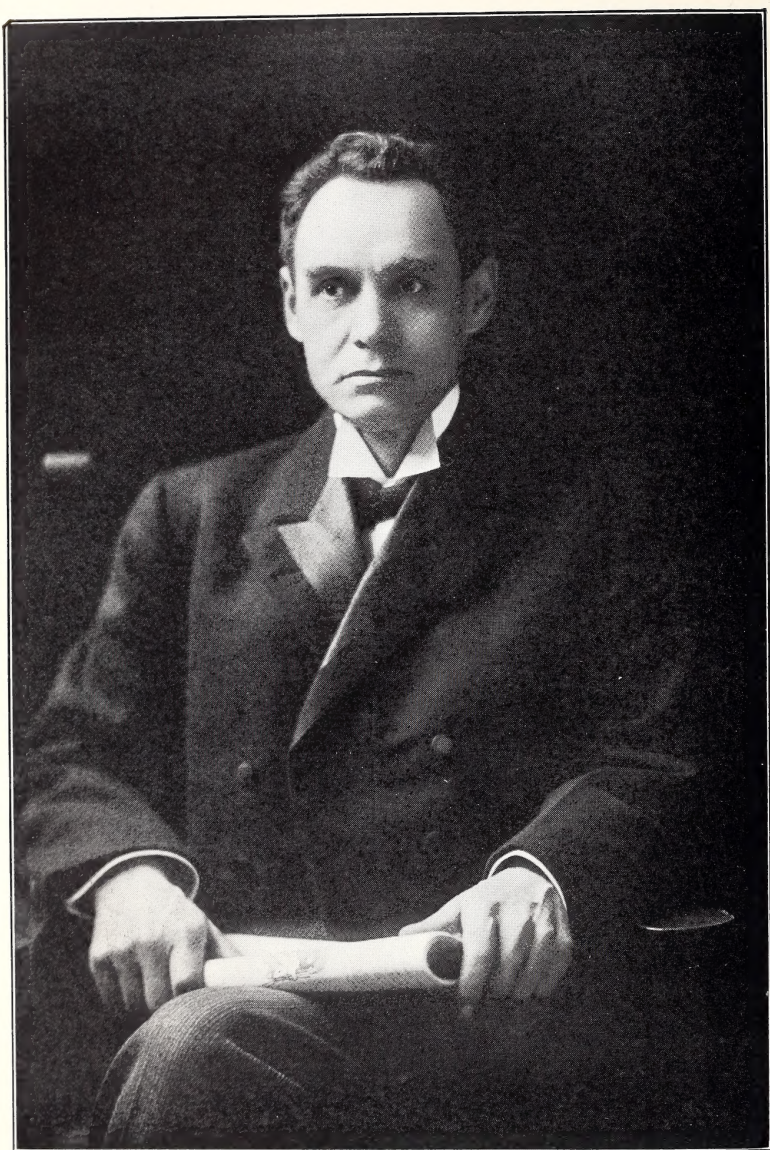
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ANNALS OF IOWA.

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THE PART OF IOWA MEN IN THE ORGANIZATION OF NEBRASKA.¹

BY HORACE E. DEEMER.

On account of the caprices and sinuosity of that strange and muddy stream which marks the boundary between our two States, my jurisdiction for many years has extended over territory which lies west of the Missouri river and it has been difficult at times to tell just where the line between these commonwealths lies. Indeed, as I shall presently attempt to show, there was a time when there was no line of demarkation between the two territories, and western Iowa was either a part of Nebraska or Nebraska extended eastward to the line which was first proposed as Iowa's western boundary—a line following the water-shed between the Mississippi and the Missouri rivers. In the early days it did not seem to make much difference where the line was placed, for in the opinion of many the country was barren and sterile and could never be made a permanent habitation for man. Iowa's delegate in the Congress that passed the first bill for the admission of the State (which fixed this water-shed as a boundary), in all seriousness, when objection was made to that line, solemnly asserted that while the country lying immediately on the Missouri river, of which Congress proposed to deprive us, was said to be fertile, there was a large expanse of land, forming the dividing ridge between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, called the "Hills of the Prairie," which was barren and sterile and which should be excluded from the new State. He contended that to extend the line to the natural boundary, the Missouri river, would introduce a people who coming by way of the Missouri, would be different in origin and dissimilar in customs, and thus destroy that homogeneity of character and interest which was conducive to their well-being

¹Address before the Nebraska State Historical Society, at Lincoln, Jan. 14, 1908, and at various places in western Iowa.

both morally and politically. But saner counsels prevailed and by a very small majority the boundaries originally proposed were disapproved, and Iowa's western boundary was fixed for all practical purposes as the Missouri river. Time has demonstrated that there was such homogeneity of character and interest, that when the Indian country became Nebraska territory, state lines were for many years obliterated or disregarded and the new territory was ruled largely by people who lived east of the lawfully established line; and from that day to the present, Iowans have been potent in Nebraska affairs. Indeed we are still making large contributions, both of men and money to this thriving commonwealth; sometimes with profit to us, and occasionally at great sacrifice of both brain and brawn. In looking over your blue books and noting the names of those who have held and are now holding office, I wonder what you would have done, had you not had Iowa to draw from. Although we have parted with much, we still have enough to fill all the offices and to contribute our quota to the national government. Our people have filled almost every office both at home and abroad save that of the Presidency and for this we now have several available and able-bodied candidates.

As geographical and demographical conditions have much to do with the settlement and institutions of a new country, I ask your attention for a moment to geography, to lines of travel, and to the early settlements in western Iowa and eastern Nebraska. The Missouri river, in addition to being the natural boundary between these two jurisdictions, and finally the legal one, afforded a convenient avenue for the traveler into the Indian country. But as nearly all migration has been along latitudinal lines it was not long until the restless Anglo-Saxon found an overland trail leading to the Pacific. Before the year 1843 there was a well-defined route for trade between St. Louis and the mouth of the Columbia, "where rolls the Oregon," with a branch leading from what is now Grand Island eastward near to what is now Council Bluffs. There were many stations on this eastern terminal, to-wit: Florence, Omaha, Bellevue, Kaneshville, now Council

Bluffs, Traders Point, Plattsmouth, Nebraska City and Brownville. And while the so-called northern route with its terminals on the Missouri river was considerably used prior to the year 1840, the chief travel was over the southern trail until about the time of the gold excitement in California. Before that, however, the Mormons had established a trail across Iowa to Council Bluffs; and from there westward to their future home in the Salt Lake Basin.

With that eye which has always characterized the man from Iowa, one William D. Brown, of Mt. Pleasant, in that State, who had started for the California gold fields, saw an opportunity for money-making at what is now Council Bluffs and he established what was known as the "Lone Tree Ferry" which crossed the river between what is now Council Bluffs and Omaha. The name was suggested by the presence of a single tree on the Nebraska side of the river from the foot of which the ferry landed and departed. As citizens of Mt. Pleasant had much to do with the organization of Nebraska, I shall ask you to bear that name in mind. This same man Brown in November, 1853, made a claim to what is now the site of the city of Omaha which was originally called "Henn-town" in honor of another Iowa man; and Brown made the first survey, either regular or irregular, of land in Nebraska. Brown also engaged in the hotel business at Council Bluffs, conducting what was known as the "Bluff House" and with Samuel Bayliss, Enos Lowe, Joseph D. Street and others, all residents and citizens of Council Bluffs, organized in the year 1853, a steam ferry known as the "Council Bluffs and Nebraska Ferry Company," which was afterward to play a large part in the organization and development of Nebraska and particularly of Omaha.

One of the most important branch roads which led to the main trail was what was known as the old Military Road from Nebraska City, near old Ft. Kearney, to a point some twenty miles from new Ft. Kearney where it intersected the old Oregon Trail. Other branches led from Florence, Bellevue, Plattsmouth and Brownville. Before the organization of the territory there were ferries between Iowa and Nebraska at Ne-

braska City, Traders Point, St. Marys, at or near Council Bluffs to Omaha and Florence, and at Sargents Bluff near Sioux City. These ferries were owned and operated almost exclusively by Iowa men. Coming from the south by stage or boat from St. Joseph, the traveler of the early days would pass in turn Brownville, Hamburg, Nebraska City, or old Ft. Kearney, Civil Bend or "Hog Thief Bend" as it was then called, Plattsmouth, Sharpsburg or Bethlehem, St. Marys, Traders Point, Bellevue, "Millers Hollow" or Kanessville, now Council Bluffs, Omaha, Ft. Calhoun or Florence, Decatur and Sargents Bluff. And landward from the river on the Iowa side were Sidney, Percival and Tabor in Fremont county, "Coon Hollow" or Glenwood, Pacific City and California City in Mills county. Coming from the east by way of the Mormon trail or by way of the old Western Stage coach route, both traveler and pioneer made for one of these Iowa towns. There was also a stage route from St. Joseph on the south up through Hamburg, Percival and St. Marys and on to Council Bluffs; and the river furnished a means of transportation for travelers and traders from the south. Because of this fact Hamburg was largely settled by southerners,—there being no road or trail from the east into that town. The population of Sidney, Tabor, Glenwood, Pacific City, California City and to a large extent of St. Marys, was made up of New England people who followed the wagon roads from the east.

The Mormons on their trip from Nauvoo westward settled in large numbers at "Millers Hollow" or "Mormon Hollow," sometime Kanessville; and many of these undaunted religious enthusiasts, particularly of that branch adhering to the faith of Joseph Smith, remained in Pottawattamie, Mills and Fremont counties. But from the earliest times what is known as Council Bluffs had a cosmopolitan population, coming from God knows where, adventurers, soldiers of fortune, hunters, traders, gamblers and the usual nondescript class found on the outposts of civilization.

After the path-finders like Lewis and Clark and Fremont, came the traders and the trappers, the first settlers of a new country, and so it happened that the first permanent settler

n this region of whom we have any note was Peter A. Sarpy, who as a representative of the American Fur Company, came to the post at Bellevue in the year 1823. Sarpy soon took up his residence in Mills county, Iowa, where he married his squaw wife, Nicoma, and where he lived until the year 1862, when he removed to Plattsmouth, Nebraska, dying there in the year 1865. Sarpy established Traders Point in Iowa and when it was washed away by the treacherous Missouri in the year 1853, founded a new town which he called St. Marys, in Mills county, where he made his home and conducted a little hotel until his removal to Nebraska. This old Iowa pioneer laid out the town site of Bellevue in 1854 and with Stephen Decatur and other Iowans laid out the town of Decatur above old Ft. Calhoun. The biography of this brusque old trader reads like fiction and in truth his life was a romance from beginning to end. He was followed by other traders and speculators on both sides of the river, to some of whom we shall have occasion to refer.

With the trader or closely following in his footsteps came the man of God—the missionary, the priest and the prelate, the men who came not in search of land or gold but human souls. As usual the first of these holy steel-souled men was a Roman Catholic, a Jesuit, Father De Smet. Father De Smet came into the Missouri river territory in the year 1838. Previous to going into the Indian country, Father De Smet was located on the east side of the river for something like two years, among the Pottawattamie Indians, and tradition has it that he numbered Sitting Bull among his converts and taught him something of the French language. Presbyterian missionaries came to the Indian agency at Bellevue at a very early date and the Methodists, who have always possessed the missionary spirit, were on the outposts before the creation of the territory. Among these was Hiram Burtch who came from Dubuque, Iowa, and entered upon his ministry at Nebraska City in the year 1855. Elder Moses Shinn who came into Iowa in 1839 went to Omaha in 1855 where he lived and preached and prayed until his death in 1885. He, too, at one time was located at Mt. Pleasant, Iowa. Another

man of God from Iowa who made a profound impression upon the educational, moral and religious life of Nebraska was Reuben Gaylord, the second Congregational minister in Iowa and the first in Nebraska, who landed in Omaha in 1855, after sojourning in Iowa from the year 1843, part of that time at Mt. Pleasant. He was one of the famous "Iowa Band" which came out of Andover for missionary work in the "Great American Desert"—a body of educated and energetic men whose influence both upon Iowa and Nebraska no one can measure. Gaylord was the first man to suggest a Congregational college in Iowa, and the splendid institution at Grinnell in our State is the result of his labors. Iowa was a sort of religious seed plot for all regions roundabout, and these pioneer missionaries and preachers not only fought the good fight for their several denominations, but gave character to the communities in which they labored.

As man is gregarious by nature it is not long in the history of any new community until the usual institutions growing out of our social order are established, and so with the churches and the schools come the secret societies. Masonic and Odd Fellow's societies were in the Missouri River Valley before the creation of Nebraska territory. In February of the year 1855 a Masonic lodge was instituted at Bellevue, the meeting being held in the second story of the old trading post building with Indian blankets for an altar; the walls being covered with Mackinaw blankets. Among those applying for a dispensation, who met at St. Marys, were the following then living in Iowa: Ex-Gov. Ansel Briggs, J. P. McMahon of Council Bluffs, A. W. Lockwood of Traders Point, and George Hepner of St. Marys. These men were among the first officers of the lodge. Peter A. Sarpy was the first man initiated, but he was raised to the degree of Master Mason at Council Bluffs and not at Bellevue because of lack of a suitable room and paraphernalia at the trading post. Hepner was a close friend of Augustus C. Dodge, then Senator from Iowa, and he did much in securing the Senator's support for the Nebraska Bill. He was a member of the Iowa legislature for two terms and died at St. Marys, Iowa, in 1857. Alfred D. Jones, the first post-

master of Omaha, was the first Odd Fellow in the new territory and as early as 1855 he, with Hadley D. Johnson of Council Bluffs and other Iowans, petitioned for the institution of a lodge at Omaha. This lodge was instituted by J. P. Cassidy of Council Bluffs in the year 1856, and several men living on the east side of the river held the first offices. These Iowa men naturally gave color and tone to the work of these two leading secret societies, and as usual held most of the offices.

Close upon the heels of the trader and the missionary in every new country comes the journalist, and in this field Iowans also played a prominent part. The first newspaper upon the Missouri Slope was established by that good old Mormon Elder, Orson Hyde. This was published at Council Bluffs under the name of the *Frontier Guardian*, its first issue being under date of February, 1849. This was published by him for three years, or until 1852, when it was sold to Jacob Dawson of Fremont county, Iowa, who afterward established the *Wyoming Telescope* in Otoe county. The *Council Bluffs Bugle* was established by Joseph E. Johnson in 1852, and this pioneer Iowa editor published the first so-called Omaha paper, known as the *Omaha Arrow*, from his office in Council Bluffs in the year 1854. This paper had much to do in securing the location of the territorial capital at Omaha. Johnson was a Mormon and his marriage was performed by the Prophet, Joseph Smith. Collaborating with him in this Omaha enterprise was another Iowa editor, Joseph W. Pattison, who it seems retained his residence in Iowa until he enlisted in the Union Army in 1861. At that time he was editor of the *Iowan*, published at Sidney. Johnson has been described as the most versatile and ubiquitous and probably the most unique figure of Nebraska journalism. Pattison was a young man of striking originality, ready imagination, and of many happy conceits. But the first paper published for Nebraska was known as the *Palladium*, printed at St. Marys and issuing its first number July 15th, 1854. Daniel Reed, its publisher, lived at St. Marys until November of that year when he moved to Bellevue where he died in 1859. Thomas Morton, one of

the editors of the *Palladium*, lived at St. Marys until the fall of 1854, when he moved to Bellevue and with the suspension of that paper in April, 1855, moved to Nebraska City where he established the *Nebraska City News*,—the material being furnished by A. A. Bradford, a former resident of Sidney, Iowa. The material came largely from Sidney where it was used in printing the *Fremont County Journal*. Morton was a deliberate independent thinker who saw with great clearness the future of this new country. Reed was a New Englander of great conservatism and of puritanic cast of mind, little adapted to the frontier life in which he labored for so short a time. Bellevue's loss of the territorial capital blasted all hope of newspaper success and the paper went out of existence in April, 1855. The *Nebraska City News*, established by Morton and Bradford, and first printed at Sidney, Iowa, is now the oldest paper in Nebraska. The *Peoples Press*, established at Nebraska City in 1858, was edited for a time by William H. Watters, another Iowa man who sojourned for a time at Mt. Pleasant. The *Wyoming Telescope* of Otoe county was established in October, 1856, by the Davidson who purchased the *Frontier Guardian*, and this paper was sold to the *Nebraska City News* in 1860. In 1858, Hadley D. Johnson of Council Bluffs, Iowa, who had theretofore figured prominently in Nebraska affairs, established the *Nebraska Democrat*, which was discontinued in a short time and the material sold to one Owens, who established what was known as the *Courier* at Florence. Johnson bought his material from Peter A. Sarpy, who then owned what was left of the *Palladium* and *Courier* of Bellevue. W. C. Jones also started a paper as early as 1854 at Florence, known as the *Rock Bottom*. It was printed and edited at Council Bluffs, Iowa. Other pioneer editors from Iowa were Alfred H. Townsend and Hiram D. Hathaway of the Plattsmouth *Platte Valley Herald* and *Nebraska Herald*.

Although no part of Nebraska was really open to settlement until the year 1854, we find many squatters on this side of the river near military or trading posts, and a large majority of these were Iowa men, some of whom have already been men-

tioned. One of Nebraska's most distinguished citizens, some time an officer of the State Historical Society, in a learned address upon the philosophy of emigration, declared that patriotism or politics—or both—was the incentive to the western course of empire. That both have been strong motives for the settlement of a new country is undeniable, but I must believe that baser and more ignoble sentiments have sometimes actuated the earlier settler. As we look back upon those Iowans who settled upon the eastern bank of the Missouri river I fancy I see them casting covetous eyes upon this Indian country, and that personal gain may have induced them to cross over and mark out claims even in the face of prohibitive acts of Congress. This was true in Iowa and has been the case in every western state. These early settlers were mere squatters and doubtless lawbreakers and trespassers, but as a rule they were honest men seeking to better their own conditions. They were lawbreakers but were not lawless. They were Anglo-Saxons, and although upon soil which they could not rightfully claim their own, they almost immediately took steps looking to the organization of social institutions and borrowed from Iowa and from Iowa men what have been denominated "squatter constitutions." They organized extrajudicial societies known as "Claims Clubs" for the protection of the property upon which they settled and to which they laid claim. Through these organizations they found mutual protection and secured social order. Disputes over claims were settled by these associations or committees thereof, and the decisions of these tribunals were obeyed and respected. True, each claimant was allowed double the amount of land which under any circumstances he might have obtained from the general government, but they were not operating under general statutes or acts of Congress. They paid nothing for the land which was then unsurveyed, but they did make improvements thereon, sell and dispose of it and asserted a superior right to purchase it from the government when opened for entry or sale. These clubs also gave the settler protection against the newcomer or the speculator and fostered a spirit of natural justice and equality among the members.

These Claims Clubs were the first local political institutions of both Iowa and Nebraska. They were purely a western product and undoubtedly gave color to all subsequent political and social life. Whilst these organizations may not have been born in Iowa, they were brought into Nebraska by Iowa men and indicate as nothing else could, that private ownership and good order have ever been regarded by Anglo-Saxons as essential to the stability of political and social organization. These flourished all over Nebraska during and before the early days of the territory. The first territorial legislature composed, as we shall presently see, of a large number of Iowa men, attempted to legalize the claims made by these squatters and recognized by their Clubs. This, of course, was in contravention of federal statutes and of necessity never had any binding force.

As early as the year 1844 and before Iowa was admitted into the Union, bills were introduced in Congress for the creation and organization of the Platte or Nebraska country. There were then no white settlers save perhaps traders and missionaries within the limits of the proposed territory, but there was a great deal of politics in Congress and out. Then as now there were many ambitious men,—men who were anxious for position and place, who were using the slavery agitation to further their plans. True there were a large number of Mormons at what was known as “Winter Quarters,” some six miles north of what is now Omaha, but the proposed admission of the territory was not because of their presence. Attention was called to this country because of the settlements in the far west, the acquisition of new territory from Mexico, the establishment of a transeontinental railway, and the efforts of the anti-slavery men to meet the aggression of the pro-slavery people. Stephen A. Douglas was an able and gifted man and a shrewd and far-seeing politician. By and through the organization of the territory of Nebraska he had hoped to gain some personal political advantage and although a Democrat, to secure the support of both the pro-slavery and anti-slavery men through his advocacy of squatter sovereignty. The people then in Nebraska and across the river in

Iowa were not so much interested in this slavery question as in securing titles to some of the good lands on the west side of the river. As the movement for the organization of the territory of Nebraska seemed to be growing, it was thought advisable by some of these Iowa men to elect a delegate to Congress to look after the interests of the proposed new territory of Nebraska and it was determined by Iowans living in Mills and Pottawattamie counties to hold an election for a territorial delegate in Congress. These Iowans met at Trad-ers Point in Iowa, were ferried over the river to Bellevue and there held an election which resulted in the selection of Had-ley D. Johnson of Council Bluffs, then a state senator in Iowa, by a unanimous vote of 358. Mr. J. P. Cassidy, then and during all his life a resident of Council Bluffs, was one of the clerks of this election. It seems that at the same elec-tion a provisional governor, secretary and treasurer of state were elected, two of whom at least were then residents of Iowa. Various meetings were held during the fall of that year in Pottawattamie, Mills and Fremont counties in which strong resolutions were passed favoring the creation and admission of the territory. Iowa was then represented in the United States Senate by Augustus C. Dodge of Burlington and George W. Jones of Dubuque, and in the House by Bern-hart Henn of Fairfield and John P. Cook of Davenport. Jones and Brown knew Henn very well; and Hepner and some of the other Iowans who had found temporary lodgment on the Nebraska side knew Senator Dodge. Members of the Council Bluffs and Nebraska Ferry Company, composed exclusively of Iowa men, were also warm friends of the Senators and all were anxiously looking forward at that time to some means of rail transportation across the State of Iowa.

In November of the year 1853, Senator Dodge and the then Col. Samuel R. Curtis who lived at Keokuk, Iowa, visited Council Bluffs and in public addresses urgently advocated the organization of the new territory and the construction of railways to that city. Pursuant to his informal election, John-son went to Washington with instructions from his Iowa con-stituents to favor two territories out of what had theretofore

been treated as one, agreeing upon what is now the line between Kansas and Nebraska as the southern boundary of the latter territory. When Johnson reached Washington he found another Johnson occupying his seat, who ostensibly had been elected from the Wyandotte country. Nothing daunted he was introduced by Senator Dodge, who warmly favored his plan, to Judge Stephen A. Douglas, to whom he unfolded his scheme. After due reflection Douglas agreed to it and introduced a substitute providing for the organization of the two territories, and thereafter this was known as the famous Kansas and Nebraska Bill. Senator Jones of Iowa was a member of the Committee on Territories and he also favored the Johnson plan. Representative Henn also endorsed the measure and lent his influence to its passage. It does not appear that Senator Dodge was actuated by political motives in endorsing the scheme, save as his own personal interest might lie in that direction; but it has been charged that Senator Jones was favorable to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and that his sympathies were with the pro-slavery people. Representative Cook favored the measure but took no very active part therein. The records show that the two Johnsons were finally bounced from the floor of the House and thereafter watched the proceedings from the galleries. It was a case of "too much Johnson." Neither, of course, was entitled to a seat, although the Iowa Johnson should have the credit for fixing the boundary line between what thereafter became two great States.

Upon a favorable report of the bill from the Committee on Territories there soon commenced the wordiest and most acrid debate ever held upon the floor of Congress. Politically Nebraska is the child of desperate national contest over the question of slavery, which was supposed to have been settled by previous compromises. This great moral issue was soon discovered to be one which could not be trifled with, and the passage of the Kansas and Nebraska Bill, while it destroyed the Whig party, created the Republican organization and ultimately led to the freedom of all slaves. The bill was passed by the votes of those who upheld slavery; but it

resulted in striking the shackles from millions of human beings. The bill passed May 25, 1854, and was signed by the President May 30th of the same year. The bill provided for a governor, a secretary, an attorney and a marshal, a council of thirteen members and a house of twenty-six. It also provided for one delegate to the Congress of the United States. Francis Burt of South Carolina was appointed Governor, and F. B. Cuming of Keokuk, Iowa, Secretary. Governor Burt intended to make Bellevue the capital of the territory and almost immediately after his appointment went to that place with this object in view. He was a sick man, however, when he went there, and died two days after taking the oath of office. He was succeeded by the Iowa Secretary, Cuming, who according to law became Acting Governor. This Governor never lived at Bellevue but took up his abode at Council Bluffs, Iowa, and from there issued his orders and proclamations. It became the duty of Cuming to organize the territory, to have a census taken and to create districts. He is said to have had great executive capacity and force, undaunted courage and Napoleonic strategy.

The first struggle in every new community, both county and State, is over the seat of government, and Nebraska was no exception to the rule. Governor Cuming favored Omaha as against Bellevue or any town either north or south of the Platte; and the people generally were divided into those favoring some place north of the Platte and those who looked upon the south Platte as being entitled to it; and thus arose the issue which it is said exists to some extent to-day. Just why Cuming favored Omaha will never be definitely known, although it is doubtless true that his Council Bluffs environment had much to do with his decision. It is certainly true that his Iowa friends were interested in Omaha as in no other proposed location, and it is charitable at least to assume that environment and friendship alone guided him to this conclusion. Whatever the fact with reference to this, in order that no one might be overlooked and all might be at home, the Governor by proclamation announced that the enumeration of the inhabitants of Nebraska would begin October

24th, and that he had divided the territory into six districts, three lying north and three south of the Platte river. This apportionment made Richardson county the first district, Pierce and Forney the second, Cass the third, Douglas the fourth, Dodge the fifth and Washington and Burt the sixth. According to the census returns the North Platte country had a population of 914, while the South Platte had 1,818, but when the time came for the legislative apportionment the Governor gave the North Platte country twenty-one members of the Council and House, and the South Platte country eighteen, although these same census returns showed 516 voters south of the Platte and 413 north of that river. Cuming claimed in explanation that the South Platte census had been padded and he rejected some of the returns and made figures of his own from what he declared were reliable sources. It is interesting to note that 13 slaves were enumerated in this census, all found south of the Platte. There is no doubt that this first census was very largely padded and it is a notorious fact that at least two and perhaps more of the enumerators then and ever after lived in Iowa.

Thereafter the Governor called an election to choose a delegate to Congress and members of a legislature which was to convene at Omaha, January 16, 1855. Of the four candidates for delegate but one really resided in Nebraska. Of the other three one was from Missouri, one from Ohio and the other from Iowa. The Missourian, Mr. Giddings, was elected, although our Iowa man, Johnson, was second in the race. Of the members of the legislature it can hardly be said that any of them were permanent residents of the territory. Some of them afterward became such residents but doubtless a majority never did. The greater number of the members were from Iowa. I need only mention Sharp, Nuckolls, Kempton, Bennett, Dr. Clark and Thompson from Mills county, Mitchell, Winchester, Purple and others from Pottawattamie county, Bradford, Cowles and others from Fremont county. Purple was ostensibly elected from Burt county, but in fact he was elected by nine residents of Council Bluffs who went across the river on a hunt for that county in order that they might

cast their votes on proper territory. They never in fact got into Burt county, but this had no effect upon the election returns. Sharp of Glenwood was elected president of the Council and he was true to name. According to tradition nearly all the settlers of Mills, Fremont and Pottawattamie counties voted at these elections, for it was manifest that the question of the location of the territorial capital was to be a live one at the first session. An old Iowan tells me that everybody in Iowa voted at this time; that he did, because he had a right to, as he was over at Nebraska City on business, election day. Nuckolls from Mills county was not only a non-resident but also a minor, and ineligible. Many seats were contested during the first session of the legislature, but none were pressed for the obvious reason that none dared throw stones. Chief interest centered in the location of the capital and a great deal of finesse is shown in the proceedings. Our Iowa man Sharp was an object of suspicion by both the North and South Platte people although he was elected for the South Platte country. The most acrimonious debates were held and all sorts of charges were made. It was said that some of our Iowa representatives not only received money but town lots, but as no title deeds have been displayed I am charitable enough to believe that these good Iowa men were simply looking after interests which they already owned. It is enough here to say that but for Acting Governor Cuming and his Iowa lieutenants the territorial capital would never have been located at Omaha. Had it been located at Bellevue, Plattsmouth or Nebraska City, doubtless the Union Pacific Railroad would have crossed at the place selected and Omaha would have been the Bellevue of to-day.

Coming to the actual work of legislation, these Iowa patriots, lawyers and lawmakers naturally wished the enactment of laws with which they were familiar, and so they adopted in toto the Iowa Civil Code of 1851, and also the chapters of the Code relating to Crimes and Criminal Procedure. We shall presently see how Iowa men were in part at least responsible for the repeal of these latter chapters. This Iowa Code, let me say parenthetically, was one of the best arranged, most sys-

tematic and thoroughly considered body of laws ever enacted by any state. It was largely the handiwork of the then Chief Justice of Iowa, Charles Mason, one of the most learned and scholarly men who ever graced a seat upon any bench. It was one of the early models, following closely upon the one adopted in New York, and has hardly been excelled. The first territorial legislature also passed a prohibitory liquor law by nearly an unanimous vote,—doubtless the result of the presence of the Iowans,—although Nuckolls voted against it. Many people were present to secure special favors in the form of corporate charters and among them were men from Iowa. Two companies were incorporated for the manufacture of salt, one for Salt Springs near Salt Creek; and both seem to have shortly ascended that creek. Several universities were created but none survived that fateful year of 1873. I do not know whether their demise was due to the "Crime" of that year but it is true that the Nebraska University at Fontenelle surrendered its life at that time.

I have already spoken of Enos Lowe the Iowa man who was one of the organizers of the Council Bluffs and Nebraska Ferry Company. He with other Iowa men, Bayliss, J. A. Jackson, Jesse Williams, a member of the firm of Henn, Williams & Co., of Council Bluffs, and Col. Curtis of Keokuk, secured a charter for that company and nearly all the Iowa legislators secured charters for themselves or their relatives. Having passed the prohibitory liquor law, much interest arose in navigation and twenty-two ferries across the Missouri river were chartered. Dr. Clark of Dodge and Nuckolls of Cass were each interested in three different companies.

Although no banks by name were chartered by the first territorial assembly, yet what was known as the Western Exchange Fire and Marine Insurance Company was created, with articles which liberally construed were broad enough to authorize the issuance of bank notes or their equivalent. This charter was secured by Iowa men living at Cedar Rapids,—by name Greene and Weare; by Thos. H. Benton, Jr., of Council Bluffs, at one time State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and by Henn, Williams & Co. of the same place. Ben-

ton was president and the other officers were Nebraska men who afterwards became prominent in political and financial affairs. This institution, like others of its kind, failed in a few years with practically no assets. Whilst the number of Iowa men in the second assembly was diminished, favors were still passed to Iowa people and at least five bank charters were granted as follows: To the Bank of Florence, the Bank of Nebraska at Omaha, the Nemaha Valley Bank at Brownville, the Platte Valley Bank at Nebraska City and the Fontenelle Bank at Bellevue. But one of these was composed of Nebraska men. The Iowa men in the Bank of Florence were largely from Davenport and Iowa City, including the firm of Cook & Sargent, located at the former place. The Bank of Nebraska was composed largely of Des Moines men including B. F. Allen, Hoyt Sherman and others, and the Fontenelle Bank of men from Mills and Pottawattamie counties. The Nemaha Bank was composed largely of citizens of Council Bluffs. In justice to Dr. Miller of Omaha, your honored President, it should be said to his credit that at this first session he vigorously opposed these "wild cat" institutions. At the third session two more banks were chartered, the Bank of Tekama and the Bank of De Soto, but neither of these was organized or controlled by Iowa men. With the panic of 1857 if not before, all these went to the wall and but one or two ever paid out. One of them had assets amounting to \$8.29; another had a safe, a table, a stove and a letter-press; and still another 13 sacks of flour, one large safe, one counter, one desk, one stove, drum and pipe, three arm chairs, and one map of Douglas county, which brought all told \$63.00 at sheriff's sale. Unfortunately these were all Iowa banks. The territorial legislature of 1857 repealed the Iowa Code on Crimes and Criminal Procedure at the instance of a former Iowa man and enacted nothing in its place,—this was also against the vote of your distinguished President, Doctor Miller. As a result, the then territory had neither a crimes act nor any procedure for the punishment of offenses. Some say that this was for the benefit of the fraudulent bankers while others assert that it was for the benefit of a client of a bril-

liant former Iowa member of the legislature, who was charged with murder and who was being defended not only by this member but by another former distinguished Iowan who had at one time occupied a place upon the supreme bench of our State and who was called upon to assist in the defense of one Hargus. Whatever the truth in this regard Hargus escaped by reason of the repeal of the Code of Criminal Procedure. For two years the territory suffered from lack of any sort of criminal jurisprudence.

But for the part of some Iowa men in connection with an underground railway affair, it would seem beside my purpose to refer to that old sore which so long troubled the body politic,—Slavery. It seems that Camp Creek, Nebraska City, Percival and Tabor, Iowa, were stations on an “underground” railway from Kansas to Canada. We have observed that according to the first census there were thirteen slaves in Nebraska. According to the report of a legislative committee there were at one time six and one-half slaves,—the one-half being a small negro boy “in excellent and humane keeping.” Well, at any rate, some Iowa conductors were undoubtedly instrumental in running off two of these Nebraska slaves. Their owner came over to Tabor in search of “his property” and without warrant went through the homes of some of our good people. During the course of his search he struck an Iowa man by the name of Williams over the head, inflicting very severe injuries, and as a result was sued in Iowa and compelled to pay a judgment for damages and costs amounting to something like \$10,000.00. The Nebraska slave owner then sued some well-known Iowa people in the territorial courts of Nebraska for carrying away his slaves, and the territorial judge held there was civil liability for so doing. What finally became of the case I have never been able to discover. The people around Tabor believe to this day, however, that as a sequel to all this trouble Williams lost his barn by fire. One thing may be safely affirmed in this connection and this is that by reason of the proximity of true and loyal Iowa,—the only free child of the Missouri Compromise,—Nebraska from the beginning was destined to be

free State. Missouri with her border ruffians made blood flow freely in Kansas, but she never ventured north of the 37th degree of latitude.

When Nebraska was legally opened for settlement large numbers of Iowa men went over into the territory, not for political purposes but to make homes, and as they drifted into subsequent legislatures they made their impress upon both country and the State. These early Iowans who took charge of Nebraska's affairs were neither better nor worse than their confreres. They were all pioneers, in a new territory, most of them looking out for the main chance, and many of them mere adventurers. Among them, however, were men of refinement and culture who remained in the territory to become honored and respected citizens. The personnel of the territorial assemblies gradually improved in ability and character and notwithstanding the dreadful war which came about largely as a result of the organization of the territory, it would have been admitted into the Union long before but for the political situation which developed under President Johnson. Even then the State was admitted into the Union over the veto of the President on March 1, 1867. It had a territorial existence of nearly thirteen years, and as said by another "it was conceived in storm and born of strife and died a violent death."

It would be unfair and most unjust not to mention in this connection some other Iowa men whose influence upon Nebraska during its formative period was most potent and just. The Governor and ex-Senator Alvin Saunders, an Iowa man of great strength of character, filled the office of territorial governor for at least two terms, and John W. Chapman, and that staunch old pioneer Bruno Tzschuck, should also be remembered. And then there were Augustus Hall, Samuel H. Albert, A. J. Hanscomb, Daniel H. Wheeler, Barnabas Bates, F. Burtch, J. M. Latham, A. J. Poppleton (who was married in Council Bluffs), and Jacob Dawson,—Lincoln's first postmaster. Indeed I hesitate to name the Iowa men who were prominent in Nebraska affairs during its formative period for fear that I shall overlook some whose names are

entitled to recognition. I must, however, before closing refer more at length to three men who had more perhaps to do with Nebraska's growth and present position than any other three who may be named. They are Gen. Grenville M. Dodge, Gen. S. R. Curtis, and Senator Alvin Saunders.

As early as 1825 the commanding officer at Council Bluffs, Gen. Leavenworth, made an elaborate report urging the building of a Pacific railway as a military measure, and General Fremont who explored the mountain pass at the head waters of the Platte said that some day it would be the route of a railway spanning the continent from ocean to ocean. In February of the year 1832 a newspaper known as the *Emigrant* published at Ann Arbor, Michigan, advocated a steam railway to the Pacific but it remained for an Iowan, one John Plumbe, to call the first public meeting looking to that end, which was held at Dubuque, Iowa, in 1836. In 1839, Gen. Curtis, the Iowan hitherto mentioned, drew up a petition which was presented to Congress by Mr. Adams with commendations. Asa Whitney of New York made the first definite proposition for building the Pacific Railway and his first memorial to Congress upon the subject was presented in 1845. In a third memorial presented in 1848, he proposed building a line from Lake Michigan to the Pacific on condition that Congress would sell him a strip of land sixty miles wide along his line for 16 cents per acre. In 1850 the committee of Congress approved the plan and recommended it for adoption and bills were introduced that year for carrying out the enterprise, but none of them came to a vote.

Notwithstanding intense sectional differences the sentiment for such a railway continued to grow and the astute Senator Douglas proposed the land grant system in aid of railways. The then Governor of Iowa, James W. Grimes, a distinguished Iowa statesman, as early as 1854 was a strong advocate of the new road, and equally anxious to have roads built across the State of Iowa forming the connecting link between the roads already built to the Mississippi river and the Pacific Railway on our western border. The first appropriation for a survey was made in 1855 and from that date until 1862 when the bill

passed, there was continuous agitation both in Congress and out for the building of the road for political, commercial and military reasons. The Iowa men in Congress were very solicitous about the matter and worked in season and out for the adoption of such a measure. To avoid the sectional differences which arose and which undoubtedly delayed the passage of the bill, Douglas originated the notion that the builders should determine the route between the termini. Douglas was impatient with those who opposed the bill because it was destructive of State Rights, but it is well known that sectionalism and localism prevented the final construction of the road before the War of the Rebellion. Until the Southern States seceded there was a contest over the location of the road between those who favored the Platte river and those who favored the Arkansas or Kaw. In this contest the Iowa members of Congress played an important and conspicuous part. Preliminary to this, the Iowa members secured grants of land for the construction of roads in Iowa which would form the connecting links between the east and the west. These were secured, of course, by Iowa men. By the original act of 1862 the company was required to construct a line from a point on the western boundary of Iowa. This law provided for the appointment of 153 commissioners and among those selected for Nebraska was Gov. Alvin Saunders, who theretofore had been appointed Governor of the territory by President Lincoln. Senator Harlan of Iowa was very active in the passage of the measure and in the selection of the commissioners.

A little incident showing the influence of Iowa men in fixing the terminal on the east bank of the Missouri river is interesting. It seems that Abraham Lincoln unexpectedly visited Council Bluffs, Iowa, in 1858 or 1859, the exact date being in dispute. He was met at the old Pacific House by N. S. Bates and W. H. M. Pusey, of Council Bluffs, old neighbors in Illinois, and in company with Gen. Dodge and others they went to what is now the cemetery at the termination of Oakland Avenue in Council Bluffs and Mr. Lincoln was there shown the projected route of the Pacific Railway west of Omaha. The advantages of this route were pointed out and

when after being elected President he came to fix the terminal at Council Bluffs he stated that he had no difficulty in fixing it on the section of land which these Iowa men showed him on his visit to Council Bluffs.

Another incident out of connection with the line of thought of this paper but sufficient to justify a reference: While in Council Bluffs, Mr. Lincoln had a land warrant which was issued to him for 160 acres of land as Captain in the Black Hawk War. He had expected to enter this while on his western trip. Evidently he forgot it, for in after years he gave the warrant to his boys "Bob" and "Tad," and they located the warrant upon some land in Crawford county, Iowa.

Peter A. Dey, an honored resident of Iowa, had charge of the surveys, location, and as far as it progressed, of the construction of the road from 1863 to 1865. It should be remembered in this connection that the Mississippi and Missouri River Railway, now known as the Rock Island, was constructed to the Mississippi river and put in operation in the year 1855, and that four railways were soon being surveyed across the State, having in view, no doubt, a connection with the Pacific Railway when it should be constructed. Bellevue and Omaha were again the chief competitors for the Pacific Railway and were, of course, interested in the terminals of the roads coming through Iowa.

Two Iowa men made the survey for the Mississippi and Missouri Railway, Peter A. Dey and Gen. G. M. Dodge. Gen. Dodge states that the promoters favored what was known as the Pigeon Creek route, but that his survey showed the Mosquito Creek route which took the road to Council Bluffs, to be the most feasible one and on that account it was adopted. This in effect destroyed the hopes both of Bellevue and Florence and finally presaged Omaha's future. Bellevue's last hope went glimmering in 1867 when the Union Pacific bridge was located at Omaha and so it is that we have the Bellevue of to-day and not the metropolitan city pictured by her early enthusiasts.

Gen. Dodge made his first survey for the Rock Island in 1853, and in 1866 he was commissioned to examine from the

mouth of the Platte to Florence to determine the best place for a bridge. After looking over the ground he recommended what was then the M. and M. location, which is the present one, as the best from a commercial and engineering point of view.

Gen. Curtis of Iowa was one of the first commissioners of the Union Pacific Railway and he was also largely interested in railway construction in southeastern Iowa. He was a colonel in the Mexican War and Chief Engineer on the Des Moines River Improvement Commission. He moved to Keokuk, Iowa, shortly after his discharge from the Mexican War and was elected to the 35th, 36th and 37th Congresses. While there he was chairman of the Committee on the Pacific Railway and it is said introduced the bill which fixed the Central, or the Platte river route which was finally adopted. While out canvassing politically in 1859 there was an Indian outbreak in Nebraska and he volunteered as an aide to General Thayer of Nebraska and served with him in that campaign. Afterward he enlisted in the War of the Rebellion and earned his star as a general. After the war he was appointed one of the Government Directors of the Union Pacific Railroad and died at Council Bluffs in 1866 while serving in that capacity.

Gov. Saunders although born in the south came west when nineteen years of age and settled at Mt. Pleasant, Iowa. There he became acquainted, perhaps through Senator Harlan, with President Lincoln, and shortly after the inauguration he was appointed governor of the territory of Nebraska. His reappointment was undoubtedly the last official act of our martyred President. Saunders was the war governor of Nebraska and well did he fill the onerous duties of that position. His efforts on behalf of the Union Pacific Railway were of supreme importance to both Iowa and Nebraska and as a Senator of the United States he secured a correction of the northern Nebraska line so as to add 600,000 acres to its already extensive domain. Governor Saunders was one of the founders of the Republican party and was always a leading spirit in Nebraska's material and financial affairs.

Gen. Grenville M. Dodge first saw Nebraska while out surveying the Rock Island line of railway. Looking upon its soil he evidently thought it good, for he induced his father with his family to come west in the year 1855 and to stake out a claim on the east bank of the Elkhorn some twenty-five miles northwest of Omaha. There was only one other family in the settlement at that time. These people were soon driven into Omaha by the Indians. Both Gen. Dodge and his brother, N. P. soon took up their residence in Council Bluffs where they have since resided. Gen. Dodge enlisted in the Union Army from Council Bluffs and for unexampled bravery received rapid promotions, finally reaching the highest rank of any man from Iowa. He continued with the Army for some time after the close of the war and was assigned to a department which included all the territory between the Missouri river and California, and he was in charge of the Indian campaign of 1865 and 1866. Gen. Dodge resigned his commission in the regular army in May, 1866, and was almost immediately appointed Chief Engineer of the Union Pacific Railway. He returned to his home at Council Bluffs and in July of the same year was nominated for Congress. In due course he was elected and served one term. His knowledge of the Pacific Railway was such as to be invaluable to the committee having that matter in charge. He refused renomination to Congress, preferring civil to political life.

Gen. Dodge is a unique and interesting figure in the history not only of Iowa and Nebraska but of the nation. He is the most distinguished veteran of the Civil War now living; is President of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee, and actively engaged in business pursuits. Courageous as a soldier, able and far-seeing as a statesman and distinguished as an engineer,—he may also be truthfully called an empire builder; for the building of the Union Pacific Railway was probably one of the most pregnant events in our history. It joined the east to the west and made us an homogeneous whole. These Iowa men were the chief factors in this event.

This then is in part a history of the part Iowa men had in the organization of Nebraska. From that day to this they

have been potent in all her affairs. In civil, in social, in mercantile, in political and professional life, their influence has been and is now very great, but because of differences in geographical, topographical, sociological and demographical conditions, men of Iowa differ from those of Nebraska. This is true as to all the states and is the chief reason for the maintenance of our separate social and political divisions and subdivisions. Were this not so we might view with entire complacency the rising tendency toward centralization of power in the federal government. I believe in city pride and in state pride. I believe in home rule. I believe in the preservation of state rights. I believe in maintaining those provincialisms, if such they may be called, which inhere in every community and in every state. Each of these subdivisions has its own problems, its own moral tone, its own ideals, and as a man loves his city and state just to that extent does he value his nation. "The grandeur of the forest tree comes not from casting in a formal mould, but from its own divine vitality." State rights and state freedom must be preserved as well as our national union. I do not, of course, minimize the importance of the national spirit, nor would I in any way discredit the federal system—these are strong because of our love for local institutions with their differences and dissimilarities.

The Nebraskan is perhaps more apprehensive, more mercurial, than the Iowan and he is not perhaps so conservative. Nature has been more or less uncertain in her moods and more fickle in her habits in Nebraska than in Iowa, and this has been reflected in legislation, municipal and state. Men have been more ready to try experiments on the west side of the river than on the other. But the underlying moral qualities and the fundamental ideals of justice have always been the same. It is because of this and of this attachment to local matters that men love their country,—have been willing to fight for and if need be die for it. Whenever I see a state or nation storm-swept with passion or in the throes of an incipient revolution, I think of Wordsworth's "Happy Warrior" who "Through the heat of conflict keeps the law in calmness made, and sees what he foresaw."

IOWA AND THE FIRST NOMINATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.¹

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THE PRELIMINARIES OF 1859.

4—Expressions July-December.

Public discussion proceeds like the tides and waves of the ocean, now flowing, accumulating and surging, then receding and ebbing to the point of quiescence. Following the general expression of party opinion in the forepart of 1859, respecting the primary political issues and the comment relative to the availability and chances of the several Republican champions mentioned or urged as desirable candidates for the Presidency, both public and party interest in the subject fell to a low ebb.

During the summer and fall the majority of the party papers in Iowa scarcely mentioned the presidential succession at all. One searches in vain for any personal editorial interest in the approaching national campaign in the columns of *The News* of Boone, *The Intelligencer* of St. Charles, *The Journal* of Elkader, *The Ledger* of Fairfield, *The Guardian* of Independence, *The Visitor* of Indianola, *The Pioneer* of Leon, *The Advocate* of Lyon City, *The Linn County Register* of Marion, *The Visitor* of Marengo, *The Express* of Marietta, *The Republican* of Montezuma, *The Courier* of Ottumwa, *The Hamilton Freeman* of Webster City, and *The Black Hawk Courier* of Waterloo. Most of them do not even reprint articles from the eastern press anent candidates or issues. Mr. Teesdale's prediction in April was verified literally. Local matters and news, the state election and general subjects of national or international moment apparently completely absorbed public interest. The same may be said for the most part of the

¹For previous sections of this study see THE ANNALS, Vol. VIII, pp. 186-220, 444-466; and Vol. IX, pp. 45-64.

Republican press in the larger cities. Expression of editorial opinion was rare and little or no attention was given the matter in the way of reprints of articles or pithy paragraphs dealing with the men or measures with which political debate was soon to be chiefly concerned. It was not until the middle of November, when the returns from the state elections were definitely known and the nature of the party prospects began to appear with some distinctness against the political horizon, that editors began again to indicate a definite interest in the approaching presidential contest and to express opinions indicative of personal convictions. There were, however, a few expressions between July and November worth noting.

(a) Ethics, Law and Fugitive Slaves.

In the forepart of July Mr. John Edwards, editor of *The Patriot*, of Chariton, declared a sentiment of no little significance in view of the bitter controversies in Congress and in the country at large over the apprehension of fugitive slaves. A judge in Ohio had but shortly before been defeated for re-nomination by the Republican state convention of that State because of a decision by him sustaining the constitutionality and enforcing the provisions of the Fugitive Slave law in arrest of a fugitive. After pronouncing the action of the convention "an egregious blunder" Mr. Edwards said:

We opine a large majority of the Republicans coincide with Judge Swan and would sustain him in his decision. Not that they do not regard the Fugitive Slave act as very odious, unjust and revolting to every sentiment of humanity and civil liberty; but that it is the law of the land, and sworn judges decided the law to be constitutional. "Whatever may be lawful is not always expedient." The wisest course to pursue is not to throw any obstruction in the way of the enforcement of the law by those who may voluntarily lend their aid to its enforcement. But use all constitutional means to have such an atrocious law repealed in a legal way as soon as possible. Whilst no power on earth could compel us to violate our conscience by engaging under this law to capture runaway slaves, yet at the same time if others could be found to engage in that business, we would not interfere in any unlawful manner to obstruct its legal operation.

"The above," observed Mr. Clark Dunham of Burlington, on reprinting in *The Hawk-Eye*, "expresses our sentiments

exactly. . . . We believe Judge Swan's was a righteous decision under an unrighteous law."¹ About a month later Samuel J. Kirkwood, as a candidate for governor declared himself in virtually the same terms in response to an interrogatory of Gen. Augustus C. Dodge in their gubernatorial debate at Oskaloosa. General Dodge advanced the logic of a citizen's duty under known law a step farther in his counter response to Kirkwood's cross question—Would he, Dodge, assist in catching a slave—by saying “. . . I would do whatever the law requires.”²

The concurrence of Messrs. Dunham and Kirkwood in the view of Mr. Edwards and their disinclination to accept and act upon the doctrine of Gen. Dodge, strikingly illustrates the basic differences and subtleties in the attitudes of the respective disputants towards the major fact in public discussion. Property in human chattels, or Slavery, however abhorrent in and of itself, was an institution sanctioned by age and by positive law. The Republicans constantly declared it to be a creature of law. The constitution of the nation recognized it; the construction and ratification of that instrument being possible only upon the complete recognition of the rights of slaveholders. The Republicans proclaimed their loyal adherence to that supreme statute. The ethics

¹*The Daily Hawk-Eye*, July 15, 1859.

²*Ibid*, Aug. 3, 1859.

The reported questions and answers and rejoinders are worth reproduction. After contending that the Fugitive Slave law was “part and parcel of the constitution,” Gen. Dodge then said:

“Mr. Kirkwood, would you obey the Fugitive Slave law?” Mr. K. replied, “I would not resist the enforcement of that law, but before I would aid in capturing a fugitive slave I would suffer the penalty of the law, but I would not aid in carrying it into execution.”

Mr. K. returned the compliment and asked Gen. Dodge if he would assist in catching a slave. Gen. Dodge replied, “I would; I would do whatever the law requires me to do.”

The following from one intimately associated with his political life when his fame was becoming nation-wide forcefully indicates the attitude and the outspokenness of Mr. Lincoln on this sore point in the discussion of slavery:

“At the time I first knew him it was irksome to very many of his friends to be told that there ought to be an efficient fugitive slave law. But it was his conviction as a lawyer that there ought to be one, and he never failed to say so when interrogated, or when occasion required that that subject should be touched upon. And it is a fact that Abolitionists like Lovejoy and Coddington would take this from Lincoln without murmuring, when they would not take it from anybody else. He never would echo the popular cry: “No more slave States!” Whenever this subject was discussed he would say that if a territory having the requisite population and belonging to us should apply for admission to the Union without fraud or constraint, yet with slavery, he could not see any other disposition to be made of her than to admit her.” Mr. Horace White: Introduction to Herndon and Weik's *Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. I, p. 25.

of the law thereunder clearly enjoined the enforcement of the rights of owners of slaves. The barbarities incident to Slavery, hideous and deplorable as they were, did not *ipso facto* disturb their rights any more than the misuse or abuse of any other form of animate property invalidates an owner's right to its full use and recovery in case of escape. Property consisting of slaves possessed all of the attributes of movable property. It was allowable under the constitution to transport them from place to place with all the right thereto accompanying in full rigor. The furious denunciation of the Dred Scott decision *per se*, the constant, insidious and underground violation of the Fugitive Slave law and the widespread open opposition to its enforcement in the North, the gross tergiversation of Republicans (and of Northern Democrats too) in respect of so-called "Squatter Sovereignty" (or "Popular Sovereignty" as its advocates preferred to call it) and the anarchy inherent in Douglas' answer to Lincoln's question at Freeport—all these palpable inconsistencies in conduct and doctrine finally drove such Southern leaders as Jefferson Davis to sanction disunion and attempt secession.

The concurrence furthermore of Messrs. Edwards, Dunham and Kirkwood affords us an interesting illustration of how factors with contrary antecedents may coalesce and later pursue divergent courses. Mr. Edwards' view was obnoxious to abolitionists, to militant churchmen, and to radical anti-slavery men among the Republicans. Yet we find all three men were pronounced or rather denounced as radical anti-slavery partisans by the Democratic press. Mr. Edwards was a Kentuckian by birth and education, whose discontent with Slavery was so great that he emigrated to a free state and emancipated the slaves that he inherited from his father's estate. Mr. Kirkwood was a Marylander whose father and brothers owned slaves. Mr. Dunham was a scion of Puritan stock of the bluest blood, a Vermonter by birth, who had been reared among Southern folk in Licking county, Ohio; for fourteen years editing *The Newark Weekly Gazette*. All three men regarded themselves, and were so regarded by their party associates as "conservatives" with respect to the slavery question. The

position which they took was almost identical with that taken by Judge Bates of St. Louis, when his candidacy for the Presidency was announced in March preceding and consistently maintained thenceforward, the latter more nearly coinciding with Gen. Dodge. In the party preliminaries soon to follow Mr. Dunham finally became an advocate of the nomination of Senator Seward of New York; Mr. Edwards urged the nomination of Senator Cameron of Pennsylvania; and Governor Kirkwood finally threw his influence in behalf of Abraham Lincoln.

(b) An Appeal to Local Pride Rejected.

In the middle of August *The Press and Tribune* of Chicago in a leading article advanced an argument that one frequently encounters in partisan discussion in politics—an argument that is minor in importance and rarely decisive, but one which may exert more or less influence when other considerations are evenly balanced. It was in brief a direct appeal to local pride or prejudice as one may prefer to put it. The editor of that journal had been scanning the almanacs and official blue books and had found that the West had been in political “vassalage” to the East and for years had been “denied” her proper weight in the councils of the nation. He showed that except for a period of 30 days the West had never had a President; had never had a Vice-President, not even a candidate; had had but one of 23 Secretaries of State; but two of the 18 Postmasters-General (John McLean in 1833 being the last); not one of the 26 Attorneys-General; but two of the 31 Secretaries of War; not one of the Secretaries of the Navy. Since the foundation of the government the West had had but 8 out of 151 Secretaries of the President’s Cabinet; but one of 26 Speakers of the House of Representatives; and but one Judge of the Supreme Court.¹

“These facts will surprise the western readers,” remarked Mr. Teesdale, “and justify the indignant commentary of *The Tribune*; and vindicate the conclusion that it is high time the great West, with its teeming population and vast interests,

¹*The Press and Tribune*, Chicago, Aug. 16, 1859: summary taken from *The Iowa Weekly Citizen*, Aug. 24, 1859.

received more consideration at the hands of political organizations. . . .” Mr. Teesdale then proceeds to discuss the significance of the editorial and the wisdom of acting on its suggestion. His language, its tone and substance, illustrates the views of probably the majority of the Republican editors in Iowa in 1859:

We do not understand exactly what *The Tribune* would be at, except that it wants a western President. Its choice is not designated. Having expressed its conviction that the time has not yet come for designating personal preferences, we shall probably be left in doubt, for a time, whether McLean, Chase, Bates, or Lincoln is the favorite.

While admitting the force of the facts presented by *The Tribune*, and the general truthfulness of its conclusions, we believe that the sentiment of Iowa may be thus expressed: Give us the right man, and it is a matter of little moment where he comes from. We are one people, and so ought to remain forever. All other considerations being equal, we may consider locality. If the West has the right man for the place, and he can bring the assurance of success, as fully as any other, there should be a union of western strength in his favor.

A letter written at St. Louis, for the *Springfield Republican*, is copied in the *N. Y. Tribune*. It is designed to give prominence to the name of Mr. Bates, as a western candidate for the Presidency. If its testimony may be relied upon, Mr. Bates occupies the right position on the great question before the people. His faith is evidenced by his works. Looking at Slavery from the right moral and political standpoint, he never could lend the sanction of a name that is the synonym for patriotism and integrity, to the wicked policy of the Slavery Propagandists. But if Mr. Bates cannot secure Missouri or any other slave state, and is not as strong as some others in Ohio, or New York, or Pennsylvania, or New England,—where we must secure success—then Mr. Bates is not the man.¹

(c) Pre-Election Expressions—and Judge Bates.

The exigencies of a strenuous state campaign now absorbed the energies of editors almost exclusively. Early in August *The DeWitt Standard* declared itself an advocate of the nomination of Wm. H. Seward for President and of Cassius M. Clay for Vice-President; and in the common phrase of the day “nailed their names to his mast head”: but the announcement seems to have elicited no comment favorable or unfavor-

¹*The Iowa Weekly Citizen*, Aug. 24, 1859.

able; indeed for the most was not noticed so far as the writer has observed.¹ No other expressions of consequence are discoverable prior to the elections in November. In the columns of *The Gate City* we find (Aug. 20) a sketch of Simon Cameron originally appearing in his organ at Harrisburg, in connection with the announcement of his candidacy for the Presidency; and (Sept. 3) Judge Bates' letter to a committee of a mass meeting of the Opposition party in Memphis; neither is accompanied by editorial comment. Mr. Dunham reprints two extracts from the *N. Y. Times* denying that Col. Fremont had written a letter refusing to be a candidate: "Presidential letter-writing is not his specialty; he leaves that for the amusement of those who have a taste for knocking out their brains in this particular way." In the same issue Mr. Dunham notes that Mr. Washington Hunt and *The National Intelligencer* had announced that they would support Judge Bates.² Mr. Hildreth glances at the national political horizon and canvasses the outlook. "The chances are about even between the two parties for carrying the next Presidency," he concludes, and dwells on the doubtful states and their strategic importance.³ Briefly noting that "the claims" of Edward Bates were being "pressed by a number of journals," Mr. Jacob Rich of Independence observes noncommittally: "Mr. Bates has long been strongly anti-slavery in sentiment, but has never acted with the Republican party other than giving his sympathies and support to the emancipationists of Missouri. If his friends can satisfy the country of his cordial sympathy with the Republican movement he will prove a strong competitor for the nomination."⁴

Discussion waxed but little during November until the latter weeks. *The Daily Hawk-Eye* reprinted without comment an extract from Gov. Chase's speech at Sandusky, Ohio, on the 20th ultimo, strongly urging the "union" of all elements of the Opposition "for the contest of 1860":⁵ and later under the caption, "An Important Political Document," extended extracts of a statement then recently published in

¹*Ib.* ²*The Daily Hawk-Eye*, Oct. 18, 1859.

³*The St. Charles Intelligencer*, Oct. 20, 1859.

⁴*The Guardian*, Oct. 27, 1859.

⁵*The Daily Hawk-Eye*, Nov. 2, 1859.

The News of St. Louis purporting to be an authoritative statement of Judge Bates' views upon the moot questions affecting the presidential succession.¹ *The Excelsior* of Maquoketa gives its readers two and a half columns of the same and commends it strongly.² Mr. Teesdale asserted that "in the main" his sentiments were "such as every intelligent man must heartily endorse," and resident as he was in a northern slave state "his views are of marked significance."³

The columns of *The Gate City* contain several articles indicative of alert public interest in the candidacy of Judge Bates and the proper course for the party to pursue in the matter of selecting the candidate. The statement given out at St. Louis by *The News*, it asserts, was not "authoritative" but as there was no denial Mr. Howell presumes that its expressions were "substantially" in accord with his sentiments; but he is non-committal as respects his own views or feelings toward Judge Bates. In the same issue, in another editorial, headed "Presidential Candidates," he makes some pointed and pithy suggestions, without reference to particular persons or candidates, but evidently with regard to certain developments in the drifts of discussion.⁴

The Republicans everywhere are more anxious for the success of the ticket than for the nomination of their friends, and we believe fully understand that no intrigue, no trick to *force* a man upon the party could by hardly any possibility be successful in the convention, while the tolerable certainty of a defeat would await him before the people. The present opportunity to obtain power, the possibility of retaining it, a successful administration of public affairs upon Republican principles, everything, conspires to demand a politic and satisfactory nomination, and a considerate and candid examination of the merits and demerits of the several candidates. And all this is generally appreciated. Particularly will this spirit display itself in the national convention. Success, and success with a sound man, we feel convinced is the spirit which will reign with an overwhelming power in that body. Let all the local interests and particular facts, however, be freely ventilated before its assembling, that the members, when they come together, may be as well informed as they can be, and as well qualified as possible to render a sound judgment.

¹*Ib.*, Nov. 15, 1859.

²*The Weekly Maquoketa Excelsior*, Nov. 29, 1859.

³*The Iowa Weekly Citizen*, Nov. 23, 1859. ⁴*The Gate City*, Nov. 18, 1859.

Three days later Mr. Howell summarizes for his readers the comments of the leading journals of New York City upon Judge Bates' statement. William Cullen Bryant's paper, *The Evening Post*, looked upon it as "clear" and "so far as it goes quite satisfactory, except that his urgency in favor of an effective fugitive slave law is unnecessary and not altogether to the taste of the North." Mr. Bennett's paper *The Herald*, looks on the pronouncement with favor and thinks that "Mr. Bates on the score of 'Nationality' especially, would be a strong man for the Republicans." Mr. James Watson Webb's *The Courier and Enquirer*, then or later a prominent promoter of Senator Seward's candidacy, plumply declared that if the "Republican convention of 1860 should nominate any such Fillmore disorganizer as Bates he will be defeated by the Republican party, and will deserve defeat." Greeley's *Tribune*, while asserting that the statement did "not entirely accord with its own views, it is the soundest, clearest and most forceful expression upon the slavery question yet put forth by the so-called 'conservative' sentiment of the country and wishes that a copy of it might be put in the hands of every voter who can read in the country." *The Times* thought that it agreed in "every essential point with the ground taken by the Republican party at Pittsburgh and Philadelphia."¹ To the insinuation that Judge Bates' anti-slavery views were sprouts of feeble or recent growth, Mr. Howell pointed out that he was a native of Virginia, a son of Quaker stock on both sides "known for nearly a century for their religious hostility" to Slavery and quotes the *Washington Star* that declares his views to be "hereditary and to be respected, not being the result of a demagogue's ambition."²

Up to this time so far as the writer can discover no positive predictions as to the candidate who would be nominated had been made. Editors were either indifferent, or prudent or skeptical as to the outlook. One editor at Garnaville, in northeastern Iowa, Mr. Joseph Eiboek, an alert, ambitious young German, who had but shortly before assumed control

¹*The Gate City*, Nov. 23, 1859.

²*Ib.*, Nov. 24, 1859.

of *The Journal*, looked at the political situation and ventured a prophecy which was in some part fulfilled. In his judgment Messrs. Bates and Seward were the most prominent Republican candidates; and Pierce, Buchanan and Douglas the leading Democratic candidates. "From these it is very probable that Mr. Bates will be the most favored, and Pierce the leading Democratic nominee. . . . Douglas will perhaps obtain the support of most of the Northern States . . . but the South will oppose and thus defeat him. . . . Wm. H. Seward will stand no chance with Bates, for reasons that are known to everyone. Seward like Clay is a great man but he never will be President of the United States."¹

The editorial has a special significance in the fact that Mr. Eiboeck was a German and wrote for a constituency largely German. Within two months, notwithstanding Judge Bates' course in the campaign of 1856, supporting Fillmore and giving support to sundry doctrines of the "American" party, and his attitude toward the Fugitive Slave law, Mr. Eiboeck explicitly advocated the nomination of Judge Bates by the national Republican convention.²

(d) Mr. Teesdale's Review of the Situation.

November closed with another extended and vigorous expression from Mr. Teesdale, who kept a very alert, discerning eye upon the political horizon, reviewing recent developments, pointing out the vital issues and the conditions of the party's success, the occasion that impelled the expression apparently being some recent observations of *The Press and Tribune* of Chicago, which he combats. "A glorious uncertainty prevails," he begins, "as to the men who are likely to enjoy the honor of leading the Republican hosts to victory in the next presidential canvass." The *Chicago Tribune* declared that the selection should be determined by the exigencies in the states the Republicans lost in 1856—the main question before the convention will be, who can carry Illinois, Indiana, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, or the last without reference to the other three. "The convention may be able to settle this ques-

¹*The Journal*, Nov. 21, 1859.

²*Ib.*, Feb. 13, 1860.

tion satisfactorily, without being a particle nearer success than when it commenced its labors." Simon Cameron might carry Pennsylvania and endanger success in "unalterably Republican states." The nomination "of Mr. Lincoln might secure Illinois, beyond peradventure, but is there not a possibility" that it would endanger old Republican states? The late elections demonstrated that every free state save California was safely Republican if the party's "nominees be men of the right stamp." They should be "men who have been tried as by fire, on the great issues before the country. . . . Anything short of this will not meet the expectations of the awakened masses. To award the honors . . . to mere camp-followers, eleventh-hour men, to the neglect of those who have borne the heat and burden of the fight, is a policy destructive of all political organization. . . . Yet there is a strong inclination, we fear, to do this very thing. Against it we would raise our voice now, and all the time." The recent election in New York clearly indicated that Mr. Seward could carry that State; that the Democrats and "Americans" could not amalgamate again. Nevertheless, Mr. Teesdale declares that "it will not surprise us to learn that Mr. Seward, when he returns home [from Europe] refuses to allow his name to be used, if there is a shadow of doubt as to his acceptability to the Republicans of any of the states whose votes are needed to insure success. He will never seek or accept a nomination that is not equivalent to an election, while there is another soldier in the field who can insure success to the cause. At least such is our estimate of the lofty patriotism of the man." He recurs to his observations while on his late visit east [in March] of conditions in Ohio, Michigan, and Illinois. Chase was strong in Ohio and popular with the Republicans of the country at large; but the stout opposition of Corwin's friends to his advancement and the numerous adherents of Judge McLean and Senator Wade, who desired first their champion's nomination, made an effective effort on behalf of Chase improbable. Michigan was almost unanimous in support of Mr. Seward. Illinois "is for Lincoln; with a side current for Trumbull. . . . Their gallant labors for the redemption of their

State will give them much prominence in the national convention. Lincoln possesses most fully the elements of personal popularity. His genial traits bind his friends to him as by "hooks of steel."¹

(e) Mention of Candidates Increases in December.

During December Iowa's editors deal more with particular candidates and somewhat with the general tactics of procedure, indicating a realization that the time for practical measures and definite decisions was approaching.

Summarizing the views of Judge Bates as lately given out at St. Louis, Mr. John Mahin, of Muscatine, notwithstanding the former's advocacy of due enforcement of the Fugitive Slave law and of non-interference with Slavery in the states wherein established, coupled with his declared opposition to its extension and abhorrence of the institution, concluded his editorial review with the assertion: "Upon this platform Mr. Bates would doubtless receive the united support of the Republican party."² As Mr. Mahin was a radical of radicals upon the subject of Slavery, living in a community that has always been noted in the State's history for its militant radicalism in social reforms his declaration is decidedly interesting and instructive.

Mr. Dunham's columns contain no editorial assertions of consequence. He received a personal letter from "a reliable Republican" in whose "good sense and sound judgment" he had much confidence, the substance of which he gives his readers. His correspondent urged him to advocate the renomination of Fremont and Dayton as in 1856, believing their popular strength equal to that of Seward and Chase and that "nothing is gained by courting the Old Whig votes and there is no use in trying to nominate a candidate to suit them." The letter elicits no comment from Mr. Dunham: he simply presents the suggestion to his readers "for their consideration."³

About this time the editor of *The Knoxville Journal*, observing that various state papers were urging the nomination of Senator Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania, remarked: "... we

¹*The Iowa Weekly Citizen*, Nov. 30, 1859.

²*The Muscatine Journal*, Dec. 3, 1859.

³*The Daily Hawk-Eye*, Dec. 3, 1859.

are glad to see, none of them [do so] with a spirit of dogmatism or injustice towards other great men in the Republican party"; and he concludes—"With Cameron and Bates on our ticket Iowa is good for ten thousand majority."¹ Some correspondents of *The Commercial Advertiser* of Buffalo (N. Y.), attempting to promote the candidacy of Judge Bates by disparagement of Senator Seward, Mr. Teesdale declared their course "Not the Right Way." "It is the very worst policy to attempt to elevate one distinguished Republican by the depression of another."² The increasing attention given the position of the Missourian caused Mr. Add. H. Sanders of Davenport, to examine his "more important declarations of opinion"; and he announced: "But we have no hesitation in saying that in the main we approve them, as every Republican may—but we are very far from declaring that he is our first choice as the next Republican candidate for the Presidency. Most certainly, however, we should rather be *successful* with Mr. B. than *defeated* with any other man in the Union as our candidate."³

Down in Mills county in southwestern Iowa, *The Pacific Herald* declared itself an advocate of the nomination of Gov. Chase in preference to Senator Seward, on the ground that the latter would be opposed with "more intense bitterness" in the election. Mr. Teesdale took exception, declaring that of the two statesmen Chase was "a much more ultra-anti-slavery man than Seward. The history of both gentlemen will be thoroughly canvassed before nomination; and whoever receives the nomination must pass through a fiery ordeal."⁴ Mr. Teesdale did not fear the result in either case and would heartily support the nominees.

December and the year closed with several interesting and pithy editorial expressions upon the presidential succession. They emphasize again the general unity of purpose, the absence of obdurate personal prejudice and willingness to cast aside personal wishes and old-time friendships if thereby success of the national cause could be insured and the common

¹Quoted in *The Muscatine Daily Journal*, Dec. 9, 1859.

²*The Iowa Weekly Citizen*, Dec. 7, 1859.

³*The Davenport Weekly Gazette*, Dec. 8, 1859.

⁴*The Iowa Weekly Citizen*, Dec. 21, 1859.

recognition of the primary strategic points in the situation. Two of them indicate how seriously the candidacy of Simon Cameron was regarded by shrewd observers.

Observing the frequent favorable mention of Simon Cameron's candidacy in his exchanges, Mr. Robert Holmes of Marion, editor of *The Linn County Register*, decided that the chances of the Pennsylvanian being nominated were so favorable as to be conclusive of the party's action. "Although we have had," he says, "some doubts as to the propriety of thus early taking sides for this or that man, inasmuch as it may engender strife and bad feeling amongst the friends of different gentlemen who will undoubtedly be presented to the convention—still without indicating any particular choice ourselves, we think the suggestion a good one. It is understood that without doubt, Pennsylvania will cast her vote for Mr. Cameron, and with Lincoln of Illinois for Vice-President, success would seem to be almost a certainty. For anything we can see now, these nominations are as likely to be made as any others spoken of."¹ Mr. Howell reprinting an article commendatory of Pennsylvania's candidate, again, as in June preceding, points out the strong position Mr. Cameron occupied as a candidate. "It is conceded that Pennsylvania and Illinois will form the battle-ground of the next campaign, and Pennsylvania has 27 votes, her change from one side to the other making a difference of 54. The location, the remarkable energy, and the home influence of Mr. Cameron greatly favor him."² Here as before the editor of *The Gate City* gives no hint of personal preference or of his probable positive action so far as it may be able to affect the practical decision.

This impersonal, almost indifferent, non-partisan consideration of candidates that is persistent in the columns of Mr. Howell's paper, likewise characterizing the course of Messrs. Dunham of Burlington and Teesdale of Des Moines, is effectively illustrated in an utterance of Mr. Sanders of Davenport. Canvassing the presidential question at the close of the year and noting the men mentioned as candidates he concludes: "When all are good and well-qualified men, he should

¹*The Linn County Register*, Dec. 24, 1859.

²*The Gate City*, Dec. 28, 1859.

receive the nomination, who possesses the greatest attributes of strength—who is most likely to make the best race—and feelings and personal friendships should be laid aside by delegates as far as possible, to secure this object.” This is not the language of sentiment but of politics. The victory of the party and the triumph of the principles for which the party was established and continues to exist is the grand objective in view, not the attainment of personal prejudices.”¹

If one fact more than another strikes the reader of the editorial columns of the Republican newspapers of Iowa in 1859, it is the conspicuous absence of keen personal partisan interest on the part of editors in furtherance of the candidacy of any one candidate. A few editors indicate their personal preferences and declare themselves for their favorite. But the majority are silent on the whole matter. This is especially true of the press of the small cities. The editors of the influential dailies in the large cities, while they frequently mention the presidential succession, noting the developments in other states and the changing fortunes of the different candidates,—declare themselves only on party principles and policy and procedure, but maintain an obstinate silence as to personal preferences. There is no ardent, tempestuous advocacy of either measures or men. There is no spirit of “rule or ruin” discoverable, although there is from time to time pronounced and emphatic declarations of what the editors regard as the essentials of success. Was this attitude exceptional? peculiar to the press of Iowa? The following taken from Mr. Howell’s columns is instructive:

We have not yet seen, in any one of the most prominent journals of the Republican party, excepting the (N. Y.) *Courier and Enquirer*, a decided preference as to a presidential candidate. *The Albany Journal*, [Thurlow Weed’s paper], *The Evening Post* and *The Tribune* at New York, the *Cincinnati Gazette*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and papers of that class, are utterly silent as to men. Even where the strongest partialities might be supposed to exist, the one firm resolution prevails, to keep men out of sight as far as possible and to forego all personal preferences for the sake of the cause. It is an encouraging sign,—a sign of solid and invincible union.²

¹*The Davenport Weekly Gazette*, Dec. 29, 1859.

²*The Gate City*, Dec. 7, 1859.

In the matter of party opinion and public expression of desire, developments in Iowa in 1859 in the Republican preliminaries of the national campaign of 1860, fully typify the course of things in the nation at large.

(f) Public Consideration of Mr. Lincoln for the Presidency.

Politicians rarely put forward and support men or measures that shock the sensibilities or clash with the dominant desires of the majority of their constituents: and they never deliberately do violence to public expectation. They may misconceive and run athwart the major public interest or nominate men obnoxious to the *elite* in pious and polite circles, and, if parties are evenly balanced, suffer defeat in consequence. It is the primary and particular business of politicians to control, or seek to control, the arms and agencies of the government and determine the distribution of its benefits. Success is the paramount object of their activity and their success is the issue of public favor. It is a violent presumption to assume, as lay philosophers in pulpit and press are wont to do, that politicians impudently or negligently run amuck with public sentiment. Their decisions as to measures or as to candidates are made in the belief and in the hope that they coincide with and further the common desire, first of their partisan associates and second of the majority of the electors. Novel measures and never-before-heard-of candidates usually are no more tolerated than bad measures and corrupt nominees. Both measures and men, if politicians wish to secure the support of the public, must be familiar to the minds of electors. But electors, it is well to remember, do not include the entire mass of the population. The field of the practical politician is confined to those who directly determine the operation of the government in the formulation of its policies, in the conduct of its administration and in the operation of the party machinery whereby the public will is organized and made effective; and a large proportion of the male population devote but little or no attention to practical politics and hence exert no influence.

Was Abraham Lincoln at the close of 1859 a familiar in the minds of Iowa's politicians and electors? Was he a

factor with which the public reckoned as a matter of course? Had his name and fame become a part of the popular consciousness to the extent that he was mentioned among the presidential candidates worthy of definite consideration at the national convention? And did Iowans have reason to think that Mr. Lincoln was likewise considered by the party leaders and electors of the older eastern States? The files of Iowa's newspapers and the correspondence of some of the Republican party leaders afford us some evidence for an affirmative answer.

In the latter months of 1858 there was some mention of Mr. Lincoln as a presidential possibility: the mention resulting, of course, from the fame he had achieved in his debates with Senator Douglas. Mr. Teesdale declared that the Illinoian had "linked himself to the fortunes of the Republicans by hooks of steel. The name of Lincoln will be a household word for years to come. He has a brilliant future."¹ A week later *The Marshall County Times* felicitating the Republicans of Illinois on their popular victory urged them to prepare for the battle in 1860 for they might "see their gallant Old Abe" as the "presiding officer" of the Senate.² Mr. Zieback of Sioux City commenting on Greeley's suggestion for doing away with national conventions, mentions Mr. Lincoln as the candidate for whom Illinois would vote under his proposed plan.³ Mr. Swigget of the same city cited the suggestion of the Chicago *Democrat*, Wentworth's paper, of his consideration for "President or Vice-President."⁴ We have seen that the enthusiastic praise of Mr. Lincoln of the Rochester (N. Y.) *Democrat* closing with the words: "The Republicans of the Union will rejoice to do honor to the distinguished debater of Illinois" was quoted in various papers in the State.⁵

During 1859 public interest in Mr. Lincoln was manifested almost continuously throughout the year and in sundry ways. His stories and quips were cited; generous extracts from his

¹*The Iowa Weekly Citizen*, Nov. 17, 1858.

²*The Marshall County Times*, Nov. 24, 1858.

³*The Register*, Dec. 2, 1858.

⁴*The Eagle*, Nov. 27, 1858.

⁵*The Gate City*, Nov. 22, 1858, and *The Muscatine Daily Journal*, Nov. 23, 1858.

political speeches were quoted; his journeyings about the country were noted; his name was linked with those of the foremost leaders of his party; his views were referred to by friends and critics alike as authoritative utterances of the principles of his party; and he was the beneficiary of frequent mention as a statesman worthy of nomination for one or the other of the two highest offices within the gift of the people. And the significance of such manifestations of public interest is materially enhanced when we consider the conditions under which newspapers were then conducted.

A local correspondent of *The Gate City* signing himself "Free Labor," refers (Jan. 14) to Senator Douglas' course "towards two prominent statesmen of the Republican party. I speak of Mr. Seward and Mr. Lincoln." On May 30 Mr. Howell prints Mr. Lincoln's letter to Dr. Canisius relative to the Massachusetts Two Year Amendment affecting naturalized citizens. When Mr. Lincoln was in Ohio the same paper contains (Sept. 23) a column and more of "Abe Lincoln's speech at Cincinnati the other night"; and a week later cites the praise of the same speech in *The National Intelligencer*. It reprints (Oct. 4) a portion of the speech at Columbus anent Douglas and the Dred Scott decision.

Repelling the attacks of the Democrats upon the Republican expressions regarding the essential conflict between Free and Slave labor, Mr. Howell says (Nov. 23) that the "irrepressible conflict" the announcement of which in "lucid terms by both Lincoln and Seward" so shocked the Democrats was first pointed out by Calhoun and by *The Richmond Enquirer*, and after quoting the latter he concludes: "Did ever Seward or Lincoln or Thomas Jefferson state the case more definitely or imperatively? . . ." The notations and expressions of Mr. Howell fairly represent other Republican editors in the State who kept their weather eyes on the forces and factors in the forthcoming national contest. Mr. Drummond of *The Eagle* of Vinton, as we have seen, declared, May 10: "The Republican party adopts what the *New York Herald* terms 'the bloody, brutal manifesto' of Abraham Lincoln, as re-echoed by Senator Seward" . . . and Mr. Dorr at

Dubuque couples the names of the two statesmen in the same connection.¹

The mention of Mr. Lincoln as an available candidate for either the first or second place on the national ticket began comparatively early. Mr. Mahin reprints (March 29) an editorial from the Chicago *Democrat* urging him for the Vice-Presidency.² Some two months later *The Montezuma Weekly Republican* reprints an editorial of *The Rockford* (Ill.) *Republican* also advocating his selection for second place. On July 28 the same paper reproduces the suggestion of *The Free Press* of Elwood, Kansas, of Gov. Seward for President and Mr. Lincoln for Vice-President.

Some commentators on the first nomination of Abraham Lincoln have pointed out that in some of the lists of candidates published when the pre-convention campaign was culminating, Mr. Lincoln's name was not included: and hence the conclusion that his nomination was most extraordinary and surprising to the country at large. Thus in Forney's *Philadelphia Press* in a list published in November, 1859, and reproduced (Nov. 29) in *The Davenport Daily Gazette*, the Illinoisian's name was omitted: and a book published at Philadelphia in 1860 entitled *Our Living Representative Men* mentions a score or so of candidates in the two great parties but does not refer to Mr. Lincoln. De Bow's *Review* reviewing the volume immediately following the convention at Chicago says the omission was "creditabile" to the author, Mr. John Savage, as the "claims of this personage were regarded to be too contemptible to entitle him to a place in the 'Gallery'."³ Mr. Teesdale in April and Mr. Sanders in December in editorials dealing with candidates mention Seward, Chase, Bates, Bell, Crittenden, Cameron, Fremont, McLean, Scott, Hale, Grow—but fail to refer to Mr. Lincoln.⁴ Nevertheless Mr. Lincoln was mentioned for the first place and politicians in Iowa had him more or less in mind constantly as a not-improbable nominee.

¹*The Dubuque Herald*, Oct. 23, 1859.

²*The Muscatine Daily Journal*, March 29, 1859.

³De Bow's *Review*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 100-101 (July, 1860).

⁴*The Iowa Weekly Citizen*, April 13, 1859: and *The Davenport Weekly Gazette*, Dec. 29, 1859.

Mr. Teesdale in August and again in November refers specifically to the public consideration of Mr. Lincoln as a candidate for the first place and expresses his willingness to abide by the nomination if made after a full consideration of the best interests of the party and the cause the Republicans desire to promote. Moreover in a list of candidates published by the Democratic paper at Des Moines, Mr. Will Porter, the editor, includes Mr. Lincoln.¹

Some of the most interesting evidence of the national consideration of the Illinoian was afforded Iowans in the columns of Greeley's *Tribune*. In his issue of September 27 he quotes what purports to be an extract from a speech of Congressman Robert Schenck of Ohio, regarding the Presidency. Commenting upon Lincoln's "masterly political exposition made in this city [Cincinnati?] to-day by Abraham Lincoln," he says "that there is a candidate for you, whose perceptions are clear, whose moral tendencies are correct, and whose constitutional habit of action is so happily conservative, that he is high above all temptations to extremes in any direction."² Greeley, himself, two weeks and a half later (Oct. 14) in an elaborate editorial outlining and defending "*The Tribune's* policy" mentions Lincoln among other candidates who had "friends who will in due time present their names in connection with the Presidency. . . ." Finally the readers of Mr. Howell were impressed with the widespread and positive consideration of Mr. Lincoln by the country at large by an editorial note in *The Gate City* (Dec. 13) which after noting that three Iowa papers had come out for Cameron, said: "We observe in Pennsylvania one prominent paper proposes Cameron for President and Lincoln for Vice-President while the Reading (Pa.) *Journal*, a paper of standing and influence, intimates its preference of Lincoln for President."

¹*Iowa State Journal*, Nov. 19, 1859.

²*The N. Y. Tribune* (s. w.), Sept. 27, 1859. The citation from *The Tribune* is somewhat obscure. It purports to be from a speech of Mr. Schenck's at Dayton. But his reference to Mr. Lincoln's speech in "this city" would seem to imply either Columbus or Cincinnati,—as all chronicles concur in referring only to Mr. L.'s speeches in those two cities. As the item in *The Tribune* above the extract taken is accredited to *The Cincinnati Commercial* we may surmise that Mr. S. was interviewed at Cincinnati, or made a speech there, immediately following Mr. Lincoln's speech.

(g) Summary of Party Opinion in 1859.

The reader will have noticed several facts in the preceding exposition of party opinion among Republicans in Iowa in 1859, which it may be well to summarize before proceeding to deal with the personal efforts of or for candidates and the party maneuvers.

First and foremost, the paramount consideration as to which all elements of the Opposition to the party in power agreed, was Slavery and its treatment by the national government. Other matters might be important, but they were subsidiary in public interest. All elements of the Opposition with the exception of radical abolitionists resisted the extension of Slavery into territories where it was not found prior to 1850 and disapproved of interference with it in states where established.

While there was unanimity of opinion in the large, there was confusion in respect to the practical enforcement of the legal rights of slave-owners in the free states and in the settlement of new territories, and this fact made the working union of Old Line Whigs and abolitionists difficult. The persistence of "Americanism," a sort of decadent Know-Nothingism, greatly increased the factional antagonisms of the sundry elements already hostile and contentious on the subject of Slavery.

The election of 1856 had been lost by the Republicans because of the inability of the mutually repellant groups of the Opposition to coalesce. Such a working union was imperative if the party was to win in the contest in 1860.

A coalition was impracticable unless there was mutual give-and-take; harmony as to essentials and points of general agreement and non-emphasis of and non-reference to particular contentions that irritated and distracted factions or groups essential to the party's alignment.

Principles and policies all agreed, should be paramount over the personal ambitions of candidates, or the sectional and personal preferences for favorite candidates.

The doubtful states wherein success was essential to national victory should be the primary consideration in selecting the

candidate. But it was not enough that a candidate should be satisfactory to this or that doubtful state: he must enjoy the fullest confidence of the rank and file in the solid Republican states as well, as regards his ability, character and conduct on the vital issues. Indifference to the subject of Slavery, tergiversation as to views or course of action would not be tolerated.

No commercial considerations hostile to the broadest treatment of the issues, no personal intrigues, no tricks, no factional or partisan maneuvers inconsistent with frank and fair consideration of the characters and availability of candidates could be tolerated.

Iowa had no candidate of her own to advance, and her voters and party leaders had no favorite whose nomination was urged with any vigor. Few personal preferences were indicated. The spirit of rule or ruin was completely absent. In general there was a noteworthy harmony among the Republicans of Iowa in 1859 regarding the principles and procedure that should be observed in preparing for the great national contest of 1860. They were generally of one mind on the paramount issues. Success with a sane and sensible program was to them vastly preferable to defeat with a platform of idealities compounded by dreamers and radicals. Some party men had candidates whom they favored and urged, but for the most part editors and leaders were reticent. Victory was the goal they sought, not the exaltation of a favorite or the risk of success.

5—Efforts of Candidates or their Promoters in Iowa.

The amount and kind of personal effort put forth by the candidates for the Republican presidential nomination in 1860, or by their promoters, directly to secure the favor and support of Iowa's press and party leaders cannot now be realized. There was more or less personal activity, although the evidence is rather meager as regards some of the candidates.

The State was then teeming with thousands of pioneers but recently removed from the older states to the east and south

wherein the candidates lived. Many of those pioneers had been forceful factors in the politics of their former homes. For example, Gov. Samuel J. Kirkwood and the late Senator William B. Allison had both made their mark in Ohio before emigrating to Iowa.¹ Naturally, the candidates or their promoters would correspond with their emigrant friends in Iowa seeking information as to their attitude, or that of the party leaders of the State towards their candidacy; and no less would the pioneers, if local ambitions or interests did not conflict, incline to urge the consideration of their favorite champion of their native state, or state of previous residence. Mentioning merely those states whose emigrant citizens resident in Iowa in 1860 exceeded 10,000 in the census enumeration:—Ohio led with 99,240; Indiana followed with 57,555; Pennsylvania with 52,156; New York with 46,053; Illinois with 26,696; Virginia with 17,944; and Kentucky with 13,204. The natives of New England all told in Iowa numbered only 25,040; while the natives of the Southern or slave States amounted to 54,006. The Middle States were credited with 103,173 and the states of the old Northwest territory with 193,005. Being but recently removed from their old homes their memories and the ties of their relations with associates in their ancestral seats were vigorous. As the arrangements for the national Republican convention began to materialize we must presume that many a letter crossed, inquiring about or urging this or that candidate, discussing his availability, and the chances of his nomination and election. But little evidence is discoverable of such correspondence in 1859, either in the way of letters extant or of rescripts thereof. The residence of many of the influential editors of the State prior to

¹*John Sherman's Recollections*, pp. 46, 76.

Gov. Kirkwood had attained local eminence between 1845 and 1849 as prosecuting attorney of Richland county and as a member of the Constitutional Convention of Ohio. He was a Democrat in politics but on the repeal of the Missouri Compromise he revolted. At a mass meeting at Mansfield, Feb. 17, 1854, he introduced and urged the passage of a strong resolution deploring the agitation of the slavery question and repudiating the repeal of the Compromise. He was a prominent candidate for Congress in 1855—the year in which he emigrated to Iowa.

Mr. Allison began his public career as an attorney at Ashland, in Wayne county adjoining Richland. He was a candidate for clerk of the county court. He was made secretary of the first Republican state convention organized in Ohio in 1855. His first party service of note in Iowa was attendance as a delegate at the Republican state convention in 1859 and working for Kirkwood's nomination for governor.

ning to Iowa enforces this presumption and their columns
ord us some evidence that there was intercommunication
ween them and the candidates or their promoters.¹

(a) Judge McLean Visits the Northwest.

When visiting old acquaintances in Ohio in March, Mr. Tees-
e designed to visit Judge McLean at his old home in Cin-
nati. Writing to his readers in Iowa Mr. Teesdale reports:
He is, I am told, in excellent health and spirits. Who knows

The states of nativity, or of previous residence, and the editorial
ers of the editors whose expressions have been chiefly cited are sug-
sive.

Mr. A. B. F. Hildreth of *The St. Charles Intelligencer* was a Vermonter.
1839 he founded *The Literary Souvenir* at Lowell, Mass., and also
ducted *The Morning News* (daily) of that city. In 1842 he went to
dford, Vt., where he published *The Green Mountain Gem* and *The*
erican Protector (an advocate of high tariffs). From 1844 to 1852,
ieu of the latter, he published *The Family Gazette*; and from 1853 to
5 he published *The Mirror*, of Holyoke, Mass. He came to St. Charles,
a, in 1856.

Mr. Charles Aldrich of *The Hamilton Freeman* of Webster City, was
ative of New York. In 1850 he established *The Cattaraugus Sachem*
Randolph. From 1851 to 1856 he edited and published *The Olean*
rnal. When but 19 years of age he was made secretary of the first
e Soil convention held in Cattaraugus county. He came to Iowa in 1857.

Mr. Frank W. Palmer of *The Times*, of Dubuque, although born in
iana was virtually a New Yorker, spending his childhood and youth at
estown. From 1848 to 1858 he published *The Jamestown Journal*. In
3 he was elected to the New York legislature, serving two terms. He
e to Dubuque, Iowa, in 1858.

Mr. Jacob Rich of *The Guardian* of Quasqueton, and later of Independ-
e, was a native of New York City. He was educated at Philadelphia.
came to Iowa in 1856.

Mr. John Edwards of *The Patriot* of Chariton, was born in Kentucky.
i-slavery convictions sent him to Indiana, where he served in the state
lature between 1848 and 1852. He came to Iowa in 1853.

Mr. William W. Junkin of *The Ledger* of Fairfield, was a native of Vir-
a. He learned the printer's craft in the offices of *The Argus* of
eeling. He came to Iowa in 1843.

Mr. Thomas Drummond of *The Eagle* of Vinton, was born in Virginia,
educated at Lexington, entered journalism, moved to Ohio after 1850
came to Iowa in 1855. He bought *The Eagle* in 1857.

Mr. Clark Dunham of *The Hawk-Eye* of Burlington was a Vermonter
birth, but spent his childhood in Licking county, Ohio. From 1840 to
4 he edited *The Gazette* of Newark, Ohio, moving to Iowa in the latter
r.

Mr. James B. Howell of *The Gate City* of Keokuk, although a native of
y Jersey, spent his youth in Ohio from 1819 to 1841, when he removed
owa. The business manager of *The Gate City* from 1854 to 1860 was
Wm. Richards, a native of Ohio, who moved to Iowa in 1854.

Mr. Addison H. Sanders of *The Gazette* of Davenport, was a native of
innati, Ohio, where he learned the printer's trade. He came to Iowa
1856.

Mr. John Mahin of *The Journal* of Muscatine, was a native of Indiana,
early came to Iowa, learning the printer's trade in the office of the
omington (now Muscatine) *Herald*, later called the *Journal*.

Mr. John Teesdale of *The Iowa Weekly Citizen* of Des Moines, was
n in York, England, but came with his parents to Philadelphia in 1818.
re he learned printing. He went to Wheeling, Virginia, where between
0 and 1836 he was editor of *The Gazette* and later of *The Times*. From
3 to 1843 he edited *The Ohio Standard*; and from 1843 to 1848 he edited
Ohio State Journal of Columbus, and between 1848 and 1856 *The*
con of Akron. Meantime (1844-46) he had been private secretary
Gov. Mordecai Bartley. Mr. Teesdale's associate editor, Mr. J. M.
on, a son of a Virginia Methodist circuit riding preacher, was also a
ve of Ohio.

but he may yet be called to a higher field in the service of his country. Upon no man in public life could a more cordial union be effected for the next presidency, than upon Judge McLean, if his age is not deemed objectionable. Mr. Chase is much spoken of in the same connection by the people of Ohio. . . ."¹ In the last week of September *The Times* of Dubuque announced: "Judge McLean, of the supreme court, came down the river last evening, and is spending the day at the Julien House. He is in fine health. At noon about twenty members of the bar called upon him. . . . The interview was very pleasant. Judge McLean is vigorous both in body and in mind, and very easy and agreeable in conversation. . . . The Judge has relatives in Minnesota, and has been paying them a visit."²

Business interests and relatives are of course appropriate objects of exclusive private concern; but when a man who is constantly mentioned as a desirable candidate and a not improbable nominee for a high political office, makes an extended journey through a region of primary strategic importance, alert politicians are wont to note the fact as in the nature of a reconnaissance. Judge McLean's visit was noticed by some of the editors and his health and agreeable manners referred to.³ Mr. Teesdale remarked: "We rejoice that he received fitting attention at Dubuque. He is one of the purest and best men of the country. We have experienced his hospitality and witnessed his unostentatious kindness in days gone by, when visiting Cincinnati and residing at the capital of Ohio. A recent letter from the Judge [to Mr. T.] written at Lake Pepin, with all the freedom of private intercourse, attests the vigor of his intellect and the activity of his life."³ The reiteration respecting the jurist's health and the vigor of his life and mental powers suggests the politician's solicitude that the doubts of critics or dubious friends were not only ill-founded but that rumors to the contrary were, or very likely were, promoted with injurious intent.

No evidence of personal solicitation on behalf of Judge McLean's candidacy has come under the writer's notice. He

¹*The Iowa Weekly Citizen*, April 13, 1859: Correspondence dated Akron, Ohio, March 26.

²*Ib.*, September 28, 1859: *The Dubuque Times* cited. ³*Ib.*

had some active admirers, however. In the latter part of December, pursuant to the call of the state convention to select delegates to the Chicago convention, friends or party leaders in the farthestmost southwestern corner of the State, in Fremont county, were either so numerous or so alert, forehanded and effective as to secure the passage by the county convention that selected the county delegates to the state convention, of a resolution declaring that "Hon. John McLean of Ohio is our first choice for President,"¹ thereby virtually instructing their delegates to the state convention to use their influence to secure his nomination.

(b) Friends of Chase and Cameron Active.

Salmon P. Chase, as biographers and associates have since shown, was not indisposed to promote his chances of securing the nomination by personal communication. He had many staunch admirers and friends in Iowa. Governor Grimes had, in former years carried on a cordial and intimate correspondence with him, esteeming highly his ability, character and public career. Governor-elect Kirkwood, because of old-time party affiliations in Ohio, entertained the friendliest of feelings for him. Both of those distinguished Iowans, could they have realized their primary preferences, would have thrown their influence at Chicago in 1860 in favor of Chase's nomination.² The late Senator Wm. B. Allison, because of former associations in Ohio, advocated Chase's nomination and cast his first vote for him the next year at the national convention.³ The business manager of *The Gate City*, Mr. Wm. Richards, was an Ohioan who some years previously had enjoyed some degree of intimacy with Gov. Chase. He desired the success of the latter's candidacy. From a letter written subsequent to the state convention (Jan. 18, 1860) it would appear that he acted as an outflanker and vidette for him, reporting conditions and prospects in Iowa.⁴ The only instance of instruc-

¹*Ib.*, Jan. 18, 1860.

²Salter's *Life of Grimes passim*; and letters (MSS.) to the writer from Dr. Salter, Mr. W. W. Baldwin both of Burlington, and Hon. Peter A. Breyer of Iowa City.

³Letters (MSS.) of Sen. Wm. B. Allison to the writer, Dec. 13, 1906, and May 3, 1907.

⁴Wm. Richards to Salmon P. Chase (MSS.), *Gate City Office*, February 14, 1860, in Chase papers in Library of Congress.

tions for a presidential candidate in the local caucuses or primaries, so far as the writer can discover, resulted in Chase's favor. Two Ohioans, the brothers, F. T. and A. K. Campbell, editors and publishers of *The Journal* of Newton, the county seat of Jasper county, took the lead in securing instructions in the party caucus that selected the delegates to the county convention, being prompted thereto by admiration of Gov. Chase's career in their native state.¹ In December *The Herald* of Pacific City declared specifically in favor of Chase's nomination.²

Pennsylvanians were numerous in Iowa; and the universally conceded strategic importance of Pennsylvania in the national contest would ordinarily induce energetic efforts on the part of the candidate or of his promoters to secure the support of the party leaders and delegates. There are some signs that there was more or less activity. We have already seen that there was a marked increase of consideration of the candidacy of Simon Cameron in December and one suspects systematic work in its furtherance. We find Mr. Teesdale expressing his thanks to Mr. Cameron for a copy of an "able speech" delivered by the latter in the Senate.³ In Illinois Cameron Clubs were forming in November and Mr. Teesdale refers to them in terms whence we might infer that similar organizations were in contemplation or under way in Iowa.⁴ Three strong papers in southern Iowa, *The News* of Mt. Pleasant, *The Journal* of Knoxville and *The Patriot* of Chariton, and one in northeast Iowa, *The Linn County Register* of Marion, announced themselves as favorable to his nomination.⁵ Referring to this coincidence, Mr. Hildreth intimated his suspicion that Mr. Cameron or his agents were busy in the State "fixing the flints" to secure the Pennsylvanian's nomination: hence the concurrent expressions of the papers mentioned.⁶ The correspondence of Mr. Wm. Penn Clarke, chairman of Iowa's delegation at Chicago, subsequent to the convention, seems to indicate that there had been correspondence between him and

¹*The Gate City*, Jan. 11, 1860; and interview with Mr. A. K. Campbell, Des Moines, Iowa, March 17, 1908.

²*The Iowa Weekly Citizen*, Dec. 21, 1859. ³*Ib.*, Dec. 7, 1859.

⁴*Ib.*, Nov. 23, 1859. ⁵*The Gate City*, Dec. 13, 1859.

⁶*The St. Charles Intelligencer*, Jan. 12, 1860.

meron's chief lieutenants during the preliminaries; but when it occurred is not now determinable.¹

(c) Edward Bates and the Sources of His Strength.

The personal activity of Edward Bates of St. Louis, or that his friends in furtherance of his candidacy is to be inferred from the general situation. Prior to 1860 St. Louis was to Iowa what, since, Chicago has become, the great entrepot of interstate commerce. Iowa's farmers and shippers sent their produce and stock to her markets and chiefly from the shipping houses of that city, Iowa's merchants obtained their stocks of drugs, dry-goods, groceries and hardwares.² The river traffic of the Upper Mississippi and Missouri was preeminently an outgo from and return to the docks of St. Louis. In the nature of the case the affiliations of business and professional men, particularly in the eastern cities of Iowa along the Mississippi, with the leaders in business and professional pursuits in that city must have been close and constant. In that commercial metropolis Judge Bates was a conspicuous citizen. One of the popular boats plying between St. Louis and Keokuk in the forepart of the decade was the "Edward Bates."³ So pronounced was the admiration of some Iowans that children were named after him.⁴ Before the bar and on the bench, in the constitutional convention and in the legislature of Missouri and in Congress his reputation had gained readily in praiseworthy prominence. In 1847 as president of the Convention for Internal Improvements at Chicago he made a favorable impression upon the country at large."⁵ His declination of a cabinet portfolio tendered him by President Fillmore in 1850, signalized his national reputation and influence. In 1854 Greeley's readers in Iowa learned that his powers as a public speaker impressed strongly the most critical

¹Correspondence of Wm. Penn Clarke (MSS.) in Aldrich Collection, Historical Department of Iowa, at Des Moines.

²Langworthy, *Dubuque, Its History, etc., passim* and Burrows, *Fifty Years in Iowa* (1838-1888) *passim*.

³*The Weekly Dispatch*, June 8, 1848.

⁴Mr. Edwin Manning of Keosauqua, one of the most prominent and ablest business men among the pioneers of Iowa, was an enthusiastic admirer of Judge Bates. He gave one of his sons the Judge's surname for a given name. He also distributed subscriptions to Greeley's weekly *Tribune* gratuitously among his friends at the time Greeley was urging Judge Bates for the presidency. Interview with the late Geo. C. Duffell of Keosauqua and Hon. C. C. Nourse of Des Moines.

⁵Appleton's *Cyclopedia of American Biography*, V. 1, p. 193.

of eastern observers.¹ We have seen that the announcement of his candidacy was received by the Republican editors of Iowa with but little adverse criticism and generally with considerable favor, increasing very decidedly towards the end of the year. Interviews with him, his letters and speeches indicating his views on the vital issues of the day, were generously reproduced in their columns.

The most prominent advocate of Judge Bates' nomination—probably the prime mover on his behalf—was Mr. John A. Kasson of Des Moines, then chairman of the Republican state central committee. His course illustrates very strikingly the immediate influence of environment and personal associations on men's political conduct. Mr. Kasson was born and educated in Vermont and entered the legal profession in Massachusetts. His ability and activity may be inferred from the fact that in 1848 he was sent as a delegate from Massachusetts to the national Free Soil convention at Buffalo along with Charles Francis Adams, Sr. In 1851 he came west, settling at St. Louis. He very soon entered into a law partnership with Mr. B. Gratz Brown, a notable citizen of Missouri and editor of the St. Louis *Democrat*. Mr. Brown was foremost in promoting the candidacy of Judge Bates and was chairman of

¹In view of the controversy as to the animus of Greeley's course in refusing to promote the candidacy of Seward and his final advocacy of the nomination of Judge Bates at Chicago, the following from what we may suspect was "editorial correspondence" (i. e. from the pen of either Charles A. Dana or Horace Greeley) is interesting. The occasion was an excursion into the Northwest, projected by the promoters of the Chicago and Rock Island Railroad Company, consisting of notables from the east; among the number were ex-President Millard Fillmore, Geo. Bancroft, E. E. Hale, Professor Benj. Silliman, Thurlow Weed, Catherine Sedgwick and Count Adam Gurowski. At Galena a reception and banquet were given in honor of ex-President Fillmore and to one of the toasts Judge Bates was asked to respond. Of his response the correspondent of *The Tribune* says:

"That of Mr. Bates was listened to with particular interest by those of us who had not before enjoyed an opportunity of seeing this distinguished man. It was simple and without effort, spoken in a very quiet and straightforward manner, but with one or two touches that betrayed the orator. It is much to be regretted that Mr. Bates has never taken that leading part in our public affairs which he might have filled so honorably and advantageously to himself and the country."—*N. Y. Tribune* (w.), June 17, 1854: Correspondence dated at St. Paul, Minn., June 8th.

The dissolution of the firm of Greeley, Seward and Weed did not take place until 1856.

Judge Bates seems to have made very lasting impressions as an orator. Writing thirteen years after the Rivers and Harbors Convention at Chicago, in 1847, a brilliant correspondent of *The Springfield* (Mass.) *Republican*, writing from Burlington, Iowa, Feb. 4, 1860—and a hostile critic of Judge Bates as a candidate for the presidency—says of his effort on that occasion; he "carried away the whole audience in the two emotions of astonishment and delight by his retiring speech." Correspondence reprinted in the *Daily Hawk-Eye*, Feb. 16, 1860.

Missouri's delegation at Chicago. Mr. Kasson came to Des Moines in 1857 but the ties of his friendships and business affiliations with St. Louis continued and they in no small degree, caused him in the preliminaries to favor the nomination of his friend and professional associate in St. Louis at the national convention.¹ Mr. Joseph Eiboek of Garnavillo, as previously mentioned, advocated his nomination. Mr. Edwin Manning of Keosauqua, because of business and personal relations, also promoted it.² The Republicans of Fremont county, when they by resolution declared for Judge McLean for President, at the same time proclaimed Judge Bates to be their choice for Vice-President.³ *The Journal of Knoxville* likewise urged him for Vice-President.⁴

(d) Seward and the Silence of His Friends.

Activity—either individual or concerted—on behalf of Senator Seward's nomination was conspicuous by its absence, at least so far as discoverable signs would indicate: and the reasons therefor are by no means clear. His friends and advocates were active and forehanded in Oregon in 1859, securing, in April, instructions to the delegates to the national convention to work for his nomination.⁵ In 1860 systematic and successful efforts on his behalf were put forth in Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Kansas, Texas, Virginia, and Massachusetts to secure either instructions or delegations favorable to him. In Iowa, as elsewhere, he was a favorite champion with the majority of the aggressive anti-slavery elements. His eminence in national councils and his fame had been household words since the days of his governorship in New York. Plus all these, the political acumen, the extensive and facile connections, business and political, and the vast resources of his field worker and manager, Mr. Thurlow Weed, were noteworthy. Iowa was among the first, if indeed not the first, to call a special state convention to select delegates to the national convention. Nevertheless, the Republican press of

¹Mr. John A. Kasson to the writer (MSS.) Aug. 28, 1906.

²See foot-note, *ante*.

³*The Iowa Weekly Citizen*, Jan. 18, 1860.

⁴*The Muscatine Daily Journal*, Dec. 9, 1859.

⁵*The Oregon Statesman*, April 26, 1859.

Iowa in 1859 was almost wholly silent. A solitary editor at DeWitt declared specifically for his nomination. Mr. Teesdale asserted his belief in April that the statesman of Auburn was the real choice of the Republicans of Iowa but he did not urge his nomination, and, on November 30th he even doubts whether the Senator from New York covets the nomination.

This reticence as regards Seward in 1859 is somewhat strange except on one hypothesis. Mr. Eiboeck, it will be recalled, stated categorically that Seward would "stand no chance with Bates, for reasons that are known to every one." Those reasons must have been that the senior Senator from New York was looked upon by the majority of the experienced party workers in Iowa as a radical of an extreme and dangerous sort, whose selection was unlikely because his nomination would endanger the success of the party at the polls. There is much to confirm this surmise. His doctrine of "Higher Law" and his expression "The Irrepressible Conflict" and sundry broad generalities accompanying it, while defensible on ultimate grounds of economics and ethics, seemed by implication to warrant lawlessness and direct attack upon the property rights of slaveholders. *The N. Y. Herald* referred to his "brutal and bloody" program. The Democratic press of Iowa dealt with him in like terms. *The Sentinel* of Ft. Dodge under the caption "Political Twins," reprints a slashing article from *The Chicago Herald* proclaiming the similarities of the views of Seward and Wendell Phillips, that Prince Rupert of Radicals. New York's Senator is "the father of Black Republicanism and the great leader of those unfortunate monomaniacs who expect to elect him President . . ." whose "mandate" was the "Higher Law" which ordained that "Slavery must be abolished." The views of this "teacher in the Israel of treason" were all of a piece with those of Phillips who had declared that the "merit" of the Republican party lay in the fact that it was a "sectional party. . . . It is the North arrayed against the South" and secession and separation are predicted by that silver-tongued seer with satisfaction.¹ Following what Mr. Howell designated "The *emeute* at Harper's Ferry in

¹*The Ft. Dodge Sentinel*, Nov. 26, 1859.

which a score of insane white men and idiotic negroes seized the United States Armory . . ."¹ Democratic denunciation of Seward as a fomenter of anarchy and an abettor of treason reached a point of fury not far from frenzy. Two events especially encouraged it. Very soon after the affair at Harper's Ferry he was publicly charged with having had treasonable correspondence with John Brown or his backers. Again his name appeared among the endorsers of Helper's *Impending Crisis* that produced such a terrific uproar and upset in the organization of the national House of Representatives in December, 1859: and the pith and point of that notorious book was "Slavery must be abolished." Mr. Zieback of Sioux City reprints extensive portions of a scathing article in *The Louisville Journal* denouncing Seward's criminal knowledge of Brown's conspiracy, guarding "the villainous secret" as effectually as the "arch-conspirator" himself. His offense was black enough,—even if no more than "criminal lack of courage" to speak out and reveal the "atrocious scheme,"—to "redden the cheeks of every citizen in the land."² The vigor of the indictment of Seward was not lessened by the fact that *The Louisville Journal*, under the brilliant editorship of George D. Prentice, was one of the stoutest Opposition papers in the country. One finds no defense of Seward by the Republican press in Iowa against the ferocious attacks of the Democratic press. Their silence may have been utter contempt for them or it may have been due to a sub-conscious feeling that they could not make a very satisfactory defense. The marked change that took place in the sentiment of the leaders and the press of the State after Seward's speech in the Senate February 27, 1860, affords rather strong evidence in confirmation of the explanation here suggested for the reticence of Iowans towards the candidacy of the Senator from New York in 1859.

(e) Abraham Lincoln's Relations With Iowa and Iowans.

That Abraham Lincoln in 1859 was not unmindful of his chances for securing the Republican nomination for the Presi-

¹*The Gate City*, Oct. 24, 1859.

²*The Sioux City Register*, Dec. 10, 1859.

dency in 1860 his correspondence and biographers show. That he was not averse by proper methods to promoting them by pen or in person we know. There is considerable reason for thinking that he had his eye on Iowa and cultivated the favorable opinion of her people and her Republican party leaders. What is no less to the point Iowans and the chiefs of the Republican party in Iowa for many years sought the personal acquaintance and political influence of Abraham Lincoln.

As early as 1844 Mr. James W. Grimes, or some other party chief in Burlington, tried to secure Mr. Lincoln for a speech at a mass meeting of the Whigs in that city on July 13th of that year; and he seems to have promised to come.¹ In 1856 two other efforts were made to secure him for speeches in the political canvass: in June Governor Grimes,² and in late August or early September Mr. Henry O'Connor of Muscatine, writing him urging his acceptance of invitations made.³ Again in 1857 Governor Grimes tried to secure him for a series of speeches.⁴ For sundry reasons Mr. Lincoln was unable to comply with their wishes. But if any fact would indicate that before the celebrated senatorial contest of 1858 Mr. Lincoln was a political factor of interstate fame and far from an "Unknown"—the fact that Governor Grimes, the last man in the world to bother with nonentities, an inveterate searcher after accomplishment and efficiency, should thus for many years seek to enlist him in the Republican forces in Iowa demonstrates the extensive and solid reputation possessed by the Illinoian. In 1858, as we have seen, in the interval between the debate with Douglas at Galesburg and their meeting at Quincy, Mr. Lincoln followed Senator Douglas over the river to Burlington and on the evening of October 9th spoke in Grimes Hall on the chief issues in the pending contest.⁵

In 1857 Mr. Lincoln came in contact with some of the business projects of Iowa that gave him increased interest in the State, extending his relations and acquaintanceship with influential factors in such wise as to prove extremely advantageous

¹James W. Grimes to David E. Blair reprinted in this issue of THE ANNALS.

²Salter's *Grimes*, pp. 83-84.

³*Lincoln's Works* (Miller Ed.), Vol. 9, p. 19.

⁴Salter's, *Grimes*, p. 95.

⁵THE ANNALS OF IOWA (3d Series) Vol. VIII, pp. 453-455.

to him in the final clinch of the convention at Chicago. The Chicago and Rock Island Railroad Company in order to enhance the extensions of their line in Iowa spanned the Mississippi at Rock Island and Davenport. The construction of the company's bridge aroused the bitter animosities of the rivermen, partially because they instinctively opposed the advancement of a rival mode of transportation that threatened their supremacy, and partially because they seriously believed that the bridge would prove an obstruction to free transit on the river. Suspicious accidents, boats striking the piers and the burning of the bridge, indicated the intensity of the antagonism of interests. The owners of one damaged vessel brought suit in the federal court presided over by Judge James Love of Keokuk, who decided that the bridge was an irremediable obstruction to navigation. His ruling if confirmed was fatal to interstate commerce by railways where navigable rivers intervened. The matter was eventually taken up and tried in the Circuit Court at Chicago, Associate Justice John McLean, of the Federal Supreme Court presiding. The Rock Island company employed Mr. Lincoln among others. He chiefly examined the witnesses and made the main argument to the court. The decision was in favor of the company.¹

One of the directors of the Rock Island company employing Mr. Lincoln in the Rock Island bridge case was Mr. Norman P. Judd, later chairman of the Republican state central committee of Illinois and also a member of the Republican national committee—and one of Mr. Lincoln's chief field workers at the Chicago convention. By the way of this association with Mr. Judd, Mr. Lincoln invested in lands in Iowa in and about Council Bluffs, the then proposed western terminus of the Rock Island, or the Mississippi and Missouri Railroad as it was then called, Lincoln buying some of Judd's holdings in Council Bluffs. Sometime previously he had become interested in real estate in Iowa having entered his Black Hawk War

¹Case of *Hurd et al. vs. Railroad Bridge Co.* See Hon. Peter A. Dey of Iowa City to Frederick Trevor Hill. *Century Magazine*, V. 71, p. 953.

land warrant in Crawford county.¹ Both Mr. Judd and Mr. Lincoln employed Mr. (later General) Grenville M. Dodge of Council Bluffs to attend to their interests in that region. Mr. Dodge was the surveyor of the line of the Rock Island's extension in Iowa. It was incident to his business relations with Mr. Judd of his directory board that he later took an active part at Chicago in furthering the nomination of Mr. Lincoln by the national Republican convention.²

In the spring of 1859 Mr. Lincoln again visited Iowa—and under circumstances that indicate the solid character of Mr. Lincoln's close relations with powerful industrial interests that are always potent and present in political councils. Some time in April, probably the latter part, he was attending court at Galena. He appeared in some cases affecting the Illinois Central Railroad Company—a corporation that had employed him almost from the time of the incorporation of the company in 1849.³ He had won an important case for the company and between it and some later hearings or proceedings he made a visit to Dubuque, nearly opposite Galena, stopping for a day and a night at the Julien House, a well-known hostelry of that city. He came with a party of officials of the Illinois Central Company. He rode in a private car, on his own pass furnished him in his capacity as attorney for the company. The distinction of a private car and the privilege of free trans-

¹Two of the three Bounty Land Warrants issued to Abraham Lincoln for military service in the Black Hawk War were filed for lands in Iowa.

The first warrant No. 52,076 for forty acres (Act of 1850) issued April 16, 1852, was located on the northwest quarter of the southwest quarter of section 20, in township 84 north of range 39. The entry was made at Dubuque, Iowa, by his attorney, John P. Davis, July 21, 1854. A patent was issued June 1, 1855.

The second No. 68,465, for 120 acres (Act of 1855) was issued April 22, 1856, and was located on the east half of the northeast quarter and the northwest quarter of the northeast quarter of section 18 in township 84, range 39. Mr. Lincoln himself located or made the selection at Springfield, Ill., December 27, 1859. The patent was issued September 10, 1860.

The foregoing is taken from a letter of the Commissioner of the Land Office, June 27, 1865, quoted by Herndon and Weik *Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. I, p. 92. Mr. W. H. Terry, Recorder of Crawford county, wherein the entries for lands described should be made of record, writes that only for the last named tract was a patent issued to Abraham Lincoln; moreover, the number of the land warrant was 68,465 according to his record, and not 68,465. The entry for the first mentioned tract was made by Milton Santee, June 19, 1858, and the patent issued August 3, 1866, on Warrant No. 4672. W. H. Terry to the writer (MSS.), Sept. 16, and Oct. 4, 1909.

²General Grenville M. Dodge to the writer (MSS.) July 3, 1907, and Aug. 13, 1908; and interview, Nov. 17, 1908.

³*Abraham Lincoln, as Attorney for the Illinois Central Railroad Company*. The writer is in debt to Mr. J. G. Drennan, of Chicago, attorney for the company, for a copy of this rare Album.

portation greatly impressed some of the young Republican leaders of Dubuque (among the number being the late Senator Wm. B. Allison) who attended at the Julien House to observe the notables.

It is not clear whether Mr. Lincoln's visit to Dubuque was primarily in connection with the official party of the railroad company, then greatly interested in securing control of a western terminus in Dubuque and extensions into and through Iowa, or whether it was taken on his own initiative on account of private business or pleasure and happened to coincide with the official party's visit. The visit seems not to have attracted much public notice at the time although a number of lawyers of Dubuque called to pay their respects to Senator Douglas' great antagonist, some of whom long afterwards vividly remembered the occasion.¹ The visit in and of itself was not of particular political consequence. The circumstances of the visit, however, in the writer's judgment, bring into view a fact of the greatest significance. They exhibit the close, not to say, intimate relations Mr. Lincoln had as a lawyer with great and powerful industrial corporations: factors of the greatest potency in the decisions of political bodies.² It was this relationship, moreover, that in some part caused Mr. Lincoln to make another visit to Iowa and another speech in the State in 1859.

¹Interview of Mr. James B. Morrow with Senator Wm. B. Allison, dated at Washington, D. C., May 7, 1908: see *The Sioux City Journal*, May 10, 1909; and George Crane to the writer (MSS.), July 31, 1909. Mr. Crane was Mr. Allison's law partner at the time and attended at the Julien House with his professional associates.

²The following telegram will indicate the high standing of Mr. Lincoln with the managers of railroads for years preceding his nomination at Chicago:

"Chicago, Oct. 14, 1852.

"To Abraham Lincoln,
Springfield, Ill.

Can you come here immediately and act as arbitrator in the crossing case between the Illinois Central and Northern Indiana R. R. Companies if you should be appointed? Answer and say yes if possible.

(Signed) J. F. Joy."

The Mr. Joy signing the telegram was the organizer of the C., B. & Q. R. R. and a director of the Illinois Central at the time. Cent. Mag., Vol. 71, p. 950, gives telegram. The original telegram may be found in the Collection of General Alfred Orendorff of Springfield, Ill.

Sometime in the latter part of July or in the forepart of August Mr. Lincoln made a trip to Kansas—whether exclusively on business or not is not clear. On his return, while stopping at St. Joseph, Missouri, he decided to make a visit to Council Bluffs and examine his land holdings, acquired from Mr. Judd, with a view doubtless to estimating the probable future of the city's commercial development and the prospect for enhancing land values. He was accompanied by Mr. O. M. Hatch, Secretary of State for Illinois. Their boat arrived at Council Bluffs Friday evening, August 12th. Speech-making seems not to have been contemplated by Mr. Lincoln, but two events conspired to make him address the citizens on political matters.

First, the leading citizens of the town without distinction of party, as soon as they knew of his presence besought him to make a speech. Second, the boat on which he was to return met with an accident and for two or three days he was unable to proceed. Another fact was influential. The Republicans of Iowa were in the midst of a strenuous state campaign and were making more than usual efforts to elect their candidates for governor and lieutenant-governor, Messrs. Samuel J. Kirkwood and Nicholas J. Rusch, and the normal political complexion of the "Missouri Slope," as that region was called, was Democratic. Furthermore, Council Bluffs was the home of Mr. Lysander W. Babbitt, the Democratic candidate for lieutenant-governor. The fame of the visitor and the exigencies of the political situation no doubt made the local political leaders more than ordinarily urgent in pressing the invitation upon Mr. Lincoln; and he too probably was not unmindful of the contingent advantages that might ensue from an effective speech in Iowa at such a point under such circumstances. At any rate *The Weekly Nonpareil*, the organ of the Republicans, contained the following announcement in its issue Saturday morning.

HEAR OLD ABE.

Hon. Abe Lincoln and the secretary of state for Illinois, Hon. O. M. Hatch, arrived in our city last eve, and are stopping at the Pacific House. The distinguished "Sucker" has yielded to the importunities

of our citizens without distinction of parties, and will speak on the political issues of the day at Concert Hall this evening. The celebrity of the speaker will most certainly insure him a full house. Go and hear Old Abe.

As was the case when Mr. Lincoln spoke at Burlington in October preceding, neither the substance, nor the main points, nor the nature of the speech was indicated in the press report and comment thereon: simply the manner and effectiveness of the speaker were characterized. The evening was divided between Mr. Lincoln and a Judge Test, one-time secretary of State for Indiana and then a recent convert from the Democratic party. The latter fact apparently was not known for some of the audience seems to have anticipated something in the nature of a joint debate between the two speakers; but both expressed similar views.¹ The next week's issue of *The Nonpareil* contains an editorial expression of about a quarter of a column from Mr. W. W. Maynard under the heading "Abe Lincoln," one of its paragraphs being devoted to the Illinoisian and the other to the Indianian, with the major emphasis of laudation for Mr. Lincoln.

This distinguished gentleman addressed a very large audience of ladies and gentlemen at Concert Hall in this city Saturday evening last. In the brief limits of a newspaper article it were impossible even though we wielded the trenchant pen of a Babbitt (which we do not) to give an outline of his masterly and unanswerable speech—the clear and lucid manner in which he set forth the principles of the Republican party—the dexterity with which he applied the political scalpel to the Democratic carcass—beggars all description at our hands. Suffice it that the speaker fully and fairly sustained the great reputation he acquired in the memorable Illinois campaign as a man of great intellectual power—a close and sound reasoner.

At the close of Mr. Lincoln's remarks Judge Test of Indiana was called to the stand. The Judge spoke for near half an hour Both gentlemen endeared themselves to the Republicans by their praiseworthy efforts on this occasion.²

The foregoing announcement and comments, colored as they are by the favorable inclination of the editor's partisan preju-

¹The *Sunday Nonpareil* (semi-centennial edition), Sept. 2, 1906—article "Visit of 'Abe' Lincoln to Council Bluffs," p. 22.

²The *Weekly Nonpareil*, Aug. 12, 1859. The writer is indebted to Mr. Henry Peterson, attorney of Council Bluffs, for the citations from *The Nonpareil* of 1859. He unearthed the files, when all information as to their whereabouts was adverse.

dice indicate very decidedly the keen popular interest in Mr. Lincoln in western Iowa and his celebrity as a powerful speaker. But the significance of the visit, aside from the speech is not appreciated; and there was of course but little suspicion of the bearing of the event upon the visitor's later career. His one particular object seems to have been to confer with his local representative about land values and their future prospects. The person who thus acted for him with whom he chiefly conferred, subsequently had a distinguished career in the nation's industrial, military and political affairs: and the writer has been fortunate in securing his recollections of Mr. Lincoln's visit and speech. The following extracts are reproduced from notes of an interview with General Grenville M. Dodge.

My first interest in Abraham Lincoln came about as a result of business interest. I had had business relations for some time with N. P. Judd of Illinois who was Mr. Lincoln's manager in the campaign before the Chicago convention. I looked after some land interests for them in and about Council Bluffs.

I first met Mr. Lincoln at Council Bluffs in August, 1859. He had come up there by way of St. Joseph and the Missouri river to look after an interest in the Riddle tract that he had bought from Mr. Judd.

I had just returned with my party from a surveying trip, and we camped in a ravine just north of the town, and had come down to the Pacific House to get a square meal.

He heard of the arrival of the engineering party and sought me out at the hotel. We sat down on the porch of the Pacific House and he proceeded to find out all about the country we had been through and all about our railroad surveys, the character of the country, particularly its adaptability to settlement, its topographical features, in fact, he extracted from me the information I had gathered from my surveyors, and virtually shelled my woods most thoroughly.

When Mr. Lincoln first spoke in Council Bluffs in August, 1859, I was interested in him chiefly because he had been Judd's friend and because he had been an attorney for the Rock Island road. Knowing something of his reputation produced by the debates with Douglas and because of his relations with Judd and the Rock Island I went over to the Square where he was to speak.

There are no accounts of the speech that give any details as to what he said except perhaps in a very vague way. He dwelt largely upon the slavery question—the great subject in which we folks on the "Missouri Slope" were then, as was the whole country, much

erested. Mr. Lincoln set forth his views of the slavery question connection with the settlement of the territory just across the Missouri river. The settlement of the new territory interested him very much and its commercial development was much in his mind. In the course of his speech he took occasion to commend the advanced stand taken by Kirkwood in his campaign for governor. I went with Kirkwood to some of the towns in the western part of the State in which he spoke. Kirkwood was regarded by a good many as very strong on the slavery question. It was natural that Mr. Lincoln should say a good word on his behalf.

Before the speech I had no very definite ideas about Mr. Lincoln: that speech settled the matter. He convinced the most of those who heard him that he knew what he was talking about and that he knew how to put the issues so as to bring out the strong points of the Republican position. He made many strong friends in every part of the State at the time.

Mr. Lincoln stayed with Messrs. Thomas Officer and W. H. M. Key while in town—they had formerly lived in Springfield, Illinois. Years after it was the conversation at the Pacific House that led to the fixing of the eastern terminus of the Union Pacific at Council Bluffs.¹

There was some but not much notice of the visit and the speech by the press of the State. At Des Moines Mr. Teesdale refers to the presence and address of the "distinguished" Illinoisian in Council Bluffs and he asserts that the Republicans were "delighted with the effort and do not wonder at the popularity of Old Abe at home." He concludes by declaring: "... the Republicans of Iowa are under especial obligations to Mr. L."² The editors of the Democratic paper make note of the event in contemptuous terms: "Lincoln, the would-be senator from Illinois who was so badly beaten on the stump and at the polls by Douglas was in Council Bluffs last week and made a speech."³

One fact is made evident in the foregoing. The familiar terms employed by Messrs. Maynard and Teesdale in referring to Mr. Lincoln, such as, "Abe" and "Old Abe," indicate that his name and fame were common household stock; the editors' language implied no derogation; rather an assumption that all

¹ Interview with General Grenville M. Dodge, Des Moines, Nov. 17, 1908.
² *The Iowa Weekly Citizen*, Aug. 24, 1859.
³ *The Campaign Journal*, Aug. 18, 1859.

knew him or about him and held him in the esteem of familiar colloquial acquaintance.

Roundabout or following the visit to Council Bluffs a report seems to have become current in Keokuk that Mr. Lincoln would attend a session of the federal court in that city in September. Forthwith Mr. Hawkins Taylor, an active leader of the Republicans in the Gate City, took measures to secure a speech and wrote him. Mr. Taylor received a reply under date of September 6th, as follows:

There is some mistake about my expected attendance of the United States court in your city on the third Tuesday of this month. I have no thought of being there. It is bad to be poor. I shall go to the wall for bread and meat, if I neglect my business this year as well as last. It would please me much to see the city and good people of Keokuk, but for this year it is little less than an impossibility.¹

Notwithstanding his financial straits, the pressure of the political campaign in the country at large was so great as to induce the writer of that letter two weeks later to go to Ohio in pursuit of his old antagonist, Senator Douglas, "driving nails in his track" in two notable speeches at Columbus and Cincinnati.

Following Mr. Lincoln's appearance at Council Bluffs and no doubt in consequence of it he received another invitation to speak in the canvass in Iowa. Mr. John A. Kasson, as chairman of the Republican state central committee, was in no small degree charged personally with the practical responsibility for the successful issue of the state campaign. The Democrats were making more than common efforts to regain the State, having in General A. C. Dodge a very strong candidate for governor. Mr. Kasson had substantial reasons for anxiety as to the outcome² and alertly sought effective speakers. Under date of September 13th Mr. Kasson addressed Mr. Lincoln, a brief note:

Will it be possible for you to visit Oskaloosa in this State, at the State Fair, say the 28th, Sept', and speak there, and perhaps at one or more other places.

¹ANNALS OF IOWA (3d series), V. II, p. 475.

²The reasons for the worry of the Republicans in the canvass of 1859 are set forth by the writer in THE ANNALS, Vol. VIII, 206-217.

It is earnestly desired you should visit the State if possible.¹

The invitation, however, was unavailing, for the reason probably that Mr. Lincoln by the date he received it was busily preparing for his speeches in Ohio or was already on his way to that State. At least there seems to have been no favorable response.²

It is not clear why Mr. Lincoln should have been indisposed to cross the river and make some speeches at various important points in eastern Iowa in the campaign of 1859. His visit to Council Bluffs seems to have been accidental or at least not pre-arranged. He went to Kansas both before and after his speech at Council Bluffs: and he went to Ohio and to Wisconsin before his second visit to Kansas. The invasion of Ohio by his old antagonist was sufficient inducement for him to follow. But Wisconsin was as certainly Republican as Iowa, while Iowa was a State with eight votes in the forthcoming national convention and Kansas was a territory with but six possible votes. The tremendous popular furore over "Bleeding Kansas" probably explains his sacrifices of time, energy, and means in Kansas and his comparative indifference to appeals from Iowa.³

There are few signs of any systematic effort to secure action that would promote the nomination of Mr. Lincoln. The sug-

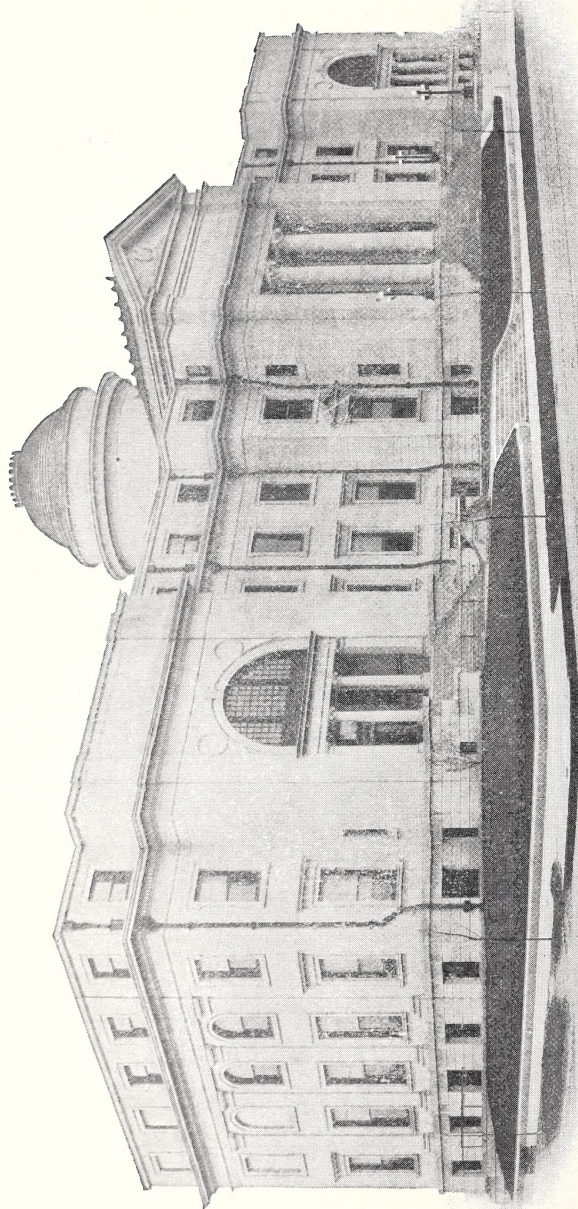
¹The writer is indebted to the courtesy of Hon. Robert T. Lincoln of Chicago for Mr. Kasson's note given above, who presented him with the original, together with its envelope on which is an autograph notation of President Lincoln.

²Hon. Robert T. Lincoln to the writer Feb. 1, 1909, and Mr. Chas. Kasson Wead for Hon. John A. Kasson, Jan. 8, 1909.

³Mr. Lincoln had another basis of interest in Iowa and Iowans. Messrs. Herndon and Lamon both declare that no fact had a more profound influence upon his character and career than his love for Miss Anne Rutledge of New Salem. Her untimely death in 1835, it is asserted, accounts largely for the clouds of melancholy that so constantly hovered about him. Even after his election to the Presidency he is reported to have said to an old friend from whom he was seeking information about old acquaintances: "I have loved the name of Rutledge to this day. I have kept my mind on their movements ever since, . . ." (Lamon, *Life*, p. 169). Some members of the Rutledge family moved to southern Iowa during the fifties. Robert B. Rutledge was one of the pioneers of Van Buren county whose name appears in its calendar of Notables (*History of Van Buren County*, p. 378). He was elected Sheriff of that county in 1857 serving from 1858 to 1862. During the Civil War he was appointed Provost Marshal in 1863, with headquarters at Burlington; serving in the latter capacity until October 31, 1865. (*War of Rebellion—Records*, Series III, Vol. V, 906). We may safely surmise that the appointment was the result of President Lincoln's personal interest in him and his family. After the war Mrs. James Rutledge, mother of the brother and sister just mentioned, lived for a time at Oskaloosa. The writer is indebted to Mr. E. R. Harlan, Curator of the Historical Department, for the foregoing relative to Robert Rutledge's career in Iowa; and to Mr. Welker Given of Des Moines for the last fact mentioned.

gestion of Mr. Holmes of Marion already noted, might have contemplated some action by the special state convention called for January 18, 1860, to select the delegates to attend the national convention. In one instance, however, instructions were given. The Republicans of Newton in their resolutions instructing for Salmon P. Chase for President directed their county delegates to work to secure the nomination of Abraham Lincoln for Vice-President.¹ One thing is obvious. The name of Mr. Lincoln received as much consideration in Iowa in connection with the Presidency in 1859 both in informal discussion and in formal party action as that of his chief competitor at the national convention.

¹*The Gate City*, Jan. 11, 1860.



THE HISTORICAL, MEMORIAL AND ART BUILDING—SOUTH FACADE

This building is occupied by the Historical Department of Iowa, except the basement of the east half, occupied by the Library Commission, and the main and second floors of the same half, occupied by miscellaneous department of the State Library

ANNALS OF IOWA.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

THE HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT OF IOWA.

Four distinct functions combine to form the Historical Department of Iowa. They are an historical library, a museum, the publication of historical materials and a repository of public archives. Developed together they should form the State's most valuable source for historical investigation.

In his first biennial report, 1894, the founder showed that all these activities except the archives repository had already been well started. He said:

At the capitals of most states collections of the data for their own history and that of surrounding regions, have been in progress for many years—in some from their organization. Wisconsin, the model western state in this regard, has been engaged in the work fifty years. Kansas for nearly half that period. . . . The early settlers of the State [of Iowa in which no such effective enterprise had been shown] were rapidly disappearing, either by death or removal to other regions, and all their recollections of pioneer times fading away. Their places were occupied by newcomers, who could not reasonably be expected to take much interest or pride in Iowa of early days, for the reason that they knew little about it, and little of its history had been preserved. No complete collection of our early public documents was in existence, and but few of the pioneer newspapers had been preserved. Precious books which will one of these days be worth their weight in gold were so fading from public knowledge as in many cases to have been almost wholly forgotten. Our prehistoric pottery and stone implements were being gathered up and largely sent abroad to enrich the museums and collections of other states. Even the fossils secured by one of our geological surveys, and costly engraved plates for their illustration, paid for by the State, met the same fate. To see and study these fossils at this time necessitates a journey to an eastern city. They would today form a most valuable addition—these type specimens—to a collection in our own capitol; but no effort was ever made to keep them here or any other place in Iowa. If Iowa owned them now, no proposition to part with them would be entertained by anybody. While our statesmen upon the rostrum boasted the absence of illiteracy in Iowa, and pointed with pride to the magnificent

record of Iowa soldiers during the great civil war, it was continually pleaded that this State, free from debt, could not afford to collect the necessary data for her own history, nor preserve from waste the archaeological treasures yielded by her own soil, or even mementos of our early settlers and soldiers. It is a fact not to be proud of—a strange anomaly—that so many of the public documents published by the state authority prior to 1860 are not now in the capitol nor represented in any collection. Of many, not a single copy is known to be in existence, nor were the originals preserved in the offices whence they emanated. It is to stop this waste—to repair, as far as practicable, the losses which have already occurred, to build up collections incidental to such work, and contributing greatly to its usefulness and to the everyday instruction and enjoyment of the people, to save up precious materials which shall illustrate to future times the history of our own, that the efforts of the Historical Department have been devoted during the year and a half of its existence. That these are worthy ends no one, I believe, will at this day question.

That the State should build up and fairly maintain a great Historical Museum, wherein should be secured as large collections as practicable in State and National history, literature, art, military relics and mementos, natural history, geology, archaeology, numismatics, etc., as it is practicable to bring together, would seem to have become the settled belief of the people. Such an institution should be kept growing, for "a finished museum is a dead museum." There is apparently no end to the amount of materials which may be readily obtained for this purpose. The great need is a place in which they can be safely kept and conveniently exhibited.

The founder devoted the remaining fourteen of his four score years to the development of this work. With the support and assistance of a Board of Trustees sympathizing with his purposes, he built up an institution from which the public derives great benefit and in which it takes great pride. At his death, March 8, 1908, there was collected and under the efficient administration of Miss Mary R. Whitcomb, assistant curator, a library of 18,000 volumes, consisting of books of State and western history and biography, the Civil War, slavery, the Indians, genealogy, etc. It also includes many volumes of original manuscripts, personal letters, maps, and the great collection of bound newspapers. The whole forms a workshop of printed materials and auxiliary items already invaluable and growing with great rapidity.

There was a vast collection of materials on display, and in course of expansion into the new and more extensive apartments of the new building, which formed a museum illustrative of Mississippi Valley life. Specimens of natural history and prehistoric archaeology; relic, weapon, trophy, print and parchment touching periods and personages of note; manuscript, portrait and statue of Iowa men and women of honor and achievement; utensil, fabric, tool and other aids to the study of processes past and passing. This collection, carefully authenticated and labelled and displayed in a way most easily to be seen and understood, forms the great institution for popular museum education in the State. Its advantages are annually embraced by throngs who are enlightened and stimulated as are visitors to agricultural and other exposition enterprises for museum education.

Through the ANNALS OF IOWA there had been gathered in sixteen years, eight volumes of matter chiefly of original character, contributed by men most active and strong in the formative phases of State building, as well as the editorial work of the founder, himself a pioneer and participant in many of the State's most notable events. Publications falling outside the province of other activities of the State and forming valuable additions to the historical materials accessible to the citizens have been issued. They are Richman's "John Brown among the Quakers;" Todd's "Reminiscences of Western Iowa;" Shambaugh's "History of the Constitution of Iowa;" Statute Laws of the Territory of Iowa 1838-39; 1839-40 and special session of 1840 (republished); Journals of the Second Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Iowa at the special session of 1840 (printed for the first time); and other printed works augmenting the collections of information on early Iowa.

The thought of more carefully preserving and arranging for use by the public the documentary accumulations of the different officers and offices of the State government in this as in other States, had been taking form for some time. As early as 1860, through the efforts of Charles Aldrich, an inquiry was instituted into the conditions and needs of our State in this direction. Mr. Aldrich continued to agitate the mat-

ter of the proper care and preservation of public archives, and in 1906 all historical interests in the State joined in securing legislation to this end. A plan was prepared under direction of the Board of Trustees of the Historical Department by Dr. B. F. Shambaugh, of the State Historical Society at Iowa City. Actual work under this plan and by direction of our Board of Trustees was begun in 1906, but by act of the Thirty-second General Assembly the work was transferred to the Executive Council in 1907, which since that time has had charge of the work.

There had been erected the structure urged by Mr. Aldrich in his first report. It had been most suitably equipped and thrown open throughout for public use. It consists of a modern fire-proof building of native Iowa oolite, costing about \$375,000, with equipment costing \$50,000, especially provided for the Historical Department of Iowa; of four full stories, with 51,998 square feet of floor space. About one-fourth of this is in use by the Iowa State Library and one-eighth by the Library Commission and Traveling Libraries. The exterior dimensions of the building are 96 by 512 feet. The height from foundation to coping is 60 feet; to top of dome 100 feet. The walls are of brick and stone. The floors are of steel and concrete; the artificial lighting by electricity; steam heat and ventilation by automatic system. The building is entirely in use, but contracts for completing the marble and bronze finish of corridors and stairs and the installation of elevators provided by the last General Assembly, have but recently been let. There is practically an end, therefore, of expense for building, the almost perfect physical equipment called for by Mr. Aldrich, having been provided. Future appropriations for the work should be increased and may well be anticipated, since need of those for equipment is so nearly eliminated.

After the death of Mr. Aldrich in March, 1908, the writer, who had been an assistant to Mr. Aldrich for over a year, was placed in charge of the Department as acting curator. He had the efficient assistance of the corps trained by Mr. Aldrich, at the head of which was Miss Mary R. Whitecomb, upon whom

the responsibilities of the Department had largely rested during the declining years of its founder, and who was to lay down her earthly labors almost exactly a year later, April 8, 1909. October 1, 1909, the acting curator was appointed to the position of curator, and Miss Alice M. Steele, who had been an assistant in the Department for a number of years, was promoted to the position of assistant curator. Mr. T. Van Hyning remains as museum curator and Miss Ida M. Huntington, of Des Moines, has been added to the staff.

From the many good things said by the press of Iowa in relation to the filling of the position of Curator, we quote the following from the editorial columns of the *Burlington Hawk-Eye*:

Edgar R. Harlan (has been appointed) . . . Curator of the State Historical Department . . . as successor of the lamented Charles Aldrich, father of the Department . . .

*Great achievement in any pursuit is only possible with adequate equipment. Both the general assembly of Iowa and the public, have a duty to perform; the former by liberal appropriations; the latter by personal interest in the institution, by contributions of valuable historical books, pamphlets, maps, letters, and relics of pioneer days. Personal co-operation with the curator has done much in the past; it can do much in the future. Let the citizens of Iowa, interested in the preservation of all data pertaining to the history of the state, get in touch with the curator. Visit the Historical Department at Des Moines; go often and see and realize what has been done and what the vast field still has open for intelligent endeavor. Write the curator for information of what is now in hand and what is still needed and desired. Ransack the book shelves and closets, store rooms and attics for suitable material for the department. In this way the citizens can render assistance of inestimable value and help make Iowa's Historical Department one of the foremost in the United States.

It is with full consciousness of its responsibilities and opportunities that this work is taken up. Courage is found in the fact that the Board of Trustees which encouraged and supported the founder, remains of equal zeal in its assistance of his successor. The public is generous in applause and in tangible contributions. Enthusiasm is not hard to sustain nor are results difficult to achieve under such auspices. Our ambition is to carry forward the work of the Historical

Department as planned by its founder, with such modifications as may by the Board of Trustees be prescribed from time to time.

JAMES W. GRIMES AND ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN 1844.

A short time since, the writer met by chance Mr. M. W. Blair, a native of Des Moines county, now resident near Mediapolis. Learning that his memory comprehended men and events in the first years of the territorial government of Iowa, sundry questions were asked as to his recollections of the visits and speeches of Stephen A. Douglas and Abraham Lincoln in Burlington in 1858. One result was the discovery of an interesting political circular of 1844, and therein of an autograph letter of James W. Grimes. The circular and the letter were addressed to his father, Honorable David E. Blair, then living at or near Yellow Springs. Mr. Grimes' correspondent had been a member of the House of Representatives of the fourth (1841) and fifth (1842) sessions of the Territorial Legislature and afterwards a member of the lower house of the first General Assembly under the State government. Mr. Blair was kind enough to forward the circular to the writer for examination and to consent to its reproduction for use in *THE ANNALS*. (See opposite page.)

The circular "To The Whigs of Iowa" announces a mass meeting of that party in Burlington, July 13, 1844. The committee of arrangements signing it, promise speeches and festivities appropriate to the occasion. Among the committeemen signing is J. G. Foote, afterwards a member of the State Senate (1862-1866) and later a member of the Capitol Commission that supervised the erection of the present Capitol building, whose sister became Mrs. John H. Gear. The circular in and of itself is not without value. Its chief interest, however, lies in the letter of Mr. Grimes which, although without postmark or date, was probably written at Burlington roundabout July 1st. The letter is as follows:

[Burlington.]

Friend Blair

You see from this circular that the Whigs in this section are wide awake. Every one seems to be deeply sensible of the importance

David E. Blair Esq.
Yellow Springs
Iowa

[This circular, with the autograph letter of James W. Grimes, both reduced one fourth, was sent on or about July 1, 1844, folded and sealed as a letter to David E. Blair of Yellow Springs, Iowa. The Historical Department secured the original from Professor F. I. Herriott of Drake University, who obtained it from Mr. M. W. Blair, the son of the addressee, now resident near Mediapolis in Des Moines county, Iowa. The superscription above is reproduced exactly as it appears on the circular, folded and sealed.]

Friend Blair

You see from this circular that the whigs in this section are wide awake. Every one seems to be deeply sensible of the importance of the present crisis, and determined to do his duty & his whole duty as a whig. The increase, we find upon actual count, in this County has been ~~found to be~~ enough since last year, to secure us the County by a very respectable majority provided we can induce our friends to turn out. To accomplish this latter most desirable result we have got up the map meeting. If we can properly stir up our own friends, our efforts will unquestionably be crowned with success - We expect to see the whole of your township here - We are getting a bonfire painted for you and will have a cold celebration in the grove - We know it will be in the midst of a busy season, but circumstances forbid its being at any other time. Now is our time or never, and every whig must come up to the mark. It is hoped you will use every exertion in your power to induce every man in your township to turn out -

I am very truly &c.

J. M. Garrison
Baker & Lincoln of Ill.
& some 40 men - besides Lowe, Woodward, Reid &c.
are expected

TO THE WHIGS OF IOWA.

THE Whigs of Des Moines County will meet in MASS at Burlington on SATURDAY, THE 13th DAY OF JULY, at which time and place, they invite the attendance of the Whigs of the Territory generally.

Arrangements have been made for the reception and entertainment of their friends; and several distinguished gentlemen from abroad have been invited and are expected to attend; by whom addresses will be delivered.

The Whigs of Des Moines say to their Whig brethren throughout the Territory—COME ONE—COME ALL—and let the 13TH OF JULY be devoted to the discussion of Whig principles and the enjoyment of Whig festivities.

O. H. W. STULL
RICHARD NOBLE
JNO. S. DAVID
WM. GRIFFEY
RICHARD WAIT
JOSEPH BEYLES
H. S. TREVOR
JOSEPH JEFFERS

ARTHUR BRIDGMAN
H. C. BENNETT
C. F. HENDRIE
H. C. ANDERSON
JAMES M'KELL
WESLEY JONES
H. T. HUGINS
J. G. FOOTE

} Committee of
Arrangements.

JULY 1st, 1844.

of the present crisis, and determined to do his duty and his whole duty as a Whig. The increase we find upon actual count, in this county has been enough since last year, to secure us the county by a very respectable majority, provided we can induce our friends to turn out. To accomplish this latter most desirable result we have got up the mass meeting. If we can properly stir up our own friends, our efforts will unquestionably be crowned with success. We expect to see the whole of your township here. We are getting a banner painted for you and will have a cold colation in the grove. We know it will be in the midst of a busy season, but circumstances forbid its being at any other time. Now is our time or never, and every Whig must come up to the mark. It is hoped you will use every exertion in your power to induce every man in your township to turn out.

I am very truly &c

JAS. W. GRIMES.

Baker and Lincoln of Ill & some Mo. men—besides Lowe, Woodward, Reid &c are expected.

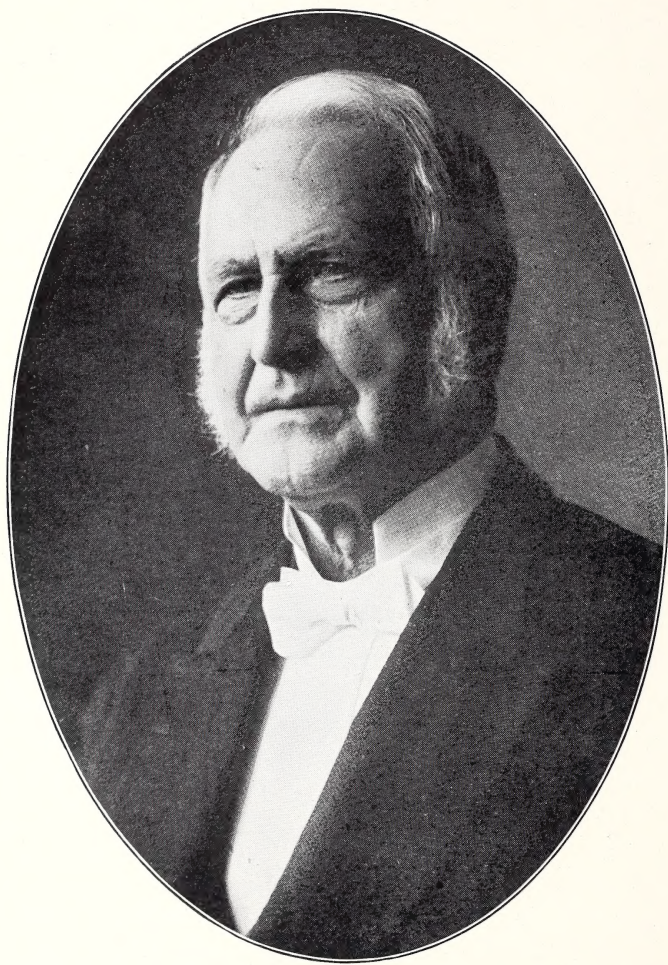
The letter is valuable on two accounts. It affords us an illustration, at an early stage in Mr. Grimes' political career, of one of his distinguishing characteristics as a party worker and leader. It indicates his tactics—his alertness, directness and thoroughness, his comprehension, method and urgency in attending to political matters. From first to last Mr. Grimes was a statesman of high order, but he was also a practical politician of first rank, who realized that political supremacy depends upon the mastery of the matter-of-fact, and he always devoted himself with discernment and vigor to the work of getting out "the whole township" to the rallies and to the polls. The point of major interest, as often occurs, is found in what appears to be a postscript.

The circular announces that "several distinguished gentlemen from abroad have been invited and are expected to attend." Evidently with a view to arousing Mr. Blair to extra efforts to secure a large attendance from his township, Mr. Grimes adds in the way of an afterthought—"Baker and Lincoln of Ill. and some Mo. men—besides Lowe, Woodward, Reid &c are expected." The first two referred to were Edward Dickenson Baker and Abraham Lincoln. These men had been rivals that year (as two years before) for the Whig nomination for Congress in the Seventh or Springfield district of Illinois, the former being successful. Baker had a wide reputation as an orator of remarkable powers of fascination

and persuasion. He was elected to Congress in 1844 and later resigned to serve in the Mexican War in which he had a distinguished career. On his return he was again elected to Congress. In 1851 he went to California. In 1859 he pronounced a notable oration on the occasion of the death of Senator Broderick, at the hands of Terry, and soon after was nominated by the Republicans for the United States Senate, but failed of election. In 1860 he was elected to the Senate from Oregon, and in 1861 he was killed at the head of a regiment at Ball's Bluff.

In 1844 Abraham Lincoln had attained a reputation that went far beyond the borders of Sangamon county. His career in the legislature of Illinois had given him a state-wide acquaintance among political workers. His ability as a public speaker prior to 1840 was such that his addresses, lectures and stump speeches were printed in the leading Whig paper at Springfield. In 1842 and 1844 he was a competitor for the Congressional nomination with John J. Hardin and Edward D. Baker. In 1840 and again in 1844 he was nominated by the Whigs for a Presidential elector—an honor of far greater significance then than nowadays—one result being that he canvassed the greater part of Illinois. He enhanced his reputation as an effective campaigner so much that he was invited to canvass a part of Indiana for Clay, which he did. It is obvious that Mr. Grimes referred to him as a celebrity whose presence at the mass meeting on July 13th would constitute a decided attraction which should induce a large attendance.

It is not certain whether or not either of the Illinoisians spoke in Burlington as expected. Miss D. N. Sabin, Librarian of the Free Public Library of Burlington, informs the writer that the files of *The Hawk-Eye* and of the *Iowa Territorial Gazette and Advertiser* are incomplete or missing for July, 1844. In neither paper, either preceding or succeeding the mass meeting, is there any mention of either one being expected or having appeared in Burlington. The writer knows of no tradition that Abraham Lincoln appeared in Burlington prior to October 9, 1858, at which time he followed his great opponent, Stephen A. Douglas, into that city in the interval between the debate at Galesburg and Quincy. F. I. H.



Isaac Brandt

NOTABLE DEATHS

ISAAC BRANDT was born near Lancaster, Fairfield county, Ohio, April 7, 1827; he died in Des Moines, Iowa, September 12, 1909. He was the twelfth child of David and Martha (Hamilton) Brandt, who had removed from Cumberland county, Pa., to their Ohio home in 1814. He received the meager instruction of the common school of that time. At sixteen he was bound out to learn the shoemaker's trade. For two years he received but his board and one week during harvest and one day in December for butchering, as his own time. Up to the age of twenty-one all of his earnings went to his father, and on the day he arrived at his majority he opened a shoe shop of his own. Upon his marriage to Miss Harriet Wisely, November 1, 1849, he determined to remove to the west, arriving at Auburn, DeKalb county, Indiana, in May, 1850. He followed his trade until 1854, when he was elected sheriff of DeKalb county, in which office he served until a visit to Iowa in January, 1856. He traveled to nearly all the more populous portions of the State, but returned to Des Moines to which place he brought his wife in April, 1858. In October of that year he purchased a half-interest in the dry goods house of E. A. Garrison, and in the fall of 1860 he became the sole owner. In 1866 he sold out and retired from the mercantile business. In January, 1867, he became assistant treasurer of the State of Iowa, serving six years. In the fall of 1873 he was elected to represent Polk county in the House of the Fifteenth General Assembly. He was appointed chairman of the committee on ways and means, and member of the committees on insurance and cities and towns. He was a potent factor in the plan of erecting the state capitol, and his legislative work proved him a leader. He was elected to the city council in 1877 and chosen mayor pro tem. President Arthur appointed him in 1883 on a committee of inspection of the Northern Pacific Railroad in Idaho and Montana, and he served as chairman. He was commissioned in 1890 postmaster of the city of Des Moines, serving little more than four years. Isaac Brandt was a positive force in every movement for the general uplift in every community in which he lived. During his life as a total abstainer, he was effective in all movements for the suppression of intemperance, faithfully attending all meetings and serving as an officer in different societies. He was Grand Chief Templar of the Iowa Society of Good Templars three terms, beginning respectively in 1862, 1870 and 1879. He was an abolitionist whose initial service was to contribute his last penny to a fugitive slave, and he maintained one of the stopping places for fugitive slaves on their way through Iowa from Tabor to Springdale and on. He was a personal friend of John Brown and his associates. He had fine intelligence and a great zeal for beautifying life. In his home and its surroundings, in his school district, and in the entire city he felt the interest of the good husbandman. Through the press of the State are scattered reports and interviews marking him as an initiator or an advocate of tree planting and preservation, of street widening and parking, of park purchasing and improvement. When the appropriation for the purchase of the permanent fair grounds proved but half what was necessary for the retention of the fair at his city, and when the securing of the balance

had all but been abandoned, Isaac Brandt threw his own personality, time and zeal into the enterprise, solicited, collected and paid into the treasury of the state fair more than fifty thousand dollars, which, with the sum appropriated by the legislature, provided the grounds for the permanent location of the State Agricultural Society. He was prone to lighten the burdens of his fellow men. In so doing he promoted the reunion of citizens upon almost every pretext. He had the sense of the historian and attended to the ample report and permanent record of every such reunion. From such disposition he became the chief promoter and either made or caused to be made the records of the Octogenarian Society of Des Moines, the Polk County Pioneers' Association, the "Ohiowa" Society of Polk County, the Iowa Tippecanoe Club, formed of those who like himself had been through the campaign for the elder Harrison, and the Iowa Pioneer Lawmakers' Association. He was an active member and once the presiding officer of Capitol Grange No. 5, Patrons of Husbandry. He was by nature as sweet and as soft of heart as a woman. He was almost never free from pecuniary responsibility for others, and if the complete records of the successful business lives of his community are ever made up, the name and credit of Isaac Brandt will be written into many at their critical points. He never withheld a word of good whose gift would make for the comfort or happiness of any man.

WILLIAM T. SHAW was born in Steuben, Maine, September 22, 1822; he died at Anamosa, Iowa, April 29, 1909. He was of English descent, of a family which rendered effective service for independence in the war of the revolution and which made itself felt for the right in every community into which it scattered from its first American settlement in Maine. Col. Shaw was educated at Kent's Hill. He engaged in school teaching in Indiana and Kentucky. From the latter State he enlisted for service in the Mexican war, serving throughout that conflict. He commanded a company of men that crossed the plains to California by way of the Santa Fe route in 1849. For two years he engaged there in the mining and lumbering business. He acquired lands and settled in Jones county, Iowa, in 1854. He soon became, and ever after during his active life remained, a prominent factor in the development and public life of Jones county. He was a leading spirit in the promotion of the Dubuque, Southwestern and Farley Railway in 1857, now a part of the Milwaukee system. He was president of what was called the Midland Road, now a part of the Northwestern, and through his efforts this was completed to Anamosa. He represented his county in the lower house of the 16th General Assembly. But with all his grandeur and force of character as a civilian, Col. Shaw as a soldier was greater. En route with his family to their old home in Maine, he wired an offer of his services to Governor Kirkwood when Fort Sumpter was fired upon. The offer was accepted, Col. Shaw proceeded to raise a regiment, and on Nov. 6, 1861, the 14th Iowa Volunteers, was mustered in. The distinction that regiment conferred upon itself is one of the most glorious of the bright chapters of Iowa military history. The men cheerfully gave to Col Shaw the credit for its highest qualities. In special order No. 132, Major General A. J. Smith states, "It is but an act of justice to an energetic, thorough and competent officer to say that for the past fifteen months he has been in this command, he has commanded the

post, brigade and division. In every position he has performed the incumbent duties faithfully and well, with an ability that few can equal, with courage, patriotism and skill above question."

AMOS NOYES CURRIER was born in Canaan, N. H., October 13, 1832; he died at Iowa City, Iowa, May 16, 1909. He attended the village school, Canaan Academy and Kimball Union Academy at Meriden, N. H., and graduated from Dartmouth College with the degree of B. A. in 1856. He came to Iowa in 1857, took charge of a languishing school which is now Central University at Pella, in which work he was engaged when he enlisted as a private in the 8th Iowa Infantry. He was in the Hornet's Nest at Shiloh and was captured there. He was in prison at Kahaba, Ala., and Macon, Ga. After being paroled, he enlisted in the 11th Missouri Cavalry, serving as commissary under Gen. Steele until discharged on account of illness in 1865. He took up his work at Pella, continuing until 1867, when he became professor of Greek and Latin in the State University of Iowa at Iowa City. For twenty years he was Dean of the College of Liberal Arts until he retired in 1907. He was acting president preceding the installation of President MacLean. He enjoyed a more intimate friendship with, and exercised a more powerful and righteous influence over a larger number of the strong citizens of the State than any other man who has ever been connected with one of our institutions. He was a successful business man, a director of the First National Bank of Iowa City, served as president and many times as director on important committees of the Iowa State Teachers' Association.

MILLIKAN STALKER was born at Plainfield, Indiana, August 6, 1841; he died at Ames, Iowa, June 14, 1909. His parents removed to Richland, Iowa, where his young manhood was spent. He attended district schools and academies at Oskaloosa and Springdale prior to his matriculation in the Iowa State College, from which he was graduated in 1853. He succeeded Professor I. P. Roberts in the chair of Agriculture at the Iowa State College, and besides giving all the instruction he also acted as farm superintendent, and from November, 1873, for three years was secretary of the board of trustees. With the institution of the veterinary department in the college, Dr. Stalker, after completing a course in veterinary schools at Toronto and New York, taking a degree from the former school, was made Professor of Agriculture and Veterinary Science at Iowa State College, which work he began in 1877. In 1878 Veterinary Science was separated from that of Agriculture, and the course lengthened to three years. In the real veterinary work Dr. Stalker remained in charge during most of the remainder of his life. He had a most charming personality, was master of good English, and as an entertainer and lecturer took high rank. He published little that is not found in the reports of the State Veterinarian.

J. C. C. HOSKINS was born January 18, 1820, in Grafton county, New Hampshire; he died at Sioux City, Iowa, August 13, 1909. By his personal labors he supported himself through a course at Dartmouth College, taking the degree of A. B. at the age of twenty-one. He was principal of the academy at Lebanon, N. H., in 1841. In 1846 he engaged in civil engineering, which became his life work.

He planned and constructed some notable works in Massachusetts, including the Newton and Brookline tunnels. He located that portion of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in what was known in 1850 as its western division, on the Monongahela river. No such heavy construction work had up to this time been undertaken in the United States, there being twenty-two tunnels in one hundred miles. In January, 1857, he started with his family to Kansas. At St. Louis he was diverted to Iowa and reached his objective point, Sioux City, May 5, 1857. In 1866 he made a preliminary survey for the Sioux City and St. Paul Railroad of which he became president and served as chief engineer. He served as city engineer from 1858 to 1871. He made profiles of the street grades which were adopted in 1858 and revised and readopted in 1871. By appointment he served both as sheriff and mayor and at different times as county superintendent of schools and as postmaster. He was one of the founders of two national banks in Sioux City, and founder and director of the city's first savings bank. He was engaged in mercantile pursuits as well as in professional work and was very active up to 1878, since which time he has lived a retired life.

DELOS ARNOLD was born in Chenango county, New York, July 21, 1830; he died at Pasadena, California, August 31, 1909. He was educated in the common schools of his native state and graduated at the Albany law school in 1853; removed to Iowa in the year of his graduation and settled in Marshall county. On the day of his arrival he was appointed prosecuting attorney of his county, continuing in the office three years. In 1856 he was elected to the House of the Sixth General Assembly from the district formed of the counties of Benton, Marshall and Tama. He served again in the House in 1870 from Marshall county, being chairman of the committee on banking. In 1876 he was elected to the Senate and served during the 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th sessions. As chairman of the committee on penitentiaries, he introduced the bill which became a law, providing for the disposing of the labor of convicts. In his last session he became chairman of the committee on appropriations. During his service in the legislature he procured the passage of the first act for establishing weather service in Iowa. He served as regent of the State University and on the committee for auditing accounts of the Board of Capitol Commissioners. He was appointed by President Lincoln assessor of internal revenue in what was the Sixth congressional district, and continued in that office for four years. Mr. Arnold removed to Pasadena, California, in 1886, where his home remained for the rest of his life. He was a member of the school board of his city for fifteen years. He was a collector of natural history, and during the past year presented his collections to the University of California. These were believed to be the finest collections of fossils, shells and corals ever gathered in that state. Mr. Arnold's body was brought to Marshalltown, Iowa, for interment.

LORAN R. HENDERSON was born in Indiana, March 31, 1831; he died near Sidney, Fremont county, Iowa, October 2, 1909. He removed to Fremont county in 1857, locating upon the farm which was his home for the remainder of his life. He was of modest educational attainments, but a man noted for intellectual industry and strength. He served his county in the lower House in the 19th and 20th General Assemblies.

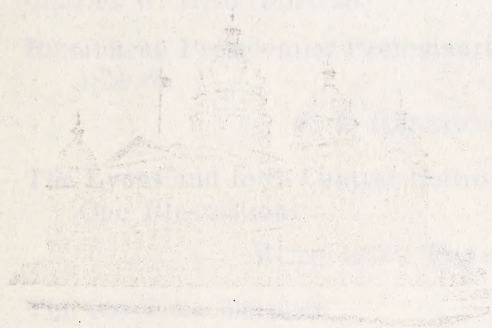
THIRD SERIES.

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JANUARY, 1910.

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A HISTORICAL QUARTERLY.



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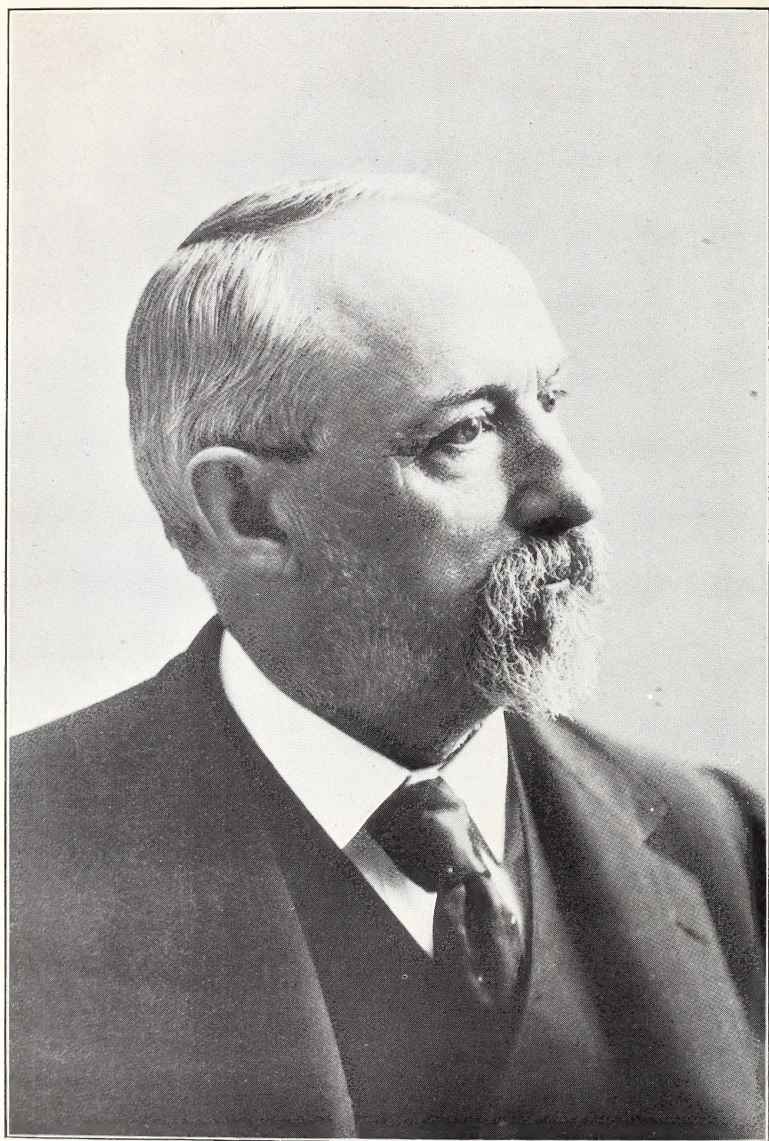
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Chas W. Irish

ANNALS OF IOWA.

VOL. IX, No. 4. DES MOINES, IOWA, JANUARY 1910. 3D SERIES.

REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL PRELIMINARIES IN IOWA—1859-1860.

BY F. I. HERRIOTT,

Professor of Economics, Political and Social Science, Drake University.

1. *The First Party Maneuvers in 1859.*

Victory in political contests, as in military operations, depends no less upon the possession of strategic points and the masterful use of the machinery and technique of procedure, than upon concourses of adherents. Inferior forces directed by masters of strategy and tactics are usually successful over preponderant numbers or mere masses unorganized or illy controlled and directed. Candidates or their friends and promoters realize these facts. They begin early to run out their lines, set their stakes, build their fences and hedge against rushes and surprises, to use the jargon of politicians. The leaders in charge of the machinery of the party may ally themselves with this or that wing or faction, or further the interests of a particular candidate; if there seems to be a fair prospect of success they then strive to have the machinery operate in his behalf. Or, they may perceive that the party's choice of a standard bearer is not a matter to be decided solely upon grounds of personal affiliations, or factional or sectional interests but, if victory is to be achieved, such choice must be determined upon considerations insuring the maximum efficiency of the party's forces in the aggregate. Complete alignment, certainty and unity of purpose, capacity for hearty co-operation, prompt co-ordination and concentration whereby a party's strength can be easily directed and hurled against the weak points of the Opposition, are the prerequisites of success. Premature action, however, is no less to be avoided than dilatory measures. The former create serious reactions inimical to candidates because the majority of a party are interested in causes rather than men, and hasty action, such as early rushes to capture caucuses or conventions, suggests "snap

judgments'' and seems to imply that the promoters of a candidate fear adverse results from full, fair and open discussion and deliberate decision.

(a) The Selection of Delegates Proposed.

It cannot now probably be definitely stated when the first maneuvers were instituted for securing the favor of Iowa's Republican leaders or determining the attitude of the party in respect of the presidential succession in 1860. There is some evidence, however, that both friends and promoters of candidates and also some of the party leaders of the State contemplated active measures early in 1859, with a view to controlling the action of Iowa at the national convention.

On March 26th an official call for a Republican state convention to meet in Des Moines, June 22d, was issued by the state central committee. The call, after stating the immediate specific purpose of the convention to be the nomination of candidates for various state offices to be elected at the ensuing election, included the further announcement that—"The convention will take such other action as may, in its opinion, contribute to the success of the principles and organization of the Republican party of this State and of the Union." Of the seven members of the committee signing the call, five were afterwards selected (or as alternates or proxies, acted) as delegates of the party at the Chicago convention. They were Mr. John A. Kasson, chairman, and Mr. H. M. Hoxie, both of Des Moines, Mr. N. J. Rusch of Davenport, Mr. R. L. B. Clarke of Mount Pleasant and Mr. Thomas Seeley of Guthrie Center.

Following within a week or so, word was apparently given out that it would be advisable for the approaching convention to select the delegates to the next national convention, for Mr. Palmer of the *Dubuque Times* observed: "The question has arisen among some of the leading Republicans whether the state convention . . . should not choose delegates to the next Republican national convention. If there is any purpose or any necessity of making the choice at that time, the party throughout the State should know it, that they may be represented accordingly." The reception accorded the sug-

¹Quoted in *The Muscatine Daily Journal*, April 26, 1859.

gestion was somewhat various. Mr. Mahin looked upon it with approval. "We think," he declares, "it would be a fit time to choose such delegates. The call, as published, confers the power on the convention, and as another state convention will not, in all probability, be held before the national convention, the opportunity ought to be improved for the appointment of delegates. Let us have a general expression from the Republican press on this subject, and let it be understood that delegates are to be appointed."¹ The proposition was given more or less approval, *The Cedar Valley Times* concurring with *The Journal*; but for the major part it encountered sharp disapproval.

Mr. Howell repelled the suggestion instantly. "The idea of electing delegates to the national convention," he declared, "ought not to be entertained for a moment. There is no propriety in doing so, nor is there the slightest necessity for such haste. It is highly probable that the national convention will meet at Wheeling on the 17th of June, 1860, and our state convention next year can very properly come off about the first of June, at which time candidates for state offices and delegates to the national convention, duly imbued with the sentiments and fully instructed as to the preferences of the Republicans of Iowa, can be selected."² *The Iowa City Republican* was likewise adverse. Mr. Jerome, the editor, pointed out that "the wish of the party [relative to the candidate] is now unknown. Twelve months hence it will find unanimous expression. The man will come with the hour. Let us wait for both."³ Mr. Drummond reprinted the *Republican's* views as expressing his own.⁴ Mr. Teesdale, while opposing the selection of delegates at the forthcoming Convention, put out the equivocal suggestion that it would be well "to give expression to the sentiment of the State at the time the delegates were selected." One is not certain whether a preliminary expression by the state convention in June was suggested or resolutions of instruction at the time the delegates were later selected was contemplated.⁵

¹*The Muscatine Daily Journal*, April 26, 1859.

²*The Gate City*, April 28, 1859.

³*The Vinton Eagle* cites May 10, 1859. ⁴*Ibid.*

⁵*The Weekly Citizen*, May 11, 1859.

Opinion adverse to either selection of delegates or to an expression of the party's preference in the matter of a candidate was evidently pronounced, for no affirmative action was attempted on the floor of the convention hall at Iowa City, June 22d. Nevertheless we may suspect serious designs. The language of the call already quoted, clearly had some definite proceedings in view. About the same time a similar suggestion was being acted upon with vigor in Oregon. The Republicans of that territory in their convention, April 21, 1859, instructed their delegates, selected at the time for the national convention "to use their influence to secure the nomination of Hon. W. H. Seward of New York, as candidate for President; but in case they cannot secure his nomination, then further proceedings are left to their discretion."¹ Whether the action contemplated by the movers in Iowa was designed to enure to the benefit of Bates or Seward or Cameron we perhaps cannot determine. Nevertheless the friends and promoters of those candidates were already instituting measures to secure the favor and active aid of party leaders in various sections of the country. Taking the personnel of the state central committee as a basis for judgment we may surmise that the design of the movement was favorable to the candidacy of Mr. Bates. Mr. Jerome, one of the signers, as we have seen, was opposed to action. Mr. Clarke, an ardent anti-slavery advocate, almost, if not an out-and-out abolitionist, was one of the staunch Seward men at Chicago the following year. Messrs. Kasson, Hoxie and Seeley were probably favorable to Mr. Bates, rather than Mr. Seward; and Mr. Rusch because of his relations with Mr. Kasson would doubtless have concurred with the colleagues just named; at least Messrs. Kasson and Hoxie gave their votes to Mr. Bates on the first ballot at Chicago.

¹*The Oregon Statesman*, April 26, 1859. The writer is indebted to Mr. George H. Himes, Assistant Secretary and Curator of the Oregon Historical Society of Portland, for the citation above respecting the action of the Republicans of Oregon in 1859.

In view of the instructions given the Oregon delegates, it is interesting that on the first and second ballots in the Convention, Oregon's five votes were cast for Bates, and on the third, four went to Lincoln and one to Seward. See *N. Y. Herald*, May 19, 1860; or *N. Y. Tribune* (s. w.), May 22, 1860.

(b) The Choice of the Convention City and Its Significance.

Meanwhile another maneuver was in progress that was not without influence in determining the party's choice at Chicago. For some time public spirited citizens in the larger cities of the west had been looking with designing eyes upon the members of the Republican national committee and making plans to secure its decision to hold the next national convention in their respective cities. The national Democratic convention in 1856 was held at Cincinnati; and citizens of Wheeling, Indianapolis, Chicago and St. Louis entertained lusty hopes of securing the Republican convention in 1860. From Mr. Howell's assertion previously quoted, it seems that Wheeling was generally accorded the presumption of the selection, but, as the event proved, without warrant. For the most part, of course, the motives animating those seeking the committee's favorable action were the issue of ordinary communal desires to enhance local fame and enjoy the eclat of such national gatherings. But other motives in other minds were probably the decisive factors in determining the selection of the convention city.

Environment is a condition, if not a determinant, of achievement in politics. Local influences may play a conspicuous and on occasion a vital part in the decisions of conventions. The location of the city wherein they are held, if remote from centers of population or difficult of access, may prevent many influential leaders and important elements participating in their deliberations, and thus seriously affect decisions. Moreover, the influences of a community, always numerous, omnipresent and vocal, sometimes subtle and subterranean, under the direction of alert, aggressive and intelligent leaders are often most potent in making things come to pass. They are not always decisive—are seldom the chief factors—unless other forces and considerations are evenly balanced; then local influences when concentrated and co-ordinated may force the tilt of the beam and decide the result.

Any one familiar with the ways of practical politicians to-day need not be told how carefully such matters are attended to by party leaders in closely contested political battles. We

may fairly presume that politicians fifty years ago were no less alert to such considerations. The friends and promoters of Chase, McLean and Wade, of Bates and Lincoln would naturally prefer to have the convention held west of the Alleghenies at or nearest the seat of their local fame and influence. If we could obtain access to their correspondence, or that of their managers or of the party chiefs in Iowa, we should doubtless find that the political effect of the locus of the convention was seriously canvassed. One of President Lincoln's most distinguished biographers tells us that the selection of the convention city was not made until February, 1860, and that the maneuver effecting the decision in favor of Chicago was the work of Norman P. Judd, member of the national committee from Illinois; and further, that the importance of the maneuver was realized by "no one except the Illinois politicians."¹ There are grounds for doubting the correctness of these assertions.

In the latter part of August, 1859, Senator James Harlan, then at his home in Mount Pleasant, Iowa, received a letter from Mr. John D. DeFrees of Indianapolis, Indiana. His correspondent was a man of considerable influence among the "Hoosiers." For many years he had been one of the leading editors of that state. At the time he was chairman of the Republican state central committee and was on the eve of starting a new Republican paper (*The Daily Atlas*);—a man,

¹Miss Ida M. Tarbell, *Life of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. I, p. 339.

The passage in which the assertion is made is the following:—"February 16, 1860, *The Tribune* came out editorially for Lincoln, and Medill followed a few days later with a ringing letter from Washington, naming Lincoln as a candidate on whom both conservative and radical sentiment could unite. About the time when Medill was writing thus, Norman P. Judd, as member of the Republican National Committee, was executing a maneuver the importance of which no one realized but the Illinois politicians. This was securing the convention for Chicago."

One of Mr. Lincoln's confreres, and later one of his biographers, Mr. W. C. Whitney, also gives the entire credit for securing the convention at Chicago to Mr. Judd. With some error he declares that all conventions had theretofore been held in the east and that Mr. Judd made the "novel proposition in the committee that the convention should be held at Chicago. He argued that the Democrats had departed from the ancient custom of meeting at Baltimore, and were to meet at Charleston; now, argued he, let us follow their example and meet in a region where we can make proselytes by the respect we pay to that region. He carefully kept "Old Abe" out of sight, and the delegates failed to see any personal bearing the place of meeting was to have on the nomination. Judd carried his point. He was a railway lawyer and he approached the various railway companies whose lines were in Illinois, and persuaded them to make very cheap rates of fare to Chicago during the convention week." *Lincoln The Citizen*, pp. 284-5; Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. I (edited by Miller).

we are told, who was regarded by Clay and Crittenden, Webster and Corwin as a very "adroit politician."¹ After referring to his new editorial duties and his purpose to advocate and pursue a moderate or "conservative" policy relative to national politics he says:

While I shall not war publicly on the extreme ground occupied by some of our friends, I know that Indiana cannot be carried on these grounds and hence the conservative spirit of my paper. I have been battling Democracy in all its infernal phases, for more than thirty years and I want to see it crushed out before I die. It can not be done (in my opinion) if ultra men are permitted to dictate our policy, and name our candidate.

As I suggested to you when we rode on the cars together, it would be a good move to get the national convention held out West somewhere (Indianapolis if you please) so as to be out of the outside influence always created anywhere in the neighborhood of New York—Gov. Lowe of your State, is one of the committee to fix time and place. Please talk with him on this subject.²

Mr. DeFrees' letter reflects a concern lest radicalism should seize the rank and file and force the nomination of an extremist for President who would work the party's defeat in the doubtful states—a concern that one discovers to be pronounced among all the old party wheelhorses in those states. This dread manifested itself in 1859 and 1860 in earnest pleas and in plans for an "Anti-Seward" program rather than in direct, insistent, systematic efforts to push the nomination of a "favorite son" or the favorite of a faction or of a section. Indiana had no candidate, but her population was for the most part composed of people of southern antecedents, affiliations and sympathies (Mr. DeFrees was himself a Tennessean) and the *ultra* notions of the anti-slavery propagandists were received by them with but little favor. Idealistic sentiment, that prompts a party to plunge ahead of the traditions and common sense of the people; or to run counter to popular prejudices, is a rock of offense and not a force making for success. It is clear from Mr. DeFrees' letter that the opponents of Governor Seward must have been canvassing the ad-

¹Appleton's *Cyclopedia of American Biography*, Vol. II, p. 124.

²James Harlan, *Autobiographical Manuscript*, p. 3043. For permission to cite and use the letter above the writer is indebted to Mr. and Mrs. Robert T. Lincoln of Chicago, and to Dr. B. F. Shambaugh of the State Historical Society of Iowa, and Mr. Johnson Brigham, State Librarian, the latter having the manuscript in their custody.

visability of securing the convention in a western city some time prior to the date of his letter. The significance of his attitude and the importance of the maneuver in contemplation, are effectively stated by Senator Harlan himself, who, on rereading it some thirty-five years later, made the following comment: ". . . He, as he says, was an Old School Whig prior to the organization of the Republican party, and as sternly opposed to every thing bordering on 'abolitionism' as the slave-holding element of the Southern States. So were nearly all of the leaders of the Republican party in Indiana. And he and they had already commenced to put up fortifications against the possible nomination of Wm. H. Seward, as the Republican candidate for President in 1860. And Mr. Seward was probably defeated by this influence in the national convention; supplemented, of course, by sympathizers from other western States."¹

The national committee had the matter of the selection of the convention city under advisement for a considerable time. In April the citizens of Wheeling presented a memorial to the committee seeking a decision favorable to that city.² On May 25th, the committee met at Albany, New York, and although some twenty members were present, no decision as to time and place could be reached. The report made via the dispatches read—"The proceedings are strictly private but it is thought the decision will be in favor of holding the convention at St. Louis, Mo., or some other place in Virginia."³ Evidently at that time, either representatives of the west or anti-Seward members outnumbered the Seward members of the committee. The matter hung fire for some time. In the latter part of the year the subject was "agitated in different localities," St. Louis, Chicago and Indianapolis being "the most prominent places named."⁴ The press in Iowa does not appear to have paid much attention to the question. One editor, however, expressed a decided preference. Mr. Jerome declared in favor of Chicago as his first choice, of St. Louis as his second and of

¹*Id.* p. 3049. For the prominent part played by Mr. DeFrees at the Chicago Convention see McClure's *Our Presidents*, etc., pp. 155-156.

²*The Express and Herald* (Dubuque), April 19, 1859.

³*The Daily Hawk-Eye*, May 26, 1859.

⁴*St. Charles Intelligencer*, Dec. 15, 1859.

Indianapolis as his third choice.¹ The decision was not made until December 22d following. The committee met in New York City. The part taken by Iowa in the meeting is not certain. Governor Lowe had ceased to be a member. His place had been filled by Mr. Andrew J. Stevens, a banker and broker of Des Moines, who was then or later, an advocate of Governor Seward's nomination. At the time of the meeting of the committee he could not attend, his proxy and vote being held and exercised by Senator J. R. Doolittle of Wisconsin.² Mr. Judd of Illinois concurred naturally in the action of the committee and he was no doubt one of the effective promoters of the movement making for the decision, but it would appear that he was only one of many conspiring to secure the benefit of local environment adverse to the candidacy of the Senator from New York.

The contrariety of minds relative to the significance of the action of the committee is illustrated in an interesting and significant fashion in the editorial comments of two editors of opposite political faith. Mr. Jerome of Iowa City expressed himself as follows: ". . . we think it eminently fit that a city which has maintained her republicanism amidst such opposition, 'bearding the Douglas in his den,' richly deserves this flattering testimonial. Chicago herself is a true type and representative of the already great and growing Republican party . . . She is emphatically a *free* city. Her merchants are not satellites and flunkies—they do not, as Philadelphia and some other cities have done, propose to sell their principles with their goods. Political auctions have not, and we trust never will, come into vogue with her people."³ The work of Douglas' opponent evidently was the matter in mind. Mr. F. M. Zieback of Sioux City observed: "The selection of this hotbed of abolitionism as the place for holding their convention will not do much towards enhancing the prospect of Republicanism among the more conservative portion of the party. It is a stroke of policy, however, on the part of the friends of Lincoln which will doubtless place him upon the

¹*Iowa City Weekly Republican*, Dec. 7, 1859.

²*N. Y. Tribune* (s. w), Dec. 23, 1859.

³*Iowa Weekly Republican*, December 28, 1859.

ticket for Vice-President."¹ Clearly up in the farthest corner of the State, Abraham Lincoln was not "an Unknown," nor was he regarded as a negligible quantity in the political contest then approaching its crisis. The significance of Mr. Zieback's comment is not lessened by the fact that he was a Democrat.

(c) Call for the Special State Convention.

Meantime, about two weeks preceding the determination of the date and place for holding the national Republican convention a call was issued December 5, by the state central committee, for a special Republican state convention to be held in Des Moines, January 18, 1860, to choose delegates to the national convention. The matter was under consideration during November, Mr. Hildreth, a member of the committee, tells us.² Mr. John A. Kasson who, as chairman, signed the call, says therein that it was issued in "accordance with the general expression of public sentiment." The justification for the assembly so many months before the national convention was put upon two grounds. First the national convention "would be held at a much earlier date than is usually appointed for calling a state convention for the nomination of state officers," and second, it was "most convenient to procure a general representation of counties during the session of the legislature."³

As the Republicans of nearly all of the northern or free states did not call their state conventions until the next year was well advanced toward the date set for the national convention, one cannot repress some curiosity respecting the real reasons for not thus waiting in this instance. The postponement for two months would still have enabled members of the state legislature to serve as delegates from their respective counties. There is more than the shadow of a reason for thinking that another consideration besides the selection of delegates to the Chicago convention might have been in the minds of some of the members of the state central committee

¹*The Register*, Dec. 31, 1859.

²*St. Charles Intelligencer*, Nov. 24, 1859.

³*Ib.*, Dec. 22, 1859.

when they concurred in calling the special convention for January 18th.

The term of Iowa's senior Senator, James Harlan, was about expiring. His successor was to be chosen by the legislature which was to convene in Des Moines, January 9. Senator Harlan desired re-election and his renomination by his party was generally assumed and conceded. Nevertheless, there were sundry, and not a few either, who did not favor his re-election enthusiastically. Some, perhaps, because of personal reasons, such as discontent with his course at Washington: some because of his "locality"—his home Mt. Pleasant was a short distance from Burlington, the home of his colleague, James W. Grimes: some because they were not unwilling to succeed him if chance might offer. Senator Harlan's friends in various parts of the State detected signs of attempts at the furtherance of the senatorial ambition of some of the party leaders and in some anxiety warned him of the fact.¹ In the middle of December political circles were stirred by an editorial in *The Nonpareil* of Council Bluffs in which Mr. Maynard plumply protested against the assumption that Mr. Harlan had any claim to be his own successor that the party or the people were in honor bound to recognize; rather, the members of the general assembly should canvass men regardless of particular services or sacrifices and select the best man. Mr. Dunham of *The Daily Hawk-Eye* endorsed the sentiments with considerable emphasis.²

If there was any design adverse to Senator Harlan's re-election to the national Senate in the date fixed for the state convention it was conceived in the hope that the concurrence of the convention with the opening of the general assembly might produce a situation favorable to serious disturbances in the alignment of the Senator's forces. The selection of the speaker of the lower house engenders frequently intense feeling among the rival aspirants. The assignment of members to committees in the respective houses and the appointment of the various clerks and state officers by the legislative caucus, often produces furious animosities and the acids

¹Autobiographical MSS.

²*The Daily Hawk-Eye*, Dec. 26, 1859.

of disappointed hopes may cause all sorts of reactionary movements whereby enemies and rivals may secure benefits. If such hopes were indulged the desire of many to attend the national convention at Chicago as delegates would increase the trading stock of those who sought thus to manipulate the situation. Whatever the design might have been it was futile, for Senator Harlan was re-elected without dissent from his own party workers.

The call for the convention elicited but a few comments or suggestions. Indeed one is likely to suffer from surprise at the general indifference and non-attention to the work it was designed to accomplish. Sundry facts may explain the popular inattention. Congress met for the most momentous session in its history. The President's message contained references and recommendations that were as firebrands thrown into a tinder box. The deadlock over the election of the Speaker, the hubbub created by congressional endorsement of Helper's *Impending Crisis*, and the denunciation and reerimination resulting from the attack on Harper's Ferry—all these matters and others absorbed public attention to the exclusion of most local matters. There were, however, a few expressions worth noting, for they illustrate again with force and point the general attitude urged by prudent party leaders as the appropriate course for the party to pursue in selecting its representatives, and their proper procedure in selecting the party's standard bearer for the campaign to ensue.

Mr. Teesdale briefly commends the date fixed for the convention for the reason assigned in the call and emphasizes the urgent need for a large representation from all counties so that the "true sentiment of the State" may be faithfully reflected by the men selected to go to Chicago. He asserts that "nothing but the wildest imprudence and folly on the part of the Republican national convention, can prevent the election of a Republican President and Vice-President in 1860. In order to insure wise action in the national body, the action of the state body must be judicious and wise; the success of the cause being the paramount consideration."¹

¹*The Iowa Weekly Citizen*, Dec. 14, 1859.

From one newspaper not heretofore cited came an editorial worthy particular attention for its significance and suggestions. Among the accessions to the ranks of the Republican party in the campaign of 1859 was Mr. Henry P. Scholte of Pella, the city founded in 1846 under his guidance by a body of Dutch Pilgrims, emigrants from Holland because of religious persecution. Although not always dominant in its communal life he was until his death unquestionably its most influential citizen. On coming to this country his antagonism to strong central government caused him to affiliate with the Democratic party. Its attitude toward foreigners further encouraged him. On the subject of Slavery he was a stout opponent of the system, but followed Henry Clay in maintaining the rights of owners of slaves against the attacks of abolitionists.¹ The repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the Kansas-Nebraska bill distressed him greatly but he did not join the Republicans in 1856 because of the "impression that Know-Nothingism and Abolitionism were the predominant consideration in its councils."² The scandal in connection with the Lecompton constitution in Kansas was too much for him and he joined the Republicans in the spring or early summer of 1859. His change of party faith made a considerable disturbance because of his great influence in Pella where he had long guided the majority in political discussion by means of *The Pella Gazette*, which he both published and edited.³ On reading the call for the special convention he expressed himself in the following editorial entitled "Presidential Candidates":

Several states will present candidates for President and Vice-President at the next national Republican convention. We have no doubt but the Republicans of Iowa will heartily sustain the nominees of that convention. Iowa will send her delegates, but has not, at present, to propose one of her sons as a candidate. We think it, therefore, not expedient for Republican papers in Iowa to propose,

¹*American Slavery in reference to the Present Agitation in the United States By an Adopted Citizen.* This rare and interesting book consists of editorials on the subject written by Mr. Scholte for *The Pella Gazette* between June 7, 1855, and November 8, 1856. The writer is under obligations to Hon. Henry L. Bousquet, Clerk of the Supreme Court, and Mr. Henry Scholte of Pella for the privilege of examining both the book and the files of *The Gazette*.

²*The Pella Gazette*, August 10, 1859.

³*Ib.*, Dec. 14, 1859.

at present, any name as their particular choice, but at least wait till we have had our state convention to elect delegates to the national convention. Should our state convention deem it proper and necessary to instruct their delegates to go for any one of the main candidates then there will be some propriety in the Republican papers advocating the claims of such candidates. But, if on the contrary, our state convention deems it proper not to give such instructions but give to the delegates power to cast their vote in the national convention for such candidates as they shall there discover to be the strongest men, we think it best then for the Republican papers in Iowa to await the national convention, and when the nomination is there perfected to hoist the names of those candidates at the head of their column and then work faithfully and earnestly till we have gained the victory next November. We consider such a course best for the Republican party and for the candidates nominated at the national convention.

Here again we have prudence urging cautious and conservative conduct. Politics is an eminently practical matter. Success depends no less upon rapid adjustments to conditions than upon the possession of forces and supporters: and conditions are usually confused and confusing, shifting with kaleidoscopic facility and profusion. The editorial has added interest from the fact that the convention soon to convene at Des Moines selected Mr. Scholte as one of the party's delegates at large to the national convention; and his course fulfilled his own advice.

This narrative of developments in 1859 may fittingly close with an excerpt from one of Iowa's great party leaders to another party chieftain then about to enter upon a distinguished career in our State and national history—both men masters of the tactics and strategy of politics. The letter was written to Governor-elect Kirkwood by Senator James W. Grimes, and was dated at Washington, D. C., December 26, 1859. It aptly and adequately reflects and summarizes the attitude of the party leaders and of the rank and file of the Republican party in Iowa towards the nomination of their candidate for President.

DEAR KIRKWOOD:

The State Convention soon assembles to appoint delegates to the Chicago convention. Do not let the delegates be instructed and

send men who are not mere traders in politics. You ought to be one of the delegates and I hope you will see to it that you are appointed. I would select a goodly number to cast the vote of Iowa.

If you appoint electors I would suggest Samuel Miller of Keokuk and Wilson of Fairfield. They are both efficient canvassers and would help our congressional and state candidates a good deal. We must have a thorough canvass of the State next year and bring our majority up to six or eight thousand. Have good men appointed delegates and have them divided fairly between old Whigs and old Democrats, and entirely uncommitted to any man or men, who will try to nominate for the good of the party and not for the benefit of themselves.

Yours,

JAMES W. GRIMES.¹

The Samuel Miller referred to was Samuel F. Miller afterwards appointed by President Lincoln Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court. The "Wilson of Fairfield" was James F. Wilson, then rapidly rising in state fame in the state legislature, who as one of Iowa's delegates at the Chicago convention, worked from first to last for the nomination of Abraham Lincoln for President and afterwards had a distinguished career in both houses of Congress.

¹*Correspondence of Gov. Sam'l J. Kirkwood* in Aldrich Collection, in Historical Department of Iowa at Des Moines.

Those familiar with the history of Iowa and of Congress will appreciate the warrant for Senator Grimes' assertion that Mr. Jas. F. Wilson was an "efficient" canvasser; but few will realize its fitness in the case of Mr. Samuel F. Miller. All chroniclers refer to his reputation as a cogent and powerful pleader at the bar of his county and of the Supreme Court of Iowa; but no one refers, so far as the writer knows, to his strength in the popular forum. Inquiry of General John W. Noble of St. Louis, who practiced in the same courts with Mr. Miller from 1855 to 1862 elicited the information that in public debate "he was superbly aggressive both in argument and in gesture and voice; and he flinched not at any conclusion to which his premises logically lead him." In the campaign of 1860 he threw himself with "that energy and intellectual force of which he possessed so much, and he was as daring a leader in debate as he would have been in a cavalry charge. . . ." General Noble then relates Mr. Miller's discussion with Judge J. M. Love at Keokuk of the issues of that campaign and the fears of Disunion in case Mr. Lincoln was elected and the dramatic and thrilling rejoinder of Mr. Miller, particularly when, with intense feeling, he said, "Sir, if these principles when duly adopted by the people of the United States, because distasteful to a minority, whether North or South, may lead to conflict of arms, I, for one, will abide the issue. I, for one, would rather see, if see I must, bayonets crossed over the ballot box, than not to have the ballot's decree carried into effect, even by the whole force of my country's power." The effect was "electric." Letter of General John W. Noble to the writer, St. Louis, Mo., February 17, 1910.

2. *The First Party Decision in 1860.*

When Iowans began their reckonings in January, 1860, the surface of the waters exhibited but few signs of strenuous activity in state or national politics. There was no uproar, and no general fuss, as the forces and factors contending for power and places were not concentrating sufficiently so that partisan passions and factional prejudices upheaved in foam and fury; but here and there commotion was considerable, for the currents were running with vigor. We must appreciate somewhat the nature, velocity and momentum of the major currents in order to realize the conditions under which the Republicans of Iowa made their first substantial decision in determining their attitude towards party principles, procedure and candidates in the presidential contest of 1860.

(a) *Contrary Considerations Affecting Party Interests.*

The Legislature of Iowa was due to assemble at Des Moines in regular session, January 9th, and all classes contemplated its sessions with miscellaneous hopes and fears—all parties conceded that it would be one of the “most important sessions ever held in this state.”¹ The Republicans had complete possession of all the offices of the State, executive, judicial and legislative. Their leaders represented the State in both houses of Congress. They held their supremacy by a narrow margin, however, the campaign of 1859 taxing their strength to the uttermost. The problems and perplexities of the party leaders when the chiefs began to ingather at the state capital for the inauguration of Governor-elect Samuel J. Kirkwood, were numerous and pressing.

The friends and guardians of the “Maine” law, prohibiting the sale of intoxicating beverages, were greatly incensed at the progressive imbecility in its administration, due to the insertion of “wine and beer” clauses and the elastic interpretations of “mechanical, medicinal and sacramental” purposes in the law’s exemptions. They insisted upon drastic strengthening, while the enemies of the law—the Germans

¹*The Dubuque Herald*, January 4, 1860.

preeminently—belligerently demanded radical relief from its irksome provisions. The foreign born in the State—and here again the Germans chiefly—were uneasy and exhibited a bellicose temperament. Both the outgoing Governor in his message and the incoming Governor in his inaugural address urged the passage of a “Registry Law” which all knew would mainly and immediately affect aliens adversely, and they, mindful of the “Two Year Amendment” in Massachusetts in 1859, were very suspicious and insistent upon marked consideration. The situation was more forcefully than politely described in the reported remark of a Republican editor, who said: “To get an office at the hands of the Legislature, a man must be born again—born in Germany by G——!”¹

But for the most part, anxieties and ambitions anent finance and commerce animated the public mind. Industry after much blood-letting, was recovering with painful slowness from the severe depression following in the wake of the panic of 1857, the worst effects of which were not felt in Iowa until 1859.² Resulting in considerable measure therefrom, the finances of the State were in a bad way. Public accounts in city, county and state administrations were generally in sorry confusion and charges of malversation and misappropriation were common. The school funds of the State were particularly thus affected—interest thereon to the amount of \$120,000—an enormous amount at that time—being in default at the time Governor Lowe sent in his message to the Legislature, January 10th. The State, county and city treasuries were all seriously embarrassed by deficits due to delinquent taxes and local discussion was highly charged with the bitter animosities issuing from “tax sales” and resulting ouster of delinquents. But banks and railroads engaged the major interests of the public.

From 1838 to 1858, Iowa had virtually denied herself banks of note issue. The inconvenience and distress resulting secured a constitutional amendment in 1857 that permitted the establishment of the State Bank of Iowa in 1858. Its organization,

¹*Daily Iowa State Journal*, January 16, 1860.

²Gov. R. P. Lowe, *Message to Senate and House of Representatives*, January 10, 1860.

or rather the organization of its branches, progressed amidst some misadventure that was greatly magnified by reason of the general industrial depression. Just when business was getting righted, commercial confidence, particularly in eastern central Iowa, suffered a violent shock on December 16, 1859, from the failure of a prominent banking house of Davenport. That institution was the chief sponsor of the notes of a notorious "wild cat" bank located at Florence, Nebraska—one of the members of the firm being a director of the branch of the State Bank at Davenport.¹ Then, as now, private bankers were alert and aggressive in furthering their interests and their secret caucuses aroused popular prejudices.² Cries of "monopoly" and broad hints of fell designs among the money changers and "note shavers" were common, and these gained much credence among the discontented when Governor Lowe in his message, declared his hostility to "Free Banks," and recommended that the notes of the State Bank be made legal tender for taxes and its branches fiscal agents of the State and counties.

Railroads, however, comprised the greatest complex of interests that induced the public to concentrate its attention upon the Legislature in January, 1860. Then as now, these powerful agencies stirred the animosities and ambitions of politicians and public alike, for their promoters had to appeal to and utilize the law and ordinance making and taxing bodies of the State. In previous years railroad projects had been promoted with feverish and reckless haste. Counties and cities had run riot in authorizing bond issues and tax levies for railroads. Charges of corrupt practices in connection therewith were not infrequent. In 1856 extensive land grants had been given four companies to expedite the completion of projected lines. They failed to fulfill their promises. Popular expectations were sadly disappointed and public discussion was rife with demands for the annulment of the contracts and the cancellation of the grants. The dissatisfaction became so resentful that repudiation, or attempts thereat, became common and innumerable lawsuits were instituted to

¹*Davenport Gazette*, cited in *The Gate City*, December 23, 1859.

²*The Dubuque Herald*, January 11, 1860.

enforce or to enjoin the issue of bonds or the spreading and collection of tax levies in aid of railroads. In December, 1859, the Supreme Court of Iowa declared invalid a bond issue of Scott county wherein Davenport is situate.¹ Nevertheless, many communities ardently sought railroad connections and strove to secure the forfeited grants of the defaulting companies, and the holders of their stocks and bonds naturally desired to realize something from their holdings. All parties—protesting taxpayers and railroad builders—looked to the General Assembly for relief.² Rumors were soon afloat that railroad promoters expected to “send down to Des Moines this winter a strong ‘lobby’ of hired ‘constitutional lawyers’ for the purpose of operating upon the Legislature.”³ Mr. J. B. Grinnell, himself an ardent promoter of railroad enterprises in those days, wrote the *St. Louis Republican*, a week or so before the General Assembly met that “the State Aid question promises to arise in Iowa at the meeting of the Legislature,” an assertion that aroused adverse suspicion and inquiries, “Who are the managers? Whose plan is to be followed?”⁴

With local conditions thus exceedingly difficult for political leaders either to control easily or to deal with safely, the atmosphere was made electric by sundry matters of national moment that then crowded to the fore. Iowa and Iowans were more closely connected with John Brown’s raid into Virginia and his attack on Harper’s Ferry than either law or ethics justified. The villages of Tabor and Springdale had been rendezvous for his band prior to the foray. At least three

¹*Stokes v. County of Scott*, 10 Ia. Sup. Ct. Reports, 166.

²The intense feelings and subterranean currents are suggested in a series of resolutions adopted at Nevada, in Story county, at a Mass Convention of the citizens of that county, January 7th, in which the failure of the Iowa Central Air Line to complete its contract is denounced, the ability and intentions of the Dubuque, Marion and Western R. R. Co. are denied, and the Cedar Rapids and Missouri R. R. Co. is commended to the Legislature and the transfer thereto of the land grants asked. The latter road enjoyed their confidence “backed, as it is, by two powerful railroad organizations, and composed of our own citizens, in connection with eastern capitalists, who have already built, without any aid from the government, the longest line of railroad in the State.” The convention by the same resolutions “instructed” their Senator and Representative in the Legislature “to use all honorable means to secure” the desired transfer of the land grant in question. (*Daily Iowa State Journal*, January 14, 1860.)

³*Dubuque Herald*, November 20, 1859.

⁴The *Daily Iowa State Journal*, January 9, 1860. Mr. Grinnell was a Director of the Chicago and Rock Island Railroad (or the old M. & M. R. R., more probably) prior to 1860; at least the position he tells us, was tendered him by Mr. Henry Farnam, then President of the Company.—*Men and Events of Forty Years*, 298.

Iowans, Jeremiah Anderson, Brown's "faithful henchman,"¹ and the brothers, Barclay and Edwin Coppoc, took part in the raid. Soon after Brown's capture the dispatches announced that among Brown's papers were found letters of two prominent Republican leaders of Iowa, namely Mr. Wm. Penn Clarke of Iowa City, and Mr. Josiah B. Grinnell of Grinnell, the former then the reporter for the Supreme Court and the latter a state Senator; and suspicious partisans of the "Administration" charged that the correspondence was incriminating.² On December 16, 1859, the "Select Committee" of the Senate of which Senator John M. Mason of Virginia was chairman and Jefferson Davis of Mississippi was a potent member, began its inquiry into the "invasion;" and on January 5, 1860, its hearings began at Washington and some of Iowa's citizens expected summons to appear at the inquisition to tell what they knew of the "aid and comfort" given the conspirators at Tabor, Des Moines, Grinnell, Iowa City, Springdale and Davenport.³ Coincident with the latter proceedings Governor John Letcher of Virginia issued (Jan. 10) a requisition on the Chief Executive of Iowa for the apprehension of Barclay Coppoc, a fugitive from justice in Virginia, the misjoinder of which two weeks later produced one of the dramatic episodes of those stirring days—explosions in the Legislature and a ringing message in rejoinder from Governor Kirkwood.

Into this highly charged atmosphere came Governor Kirkwood's inaugural address, delivered (Jan. 11) in person to the General Assembly. Three-fifths of his discourse was devoted to national issues—John Brown and Harper's Ferry, Slavery and Colonization. Brown's course the new chief magistrate of Iowa condemned "unqualifiedly," not only as "unlawful" but wrong and reprehensible and destructive of law and order. Nevertheless he at the same time roundly de-

¹Frank B. Sanborn, *Recollections of Seventy Years*, I, 163.

²*The Dubuque Herald*, November 8, 1859—Correspondence from Burlington, Iowa. See also Grinnell *Ib.*, p. 218.

³*Report of The Select Committee of the Senate Appointed to Inquire into the Late Invasion and Seizure of the Public Property at Harper's Ferry*, etc., pp. 27, 28.

Mr. J. B. Grinnell attended on summons at Washington but was not called before the Committee to testify. See his *Men and Events of Forty Years*, pp. 218, 219.

nounced Presidents Pierce and Buchanan, charging that they by tortuous courses "sowed the wind" in Nebraska and Kansas, and the South was reaping the whirlwind in Virginia; on their shoulders Kirkwood laid the sole responsibility for Brown's "unlawful invasion" of the Old Dominion. As with the lightning's flash—the inaugural was followed by tremendous thunder and reverberation. The Democrats returned with furious denunciation of its sentiments. Mr. J. B. Dorr, their most influential editor pronounced its doctrines "infamous."¹ The Democrats of the lower house of the legislature filed a solemn formal protest against its deliverance and against its publication and distribution at public expense, declaring its statements mere dicta and grossly inappropriate as well as unwarranted, palliating lawlessness that directly assailed the integrity of the national union.² It was the violence of feeling thus created that later produced the disturbances anent Kirkwood's refusal to honor Governor Letcher's requisition for Barclay Coppoc just mentioned.

Amidst such a complex of counter currents the Legislature convened: and delegates to the special Republican state convention began to assemble in Des Moines.

Foremost in the minds of party leaders and workers was the fact that a Senator of the United States had to be elected, the term of Senator James Harlan then nearing completion. This contingency, as all familiar with state politics know, is the alpha and omega of the personal political ambitions

¹*The Dubuque Herald*, January 15. 1860.

²See *Journal of House of Representatives* (8th G. A.) for dates mentioned for the Address and the Protest.

Governor Kirkwood's denunciation of Brown's conduct as hostile to good government had been antedated by another prominent Iowan on the floor of the House of Representatives at Washington. Col. Sam'l R. Curtis of Keokuk, represented the First Congressional District, comprising then the south half of Iowa. Repelling a bold innuendo that the Republicans were urging a candidate for Speaker who endorsed murder, Colonel Curtis on December 24, 1859, pronounced Brown's invasion of Virginia at Harper's Ferry "an outrage." (Cong. Globe, 36 Cong. 1st Ses., Vol. I-241.) Later, January 4, 1860, in the course of a colloquy with Reagan of Texas, Cobb of Alabama, and Craig of Missouri, Colonel Curtis declared Brown's previous robbery of the nine slaves from Missouri and spiriting them through Iowa "a more flagrant violation of law, and more important in its character and results than the foray which he made into Virginia." (*Ib.*, pp. 331-2.)

and finesse in American commonwealths. Then as now "King Caucus" ruled supreme. On Saturday, Sunday and Monday the lobbies of the hotels of Des Moines swarmed with political leaders and their henchmen, with legislators and candidates for offices, both great and small, with their friends and aids in attendance—all in a tremendous buzz.¹ Monday night (Jan. 9) party caucuses selected the clerks, doorkeepers, firemen, pages and postmaster for the Senate and the lower House. The ardent desires of the innumerable candidates for these petty offices were potentially dangerous forces when disappointed by the decisions of the caucus; for these aspirants possess power in the provinces and may influence greatly their senators and representatives in determining their course in matters of greater moment. In the election of the Speaker of the House of Representatives and in the apportionment of the chairmanships of committees and membership therein such petty considerations play no small part and the course of the Legislature on all important matters is thereby determined.

At Des Moines, as at Washington, the office of Public Printer was an alluring prize. One of Senator Harlan's strongest friends, Mr. John Teesdale, editor of *The Iowa Weekly Citizen*, had held the office since 1856. He desired a third term and deemed himself entitled to the honor. Two other influential republican editors were ambitious to secure the emoluments of the office—Messrs. James B. Howell of *The Gate City* of Keokuk and Mr. Frank W. Palmer of *The Dubuque Times*.² The fates decided in favor of the latter, and the candidacy of Senator Harlan for re-election to the National Senate had some part in the decision. From the time of his first election to that body in 1855, republican leaders in the north half

¹*Iowa City Republican*, January 11, 1860.—Editorial Correspondence from Des Moines, dated January 7th.

²There were other active or "receptive" candidates for the place mentioned besides those referred to above: Messrs. John Mahin of *The Daily Muscatine Journal*, G. H. Jerome of *The Iowa City Republican*, J. G. Davenport of *The Times of Cedar Rapids*, and Alfred Sanders of *The Daily Davenport Gazette*. (Capitol Corr. of *The Gate City*, January 11, 1860, and *The Daily Iowa State Journal*, January 10, 1860.) Mr. Mahin apparently did not desire the office seriously for he states that Mr. Teesdale's "most prominent competitor" was Mr. Howell of *The Gate City*, "the oldest and most efficient newspaper conductor in the state." (Capitol Corr. in *Daily Muscatine Journal*, January 11, 1860.)

of the State had demanded a like honor for one of their leaders, and had constantly fanned local prejudices with that end in view. Party leaders at Dubuque were foremost in urging the election of a northern man. Despite their powerful pressure Governor James W. Grimes, a near neighbor of Mr. Harlan, was elected as his colleague in 1858; not a few of the senior Senator's friends realized the danger in the latter fact. To counterbalance it, political prizes of lesser value went to the north half of the State. This consideration was in mind in the nomination of Mr. Kirkwood for Governor in 1859.¹ In 1860 Dubuque had aspirants for senatorial honors who only needed a favorable slant of the beam to induce their announcement. A correspondent of *The Gate City*, writing from Des Moines, Dec. 26, 1859, significantly observes: "The Senatorial question seems superficially to excite but little attention here just now; but the portents of the times are that the vexed question of locality will be exhumed for the benefit of solicitous competitors."²

Appreciating the situation, Mr. Palmer became a candidate for State Printer. In the contest Senator Harlan's managers could not prudently promote the chances of either Mr. Teesdale or Mr. Howell, without arousing the resentment of the "North-state" partisans favoring Mr. Palmer. On the other hand neutrality is no less a rock of offense in politics—for those adversely affected are wont to suspect that it signifies either indifference or timidity, deadly offenses in the code of lay politicians—those who seek to attain or to hold high office and power must make return in kind to those humbler personages whose co-operation and votes are essential to their elevation and continuance in power. Somewhat of the importance and heat of the contest may be inferred from the reports of two observers. Another correspondent of *The Gate City*, "R" wrote January 6th that, "It is now thought that

¹Numbers of letters to Senator Harlan from 1858 to 1860 emphasize the considerations referred to above. *Autobiographical MSS.*

²*The Gate City*, December 31, 1859. The Correspondent signs himself "J. M. D."—probably the late J. M. Delaplaine at that time on the staff of *The Gate City*.

the great fight of the session will be about the State Printing."¹ Four days later when the caucus had been called for the nomination of the State Printer and the National Senator, Mr. Porter states: "The race for State Printer has become about as exciting as the competition for the post of would-be U. S. Senator."² Those familiar with maneuvers in party caucuses will appreciate the significance and the masterly tactics of Senator Harlan's friends in assenting to the postponement of the decision on the matter of the State Printer until January 24th. The cast of the votes when taken gave Mr. Palmer the prize.

In sundry perplexities of this sort and in the highly unstable conditions outlined, we may well suspect that there was more truth than partisan presumption and persiflage in the assertions of Mr. Will Porter, the Democratic editor of *The State Journal* at Des Moines. He declared that Mr. Harlan's friends were "anxious and uneasy;" that "they were afraid of delay and hence they forced hasty action;"³ that there was much suppressed feeling and some "strong expressions of indignation;" that the Democrats asked for a reasonable delay but it was summarily denied. This urgency he asserts was due to the fact that a "particular friend of Senator Harlan, who has for several years held a position in the Senate received letters from prominent friends and perhaps from the Senator himself, urging an immediate caucus and speedy re-election—their purport was: 'delays are dangerous.' " In the course of his comments Mr. Porter throws out a suggestion that although tinged with ironical concern for an unbiased expression of the general sentiments of Republicans on the senatorship, no doubt reflected much of the current comment in the hotel lobbies:

The question is, why this haste? The Republican party have a clear and positive majority, which could not be affected by any of the ordinary casualties to which Legislators are subject. Next Wednesday, the 18th, the Republican State Convention comes off, which will be fresh from the people of that party throughout the State. They might have given to the various Republican Senators

¹*Ib.*, January 11, 1860. "R" was probably Mr. Wm. Richards, then Business Manager of *The Gate City*.

²*The Daily Iowa State Journal*, January 10, 1860.

³*Ib.*, January 14, 1860.

and Representatives some counsels direct and healthy from their constituents, as to the general wishes of the party throughout the State, uncorrupted by any machinations so rife at the Capitol.

In this re-election the Republican organization has been shaken to its foundation.¹

Shrewd as were some of the political leaders foremost in the Republican party of Iowa in 1859-1860, it would be strange indeed if there were not senatorial politics in the fringes of the decision fixing the date of the special state convention to select the delegates to the national Republican convention to nominate their candidate for President. The conditions on the eve of the assembly of the delegates certainly afforded a situation for a free-for-all contest if by some disturbance the dogs of factions had been set upon each other.

(b) Sundry Editorial Expressions.

The near approach of the special convention to select the delegates to go to the national Republican convention elicited no more editorial expressions in the party press of the State respecting its work or the wisdom of various modes of procedure than did the call for the convention in the forepart of December. One finds no advice, no comment in the columns of Messrs. Aldrich, Drummond, Dunham, Howell, Jerome, Junkin, Mahin, Norris, Rich, Sanders and Teesdale. One must look sharply to discover even in their columns devoted to local news any mention of the caucuses or county conventions that selected the county delegates to attend at Des Moines. Such lack of expression did not necessarily imply indifference respecting the presidential contest or languid interest on the part of their readers. It may have been due to wise discretion and prudence. The attendance at the convention demonstrated that public or party interest was not dormant or halting. Two influential editors express their feelings—each in different ways and their observations are worth noting.

¹*Ib.*, January 16, 1860.

So far as the writer can discover Mr. A. J. Stevens, a banker of Des Moines, then the member of the national Republican committee for Iowa was the only candidate for Senator Harlan's place publicly mentioned (Capitol Corr., *Muscatine Journal*, January 11, 1860). Mr. Harlan's friends sent him many letters informing him of talk of the candidacy of Messrs. Jacob Butler of Muscatine, John A. Kasson, and George G. Wright of Des Moines, and of Fitz Henry Warren of Burlington. *Autobiographical MSS.*, pp. 3185-3583.

We have already seen the cautious, conservative comments of Mr. Henry P. Scholte of *The Pella Gazette* when the call for the convention was first published. On January 4th, referring generally to the work of the national convention he says particularly of candidates for its nomination: "We have certainly our personal preferences; but we have abstained to forestall our state and national conventions. Should our state convention deem it necessary to instruct our delegates for whom to give their first vote, well and good; but should that convention deem it better to give no decisive instructions in that regard, we shall, with good humor, sustain the men who shall be designated. . . ." The sentiment which Mr. Scholte expressed reiterates the views of the majority of the experienced editors of the State, put forth in their columns in 1859. Party government, like government at large, in a republic like ours is posited upon responsible leadership. The masses, or the constituents indicate their general desire and will in the large but seldom undertake to direct specifically as to the modes of realization either in respect of men or measures. To their leaders in council they delegate the power to decide, believing that a few selectmen free to act as conditions make expedient, will insure better counsels and wiser decisions than many men of many minds acting indiscriminately and ill-advisedly.

One hundred miles north of Pella, at Charles City in Floyd county, not far south of the Minnesota line, a new note was sounded—struck by one, too, who previously had been cautious and conservative in expression and suggestion. Mr. Hildreth in the forepart of 1859, indicated a favorable attitude towards the candidacy of Judge Bates, and an adverse disposition towards that of Senator Seward, for the reason largely that the latter was so generally proclaimed a radical, and reckless extremist upon the subject of Slavery. A decided change in the temperature and drift of public discussion followed John Brown's raid and the publication of Helper's *Impending Crisis*. The leaders of the South were infuriated and their denunciation of the abettors and comforters of Brown and Helper was bitter and scathing. Accusations of

conspiracy, "lawlessness" and treason hurtled through the council chambers at Washington—not vague hints and sly innuendo but personal mention, bald, direct, brutal. The members of the major party of the North were called indiscriminately "Abolitionists," a term of utter contempt in the mouths of Southerners and so considered by Northerners. The heaviest, sharpest missiles of the speeches of the Slavocrats were aimed at one man on whose shoulders they laid the responsibility for Abolitionism, which was manifest to them in "nigger stealing," underground railways, open defiance of the Fugitive Slave law, all of which had its fruition in John Brown, whose execution for high treason, flagrant and undenied, was publicly mourned in the North. That man they deemed the spokesman of the North and the protagonists of the South declared with but little reserve, that disunion by secession would ensue if he should be made President. The change and concentration in political discussion produced a revulsion of feeling in Mr. Hildreth and a decision not infrequent in strong natures normally inclined to conservative courses when long subject to direct and increasing malevolence. Considerateness in conduct, caution, grace and patience under such circumstances, are taken by the provoking party as evidence of weakness or as the shifts and finesse of hostile design. While with the one provoked, patience ceases to be a virtue, caution seems ill-advised, and he suddenly takes up the gauntlet thrown at his feet, for a fight seems demanded and a fight he will give and squarely on the main issue. Mr. Hildreth, exasperated beyond endurance, gave expression on January 12th to his intense feelings in an editorial that is instructive for more than one reason and it is given at length. Its declarations will indicate with decisive clearness the high voltage of the electricity with which the atmosphere of political debate in Iowa was surcharged, when the chiefs of the clans of the Republican party first met in 1860 to decide upon their course in the Chicago convention:

We notice that some of the papers in the Southern part of the State, are out in favor of Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, as a Republican candidate for the Presidency. That Cameron is an as-

piring man we have known for a long time, and we have no doubt that he and his agents are busy in "fixing the flints" of the Western press—in other words, moulding a Western public opinion in his favor. But, gentlemen, Editors of Iowa, this will not do. The antecedents of Simon Cameron are not satisfactory. Such times as these demand a *representative* man for a Presidential candidate of the Republican party. The doctrine of *availability* has been practiced upon by both the great leading political parties, until the nation, both in character and finance, has been brought upon the brink of ruin.

We believe that the Republicans will be able to elect whoever they may nominate for President. Then throw aside "availability" and give us a *positive* man—one whose history and principles are well known and are thoroughly tried—a man who may be fully regarded as the *embodiment* of the principles and the measures of the party. That man is unquestionably William H. Seward.

Does the reader ask our reasons for this opinion—we answer: The slavery propagandists—now the Democratic party—have made the selection for us. It is around Seward's unoffending head that all their wrath is concentrated. So much do they hate and fear him that they are continually threatening a dissolution of the Union should Republicans *dare* to exercise their rights under the Constitution and elect him for President.

Our former predilections were for Edward Bates of Missouri, as a Western man and a man representing our sentiments. Our "available" man was John C. Fremont, a man who will draw more votes than any other one the Republicans can put in nomination. But our *positive* man is William H. Seward, and believing that the Republicans can elect any man they may nominate, we go for Seward, heart and soul.

Six months ago it was difficult to tell who would or who should be the Republican candidate for President, but not so now. As said before, the Southern press and Southern leaders have made proclamations—and indeed it is their one continual howl—that if the free-men of the North dare to disregard their impudent dictation, and elect to the Presidency, William H. Seward, they will secede from or destroy the Union, and smash up things generally. In our opinion this settles the question for us.

Thus threatened and bullied, men who never preferred Seward to other well-known and long-tried Republicans for the Presidency, have now but one fixed and unalterable determination in regard to who shall be their Standard-Bearer in 1860. They intend to prove that they not only clearly understand their constitutional rights and privileges, but that they have the necessary nerve to maintain them. They will not threaten or bully or play the brag-

gadocio. All that they leave to the men who quailed before old John Brown and his seventeen miserable Abolitionists, and who have been marching troops up and down the country to frighten away the shadow of a danger which had no substance, save in their cowardly apprehensions, and the absence of all self-reliance in the hour of danger. They intend to vindicate their self-respect, to show their estimate of bullying threats, by electing to the Presidency the very man the South would ostracize. They will then leave to him and his co-administrators of the Government the punishment of treason whenever and wherever it dares to exhibit itself. And they have no fears for the result. Barking dogs rarely bite; and when they do, are certain to be punished for having mistaken their vocation.

We can tell our pro-slavery friends, and they had better believe it, that if any portion of this great confederacy whether it be the East or the West, the North or the South, attempts to withdraw from the Union, they will be promptly *whipped*—aye, *whipped* into subjection. It is all idle to mince the matter. The fiat has gone forth and will be enforced; let Washington, Oregon and California, at the Northwest, or Maine, New Hampshire and Massachusetts, at the Northeast or the Agricultural States of the North and Center, or the slave States of the South and the Southwest—let any one of them or any combination of them raise the banner of rebellion against the American Union—we care not what their pretence for treason—as certainly as there is a God above, so certain is it, that the offending States, will be *whipped* into obedience, and the traitors who encouraged rebellion, terminate their career upon the gallows.¹

Sundry facts in connection with the foregoing editorial may well be noted before passing on to later phases. In the first place its significance is enhanced when we consider that the writer was not a Harry Hotspur as was Mr. Thomas Drummond of *The Eagle* of Vinton, nor a radical of the type of Mr. John Mahin of *The Journal* of Muscatine. He was a cool, deliberate “down east” Yankee who had had twenty years of experience as an editor in Vermont and Massachusetts. Further, at the time he wrote the lines, he was a member of the most potent body in the state government of Iowa, the Board of Education, that under a special clause of the constitution had plenary powers of legislation, supervision, control and adjudication in the finance and administration of the entire educational system of the State, of the common, secondary and the highest state schools.

¹St. Charles *Intelligencer*, Jan. 12, 1860.

Mr. Hildreth, it is clear, looked upon the movement for the nomination of Senator Cameron of Pennsylvania with some concern, evidently considering it to be gathering decided headway. He, no less than other editors who have been quoted, appreciated the strategic importance of securing the electoral vote of the Keystone state. But considerations of expediency lumped together under the catch word "availability" were not sufficient to warrant the nomination of the Pennsylvanian at Chicago. He was a shrewd and successful politician, an artful and skilled tactician in the organization and direction of party workers in political campaigns and field maneuvers, in the working and control of the "machine" as we put it nowadays. But neither his character nor his career symbolized the dominant opinion, or, perhaps better, the determining opinion on the major issue uppermost in the public mind—to-wit, Slavery. On this issue the entire public was intensely alive. Its consideration could neither be avoided nor hedged against by party leaders, much as they might wish to do so; and their candidate for the Presidency must needs be satisfactory to the mass of the Republicans in the reliable states as well as to those in the doubtful states. Senator Cameron, whether justly or not, had a reputation that made voters concerned only with the evils of public life, and not at all with the game and methods of politics, extremely suspicious; and however agreeable he might be to the politicians of Pennsylvania, his nomination at Chicago would neither secure the faith nor arouse the enthusiasm of Republicans, let alone win new adherents to the party's standards.

The most striking facts in Mr. Hildreth's editorials are his acceptance of the threats of Secession by the Southern Fire-eaters as deliberate and serious, and his definite and solemn defiance to the promoters of Disunion. Secession had been the bogie of political discussion for many years. In the Fremont campaign in 1856 threats of Disunion were boldly and freely made, but at the North they were generally discounted and ridiculed as "idle talk" and "silly nonsense."¹ The *emeute* at Harper's Ferry and Helper's *Impending Crisis*,

¹Von Holst, *Constitutional and Political History of the United States*, V, 247-251.

and the deadlock over the Speakership in Congress, caused a renewal of such threats. "The Capitol resounds with the cries of dissolution," wrote Senator Grimes to Mrs. Grimes, "and the cry is echoed throughout the city."¹ But again the leaders and the press of the Republican party regarded, or at least proclaimed the seditious utterances as partisan tricks—"a game for the Presidency" wrote Thurlow Weed; "an audacious humbug," declared Greeley's *Tribune*;² and Senator Grimes deemed them designed "simply to coerce, to frighten the Republicans."³ Throughout 1860 Republicans commonly derided the miniatury language of Southerners, although Mr. Rhodes gives us grounds for his suggestion that their scoffing was mainly for party purposes.⁴ A fact significant of this conclusion—although by no means necessarily so—was the general contempt heaped upon the participants in the "Union-saving Meetings" and programs promoted during the period here considered. The Republican editors of Iowa, as in the older states to the east, regarded such proceedings as nefarious and designed to weaken the strength of their party.⁵ The utter unpreparedness of the North for the catastrophe when the storm broke in 1861, and the tremendous shock and rebound universally witnessed, indicates pretty conclusively that Mr. Hildreth's serious consideration of the "strong talk" of the Slavocrats was not common. How common Mr. Hildreth's feelings were in Iowa at that time we can not now determine; but we have already noted the defiance of another cool conservative editor, Mr. Howell. In June, 1858, to the treasonable declarations of *The Crescent* of New Orleans, he replied, "all such fanatics as *The Crescent* . . . will be driven like dogs to their kennels or hung by

¹Salter's *Life of Jas. W. Grimes*, 121.

²Von Holst, *ib.*, VII, 230-240. ³Salter, *ib.*, 122.

⁴Rhodes, *History of the United States*, 11, 488.

⁵*The Daily Muscatine Journal*, December 28, 1859. See editorial on "The Union Saving Farce."

the wayside as a warning to traitors," should they attempt secession on the election of a Republican President.¹

Normally we should expect to find vigorous language of this sort in the columns of Mr. John Mahin's *Journal* at Muscatine, but for the most part he was silent, at least so far as extended slashing editorials go. On January 12th, in contrasting the character of Charleston and Chicago as convention cities and the spirit and purposes of the men who would assemble in them to represent the two great parties to decide on their national platforms and candidates, Mr. Mahin uses some firm language:

... all the loud and excited talk of the fire eaters, and the whining of the dirt eaters—the two classes which compose the Democratic party will have no other effect than to strengthen their determination [of the Republicans] to take the administration of the affairs of the country out of the hands of the unscrupulous demagogues who are now at the helm. The Republican party holds that slavery should be restricted to its present limits, and upon this issue it will receive the hearty support of a large class at the South, who believe that slavery operates against the welfare of the States in which it at present exists. Republicans are determined to preserve the Union against the threats and acts of disunionists everywhere; and, as we said, the convention at Chicago will bind together in an invincible phalanx, good and true men, at the North and South, for the election of a president upon these grounds. Abuses, of course, will be heaped upon the party by the "Democratic" press and "Democratic" orators, but the people cannot be deceived by any such stuff. They have not forgotten that the fathers of the Republic occupied the identical position upon the Slavery question that the Republican party now occupies and their decision at the ballot box in November, will be their answer to the "Democratic" argument of the campaign, from which, if not satisfactory to them, they cannot appeal.

Mr. Howell of *The Gate City* had no advice to offer the delegates to the state convention, but on January 11th he placed before his readers the name of a candidate for the presidential nomination not heretofore mentioned, but not a name unknown. As was his wont he did so "without prejudice," being completely non-committal as to his own feelings for or against the candidate and his consideration. He said:

¹*The Gate City*, June 30, 1858.

Mr. Howell, reciting similar threats in the presidential campaign of 1828, in the event of the election of J. Q. Adams, and again during the speakership contest when N. P. Banks was a candidate, observed on the current threats: "The Disunion game is an old game. It is played on purpose to 'gull the flats' and so long as the 'flats' exist they expect to be successful. Whether the game is played out or not is a thing to be proved." (*The Gate City*, December 26, 1859.) Two weeks later he reproves Democratic editors for not denouncing the suggestion that Disunion would be beneficial to the South. (*Ib.*, January 9, 1860.)

The friends of Mr. Dayton have issued a circular to promote his nomination to the Presidency. They say that full conferences have established the fact that he would receive the vote of the united opposition in New Jersey and be certain to carry the State; and they feel confident that the same elements of popularity, the same antecedents and the same general state of things politically in Pennsylvania that prevail in New Jersey would enable him to carry that state.

Mr. Dunham's comment in *The Hawk-Eye* (Jan. 10th) on the claim of Mr. Dayton's promoters that his popularity in New Jersey and Pennsylvania would carry those states for the Republicans was somewhat critical: " . . . the fact that he failed to do so as a candidate for Vice-President in 1856 is not satisfactorily reconciled with this assumption. Mr. Dayton is an eminently conservative man with Whig antecedents and would make a good president if elected." Such comment indicates adverse inclinations but it is so cushioned with commendation that the critic is not embarrassed if the fates decide in the candidate's favor.

The writer has discovered but one editorial specifically urging the nomination of a particular candidate in the fore part of January. Mr. Orlando McCraney, editor of *The Weekly McGregor Press*, declared himself again in favor of the nomination of Judge Bates. A portion of his editorial succeeds:

The time is now drawing near when the candidates of the different parties and interests for their responsible positions are to be brought forward. The political sentiment of the country never before was in so unsettled a condition as today, and but few men in the North at least, are prepared to pledge fidelity to any particular party. The conservative Republican element, we think, will predominate, and the opposition will fall into line.....

We are but one of the millions interested in this great political movement, yet we claim the right to be heard. Our vote and our influence will be extended in behalf of the nomination of Edward Bates of Missouri, as the candidate of the people, believing, as we do, that he is not only one of the best, most talented, able and liberal men of the day, but that he is a man who is closely identified with the interest of our portion of the Union. That he will be the friend of the pioneer—that he will exert his influence in opening to commerce our vast west, and giving life and zeal to emigration.

Edward Bates is also our choice on account of availability. We regard him as one of the most popular men of the day and acceptable alike to the North and South, East and West. He has been called forward not by a life spent in demagogism but by his fellow countrymen, and if the honors and responsibilities of that office are conferred upon him, it will be unasked for and unsolicited by him. He will come into office untrammelled by fealty to party or persons. He will be free to act according to the convictions of his own mind and will make the people an able and worthy president.

Mr. Dunham reprints the foregoing without comment.¹

The significance of surface phenomena in the currents of politics is always difficult to apprehend; just as it is difficult to perceive the purport of eddies and swirls in the currents of our rivers. The following extract from a letter written to *The Gate City* and dated at New York City, Jan. 7, 1860, is not without interest:

At a social meeting, by invitation, at a private house, one evening this week, where some twenty republicans of the city were present, together with General Pomeroy of Kansas, Gen. Reid, Mayor Leighton, Wm. S. McGavie, D. W. Kilbourne, of Keokuk, Attorney-General Rice of Oskaloosa, and Jacob Butler, Esq., of Muscatine, there was a decided preference expressed by most of [the] party (except the Iowa gentleman) for Chase of Ohio. Seward, Chase, Bates, Cameron, and Wade seem to be the most prominent at the present time.²

The adverse attitude of so many different Iowans from widely separate sections of the southern half of the State towards the candidacy of Gov. Chase is suggestive. All of the men mentioned were ardent Republicans. Mr. Butler, in particular, was an Abolitionist of a pronounced type. Gov. Chase's record as an anti-slavery man could not be gainsaid except by extremists of the most violent sort. Such disinclination in respect of his nomination must have signified a common belief that he could not be elected if nominated.

(c) Some of the County Preliminaries.

The local preliminaries incident to the selection of the delegates to attend the state convention at Des Moines aroused but little public interest if we should conclude from the reports

¹*The Hawk-Eye* (wk.), Jan. 21, 1860.

²*The Gate City*, Jan. 18, 1860.

thereof in the party press of the State. One experiences difficulty in discovering calls or notices of local caucuses or primaries or county conventions. There is little space given to their proceedings; and almost no comment thereon. A few details are discoverable, some of which are instructive, for they suggest the major currents that were constantly running beneath the surface.

The selection of the delegates for Dubuque county elicited a brief note in *The Dubuque Herald*. Among the delegates chosen were Judge W. T. Hamilton, Wm. B. Allison and D. N. Cooley. Two other names, Messrs. Francis Mangold and H. W. Richter, suggest the "recognition" of the German-American element in that community¹. At Davenport the party leaders were careful to attend to the nativity of the delegates, if we may believe the classification of *The Davenport Democrat*. Of the twelve delegates—five were *Germans*, N. J. Rusch, G. G. Arndt, L. Schrieker, H. Ramming, and H. L. Lischer; three were *Irishmen*, James Quinn, B. F. Guy and Alfred Sanders; and five were *Americans*, John W. Thompson, Wm. Henry Fitz, Hugh Gurley, Geo. W. Ells, and Chas. Foster. To some sarcastic suggestion of *The Democrat*, the "administration" organ at Davenport, anent the nationalities Mr. Mahin at Muscatine, retorted: "Well, what of it, Mr. Democrat? Are you such an out-and-out Know-Nothing as to complain because eight of these delegates are foreigners and only five are natives?"² Farther down the river at Burlington the delegates were chosen apparently without fuss. Two names—Messrs. C. W. Bodeman and T. B. Webber—again indicate that sons of Germania were numerous enough to be reckoned with and hence were entitled to representation in the party's councils. Three state notables appear in the lists—Mr. Chas. Ben Darwin, chairman of the Code Commission that was then about to submit its draft of the Code of 1860 to the Legislature, Judge L. D. Stockton, then one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of Iowa, and Mr. Fitz Henry Warren, of whom more later. The convention or the "meeting" voted that the "Central committee [of Des

¹*The Dubuque Herald*, December 29, 1859.

²*The Daily Muscatine Journal*, January 6, 1860.

Moines county?] fill the vacancies in the delegation should any occur."¹ Mr. Dunham makes no editorial reference in *The Hawk-Eye* to the convention, nor to the delegates nor to the approaching state convention. The state convention seems to have had no special interest to the editors of *The Gate City*. Mr. Howell was chairman of the county central committee and issued (Dec. 16) the call for the county convention to assemble at Charleston, in Lee county (Dec. 31); but although he and his business manager were generally interested in the final result one finds no reference to the proceedings. In Wapello county, and in Ottumwa the convention took no action that attracted special interest except to specify by resolution as to the manner of casting the vote if some of the delegates should fail to attend at Des Moines.² Mr. Teesdale's paper related the proceedings of the convention of Polk county in two inches of space.³

We have already seen that the Republicans of Fremont county instructed their delegates to Des Moines to work for the nomination of Justice John McLean for President and Judge Edward Bates for Vice-President.⁴ And that the local caucus at Newton directed their representatives in the county convention of Jasper county to seek to secure the nomination of Salmon P. Chase and of Abraham Lincoln for first and second places on the national ticket.⁵ Whether any like action was taken or opposed at the ensuing convention the writer can not say. The Republicans of Black Hawk county apparently were composed of some lusty radicals for they directed their delegates "to use their influence at the state convention for delegates to the national convention who are in favor of the nomination of Wm. H. Seward or Charles Sumner as the Republican candidate for President."⁶ Instructions such as these make ardent partisans and insistent promoters of candidates groan in spirit and, if they dare, indulge in strong language.

¹*The Burlington Hawk-Eye*, January 2, 1860.

²*The Weekly Ottumwa Courier*, January 5, 1860.

³*Daily State Register*, January 9, 1860.

⁴*Ib.*, January 13, 1860.

⁵*The Gate City*, January 11, 1860.

⁶*The Black Hawk Courier*, January 3, 1860.

Here and there the waters surged up vigorously and white caps were observable. The turmoil at Washington had its reaction in some of the county conventions. The Republicans of Grundy county felt strongly and gave expression to their feelings upon the course of affairs at the national capital. Their resolutions were pointed and pithy:

Resolved, That the Republicans of Grundy county approve of the determined stand our Representatives in Congress have taken in the election of Speaker, believing as we do, that those who recommend Helper's Book are safer men than avowed disunionists.

Resolved, That we are in favor of the Union, inasmuch as we have prospered under it, and as we see no good cause for abandoning it, we will stay in it, and we will make all others stay in it, or do as General Jackson would have done, hang all who attempt to get out of it.¹

The names of only two Iowans appeared among the endorsers of Helper's book, Mr. Timothy Davis of Dubuque, Congressman from Iowa from 1857-59, and Col. S. R. Curtis, then in Congress.² The Republican central committee of Muscatine county deemed the urgency of public questions so great that they made special mention of the fact when they published (Dec. 8) their "request" of the Republicans to meet in "Mass Convention" on January 7th, at the county courthouse; thus concluding:

We respectfully suggest that there be on this occasion a general attendance from all parts of the county, to give an authoritative expression to the sentiments of the Republicans of this county upon the exciting questions now agitating the country, and of their preferences as to the manner of conducting the coming campaign.

The chairman of the committee signing the foregoing was Mr. Hugh J. Campbell, who was then manifesting the energy and decisiveness of character that made his subsequent career influential in Louisiana and the Dakotas.³ The convention

¹*The Daily State Register*, February 2, 1860.

²*Cong. Globe*, 31 Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. I-16.

³He became a Brigadier-General by brevet on being mustered out of the Union army at the close of the war. Later he was appointed federal judge in Louisiana. While in that State he achieved fame or infamy as a member of the election board in the electoral contest in 1876-77. He gave his decision in favor of the Republican presidential electors, thereby insuring the election of President Hayes. Afterwards he moved to the Territory of Dakota where he served for years as District Attorney. His activities on behalf of statehood for the present Dakotas gained him the sobriquet of "Father of Statehood." *Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography*, VII, 47.

occurred as scheduled with a number of prominent party chiefs in attendance. Judge George Meason presided. Mr. Geo. H. Van Horne was made Secretary. Later he was appointed Consul at Marseilles by President Lincoln, and had a creditable career as a journalist, lecturer and writer. The convention transacted its main business apparently without friction, choosing an exceptionally strong delegation, eight in number, to attend at Des Moines. Among the delegates was Mr. D. C. Cloud, Iowa's first Attorney-General (1853-1856). The course of the Democratic party in Kansas forced him to abandon that party. He was later the author of several books of considerable local currency.¹ Mr. Suel Foster, a noted pioneer horticulturist to whom chief credit is given for creating the demand that led to the establishing of the Agricultural College at Ames² was a delegate, as were Mr. Jacob Butler, Mr. John Mahin and Mr. Henry O'Connor. The meeting discussed at some length methods for "more effective organization" in conducting the campaign. A committee was appointed, consisting of L. H. Washburn, Jerome Carskadden and Hugh J. Campbell. The minutes subsequently report that "on motion of Hugh J. Campbell, Esq., the work entitled 'Helper's Impending Crisis' is recommended by this committee as a book worthy of an extensive circulation in this county." Whereupon the convention adjourned.

The recommendation of Helper's book made Mr. D. S. Biles, editor of *The Democratic Enquirer* of Muscatine, fulminate mightily. The resolution of the convention, together with sundry extracts of striking passages from the *Impending Crisis* were reprinted by him, under the caption in bold black type "The Republican Platform." He reproduced a half column or more thereof in nearly every issue from Jan. 12 to Feb. 23. He made the action of the Republicans of Muscatine notorious and aroused no little public interest, for a special correspondent of *The New York Herald*, then travel-

¹Gue, *History of Iowa*, IV, 55. His chief books were *The War Powers of the President* and *Monopolies and the People*.

²*Ib.*, IV, 94, 95.

ing in the Northwest, devoted considerable space to the fact as indicative of the overwhelming abolition sentiment among the Republicans of Iowa; he declared it to be the first public endorsement of the book anywhere in the North.¹

(d) Senator Harlan's Confidential Advices.

The public utterances of political leaders and their confidential expressions *inter se* are not always coincident. Such divergences as we may discern are seldom due to moral delinquency but to the fact that in public, politicians assert what they hope for in the large, and are striving to bring to pass, or express what they deem most prudent and effective for their purposes. In the confidences of personal interviews or correspondence, however, they exhibit their hopes and fears, their desires and plans, frankly and freely—or at least more so. Subjects as to which they maintain a severe silence in their editorial columns or on the platform, they deal with plumply within the family circle. Thus it was in the preliminaries of the presidential campaign in 1860 in Iowa. The major currents of opinion among Republicans on both issues and candidates were not clearly discernable on the surface, when the party chiefs convened at Des Moines to make their first decision as to their course in the contest. The expressions of editors were rare and in general terms when ventured; but the conclusion does not follow that party chiefs and local leaders were not keenly interested and alive to the momentous matters then in the balances.

In state politics there are, as already intimated, two chief centers that receive the voluminous currents of party advices. The substance of advices, information and appeals, return in cautious inquiry and deft suggestion, sometimes in direct and urgent decisions. These centers are the State's national senators. These party chiefs correlate local and national opinion. Their views are the issue of currents constantly flowing into Washington from their constituents, modified by their appreciation of advices received from their associates in Wash-

¹N. Y. *Herald*, February 19, 1860. The comments referred to were quoted by the writer, *ANNALS*, VIII, 194.

ington from other states. We have already seen the letter of Senator Grimes to Governor-elect Kirkwood, written December 26, 1859. As Iowa's junior Senator was in constant correspondence with his constituents his advice was doubtless in part a reflection of his local advices. Unfortunately the contents of his letter files seem to be irrecoverably lost.¹ Senator Harlan's correspondence, however, has been preserved and it affords us interesting evidence of the drifts and shifts of local opinion in Iowa during the period here under consideration. Sundry portions of the correspondence are given in what follows.

Col. Alvin Saunders of Mt. Pleasant was Senator Harlan's *fidus Achates* and his major-general in his senatorial campaigns. From Springfield, Ill., once his home² where he was visiting he wrote (Nov. 8), relative to the presidential contest approaching: "If we succeed then we are all O. K., but if we fail then our cake is dough for at least a long time." James F. Wilson of Fairfield wrote (Dec. 19), "The threats of disunion now so boldly made sit heavily on the Democracy of the Northwest. . . . The cry raised over Helper's book is doing more towards its circulation than all the Republican committees could have done in years. Everybody wants to read its awful contents." Dr. Charles S. Clarke, a prominent physician of Fairfield (Dec. 22): . . . "I am as you well know an earnest Republican. I would not interfere with slavery in the states. I never did sympathize or act with the Abolition party and yet down South they would call me an Abolitionist.³ I know the Republican leaders of Iowa and elsewhere and I know that they are Union Republicans and are opposed to disunion Democrats and Abolitionists. Republicans in Iowa all condemn Brown's rash act but they do admire his bravery, truthfulness and fidelity to what he conscientiously deemed right."⁴

¹Senator Grimes' correspondence with the exception of a few letters was destroyed by the Executor of his estate by direction of Mrs. Grimes.—Miss Mary D. Nealley to the writer, Sept. 20, 1909.

²Colonel Saunderson's brother, Pressley, was a member of Abraham Lincoln's regiment in the Black Hawk War.

³Dr. Clarke lived for some time in Kentucky.

⁴In a letter to Senator H., October 30th, Dr. Clarke said: "No good citizen justifies Brown, no good citizen excuses Pierce, Buchanan & Co. On them this evil rests."

Not all of Senator Harlan's correspondents discussed affairs at large; some wished to promote the general welfare by his advancement; thus Mr. J. B. Young, a leading attorney of Marion, in Linn county, expressed a hope (Dec. 27) "I would rejoice to see my old friend . . . the candidate for Vice-President," a wish that was later declared publicly by another friend in an adjoining county.

Another attorney, Mr. J. F. Brown of Eldora in Hardin county, communicated his views upon the presidential question (Dec. 28): "I hope that W. H. Seward will be nominated *if he can be elected*. He above all others is my Man." The Secretary of State, Mr. Elijah Sells, notified him (Dec. 29) that the "Third House" of the General Assembly and the Chicago, Iowa and Nebraska Railroad Company were "conspiring" to secure a diversion of the land grant to the Iowa Central Air line to a new company. Mr. John W. Rankin, the state senator from Lee county, the law partner of Samuel F. Miller, wrote him (Jan. 14, 1860): "Give my best wishes to Gov. Grimes, also to Gen. Cameron, the next President of the United States. This is no prophecy, but the truth ahead of time." On the same date Mr. Robert Gower of Gower's Ferry, in Cedar county, gave him a report of local opinion on the presidential succession and expressed his own views as to a desirable nominee:

People are beginning to discuss the subject of our next President. I expect our State by their convention on the 18th inst. will decide their preference for Republican nominee. I have heard urged by delegates to that convention, General Cameron, General Fessenden and Judge McLean. Before the 13th of June I would be glad of your choice.

The expressions which succeed are taken from two letters written in Des Moines on the eve of the state convention, by delegates thereto. Both writers had state wide reputations and influence. The first was a brilliant orator and effective campaigner. The second was an experienced party worker, alert and shrewd, who had been a close observer of political conditions in southern sections of the State from the time Iowa

was a part of the territory of Wisconsin. Mr. Henry O'Connor of Muscatine, on January 15th wrote Senator Harlan of presidential politics as follows:

. . . Our convention which meets next Wednesday will be largely attended and we anticipate a good time. Everybody is a candidate for delegate to the Chicago Convention so that we will be at no loss for timber. I am entirely indifferent providing they will only send a delegation that will comport with the dignified and decided Republican character of Iowa. I think Iowa may be set down now as decidedly Republican in sentiment and action. There is a good deal of talk and speculation about Presidential candidates, one element which seems to be entering into this coming Presidential contest already, I never liked and like it now less than ever, that is the *availability* element. It's a sheer humbug. We as a party have strength enough if we only have integrity, we can and ought to select our best man, the representative man of our party. I have but one candidate myself, although I expect to vote and work for whoever is nominated. If my vote could make a president today it would be given to Wm. H. Seward in preference to any man now living. I believe he can be—I know he ought to be President.

The next day (Jan. 16) Mr. Hawkins Taylor of Keokuk communicated his observations on the same subject:

. . . Our State Convention comes off Wednesday for the appointment of delegates to the Chicago Convention. There is a good many candidates for delegates. Who will be appointed it is hard to tell now. I am in favor of the appointment of two to each Judicial district and then let them cast the vote the state is entitled to which ought to be 16 or 18. There is no disposition to instruct our delegates, still I think that the general feeling is in favor of Cameron and Lincoln or Lincoln and Grow. It is universally conceded that Pennsylvania must be carried and the question is who can do it. I have never heard anyone say that they believed that Seward or Chase could. And I am well satisfied that neither of them can carry Iowa against Douglas or any popular Northern Doughface. I have spent the fall and winter buying hogs in the two Southern Tier of counties west of the Des Moines and I tell you there is *no Seward or Chase men there*. The Republicans of that section are more like the Opposition of Missouri.

I confess I am not over sanguine of success next fall. We have men that can be elected *but we can not elect anybody*. You must recollect that the mass of the voters don't read political documents and consequently do not get excited and have great aversion to

voting for any man I should like to hear your views on the subject of the next Presidential Candidate. How does Forney feel? Could he be got to support Seward or Chase?

Various facts in the foregoing may well be noted before passing on. Senator Harlan's correspondents declare John Brown's raid into Virginia reprehensible, even though they may express some sympathy with the man's trials or admiration of his character. Again of like import, Abolitionism is anathema. Those who mention the presidential succession fall into two classes: the friends of particular candidates and the advocates of no particular candidate, save the man who can poll the most votes for the party's cause. Those who urge Gov. Seward, while earnest in their admiration of the man, nevertheless feel doubts as to his chances of winning in the election. Doing and dying with a favorite champion may be heroic; but if defeat is the result your cake will become dough. The cause of their hesitation was the existence of oldtime and obstreperous prejudices in the minds of the southern folk in the State, who hated abolitionists with the same vigor that they hated slavery and would have none of either. Further, Mr. Taylor refers to Abraham Lincoln as a definite candidate, one who is to be reckoned with, precisely as Governors Chase or Seward, with an assurance that indicates that he did not deem the consideration of the Illinoisan unfamiliar to his party chief at Washington. Senator Harlan's contingent candidacy for national honors is suggested by two correspondents—a suggestion the realization of which was by no means violently improbable. Five of the correspondents just cited were chosen at the state convention, January 18th, to represent the Republicans of Iowa at the national convention at Chicago: Messrs. Brown of Eldora, O'Connor of Muscatine, Rankin of Keokuk, Saunders of Mt. Pleasant, and Wilson of Fairfield.

THE LYONS AND IOWA CENTRAL RAILROAD.

BY RUTH IRISH PRESTON.

In 1836, seven years after the famous trial trip of the first American steam car, on the Delaware and Hudson road, and while Iowa was yet a part of Wisconsin, the legislature of that territory at its first session, incorporated the "Belmont and Dubuque Railroad Company" and authorized it to construct a single or double track "from Belmont in Wisconsin to the most eligible point on the Mississippi river at or near Dubuque." This road was "to be operated by the power and force of steam, or animals, or any mechanical or other power;" and it was further provided that the company should not charge to exceed six cents per mile for carrying passengers, nor more than fifteen cents per ton per mile for transporting any species of property.

Although no road was built, the act is interesting as matter of history, for in it we find the first suggestion of a railway reaching Iowa.

On the 12th of June, 1838, President Van Buren approved an act dividing the Territory of Wisconsin and establishing the Territory of Iowa, which act went into effect on the 3d day of July following. Immigration was rapidly tending this way now that Black Hawk had laid down his arms, for the fame of the beauty and richness of Iowa's rolling prairies had reached far eastward. So rapidly did the population of Iowa Territory increase that in 1846 she was admitted to statehood. No bands of iron or steel at this time bound her east and west borders together, or held her in touch with older settlements to the eastward. Her methods of transportation were of the most primitive. The stage-coach and steamboat represented rapid transit, and the faithful ox-team gave slow but sure service. Iowa's fertile prairies were even at this time yielding a superabundance of food stuffs; she had also rich mines of lead and coal; but without an easier, cheaper and more rapid means of transportation these were valueless, ex-



Yours Truly
Allen Stacks

cept in so far as they were needed for home consumption. Railroads from the far east were now pushing themselves westward, ever westward, carrying to isolated settlements many of the comforts and luxuries of a more refined and less strenuous life. But as yet no line had reached the Mississippi. Still there was railroad talk and there were schemes; but no actual work was done until 1852 when two roads germinated—the “Lyons and Iowa Central,” which put its men in the field locating, and the “Mississippi and Missouri” which organized, but did not begin operations that year.

Previous to this time all efforts had been toward the improvement of the inland waterways, but in this year, when the Fourth General Assembly convened at Iowa City (December 6, 1852) Governor Hempstead recommended that the Legislature “urge Congress to make a grant of public lands to aid in the construction of railroads in Iowa;” and at this session strong efforts were made to secure land grants to aid in the construction of several lines in the State. James W. Grimes, an influential member of the House from Des Moines county, was one of the most active in these efforts. A project to aid a line from Dubuque to Keokuk via Iowa City failed, but those friendly to east and west roads finally secured the passage of memorials for aid to three such trunk lines.

In 1850 a company had been organized in Iowa City to build a road from the Mississippi to that place. This organization was known as the “Iowa City and Davenport Railroad Company,” and later, having taken no steps toward construction, other than the making of a preliminary survey, its franchise was transferred to the “Mississippi and Missouri” company—after its organization in October, 1852,—on the condition that the road should be built through Iowa City. This transfer was made May 25, 1853. The “Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific” eventually secured this route, and in 1856 its road was completed to that point.

However, before the organization of the “Mississippi and Missouri” company in October, and before the recommendation of Governor Hempstead concerning land grants in December, 1852, the “Lyons Iowa Central” engineering corps

was in the field, locating its line from Lyons westward. I quote the following from the journal of my father, C. W. Irish, who was a member of that engineering party: "October 15, 1852. Today I entered the corps of engineers at work setting grade stakes on the Lyons Iowa Central Railroad. The party consists of the following persons: Mr. J. I. Wanzer, assistant engineer; C. H. Holbrook, as rodman; J. Wright, as teamster; Wm. Hunter, and myself as axemen." During the next two months Mr. Irish, then a youth of eighteen, worked back and forth several times between Iowa City and Lyons, serving for a time as chainman in Mr. Buck's party and then as rodman in R. P. Mendenhall's corps.

In January, 1853, Mr. Estes and party arrived at Lyons, after which Mr. Allen Slack, chief engineer, made different arrangements for the several parties under his charge. The winter of 1852-53 was not a very pleasant camping season. My father records that, "The winter has been a remarkably cold one, the thermometer standing several times at 18 and 20 degrees below zero. The Mississippi river is frozen to a greater depth than it has been for some time and the ground is cracked open in every direction."

As further proof of the priority of the Lyons Iowa Central work over that of any other railroad in the State, I cite the following from a recent letter to me from Hon. Peter A. Dey of Iowa City:

In the spring of 1853, while in charge of the construction of a division of the Chicago and Rock Island railroad in Bureau Valley, Illinois, I was instructed to make a survey of a railway from Davenport to Iowa City to be followed by a location as early as practicable. Before it was fully completed it was turned over to Mr. B. B. Brayton and I directed to make a survey to such point on the Missouri river as I deemed practicable for the starting of a line of railway to be extended up the Platte valley. My instructions in this regard were liberal. The haste to make this survey was occasioned by the fact that a line was being surveyed on practically the same route by the Lyons Iowa Central railroad company. This survey was being made by a Mr. Buck, a land surveyor living near Lyons. Having occasion to observe some of Mr. Buck's work I saw that his object was evidently to get as near as practicable an air line from one county seat to the next. This was usually followed

by a vote in every county in favor of issuing bonds to aid in the construction of the railroad. Under this plan bonds were voted, and, as I remember, issued in Clinton, Cedar and Johnson counties, and voted but not issued in Iowa, Jasper, Poweshiek and Polk counties. The haste in making the Chicago and Rock Island surveys seems to have been to prevent if possible the further issue of bonds by any other counties until something was definitely determined. At that time it was thought by parties interested in the Rock Island road that money could be procured from the securities of the road to build across the State of Iowa as soon as the conditions warranted. When I came into the State there was a strong feeling, particularly in Cedar, Poweshiek, Jasper and Polk counties, in favor of the Lyons Iowa Central project, which was stimulated by a railway campaign that put its orators in the field. The head and brains of this project was H. P. Adams, a gentleman I believe from Syracuse, N. Y.

Looking further for information regarding this first railroad work in Iowa, I find in the "First Annual Report" of the Lyons Iowa Central, an article from the *Chicago Democrat* of Feb. 4, 1854, concerning the "Galena Air Line" (a road then under construction by the "Galena and Chicago Union Railroad," "parent of the railroad system of Illinois") which was then completed to the village of Lane, in Ogle county, seventy-five miles west of Chicago. The article states:

The whole of the road is under contract and is to be completed to the Mississippi by the first of August next. At Dixon it crosses the main line of the Illinois Central and will furnish the people living on the line of that road, for many miles north and south of that point, direct railway communication with our city. At Fulton City it is said there is a fine point for crossing the Mississippi. The plan of the bridge places it one hundred feet above high water mark, and of course it would be no impediment to navigation. From Chicago to Fulton City the distance is 135 miles. There will be two daily passenger trains and one freight train leaving the city on the first of May next. The extension of the Galena Air Line westward is called the "Lyons, Iowa Central Railroad." Council Bluffs, on the Missouri, is the point to which several of the extensions of the roads from this city are aiming, and that is to be the western terminus of this road. It is under contract and the money is provided to build it to Iowa City, seventy-three miles. The distance from Lyons to Council Bluffs is 308 miles. It is to be completed to Tipton, fifty miles west of the Mississippi, by the first of October next. This part of the road is to be nearly an air line. Five hundred men are now at work upon the road. The country

through which it passes is as fine as any portion of the Mississippi valley and it may therefore be expected to add very much to the business and general prosperity of the city. It is to be completed to Iowa City by the first of April, 1855.

The "First Annual Report" of the Lyons Iowa Central railroad company is a very interesting document. The directors' report to the stockholders states that, "On the 14th day of February, 1853, the company was organized in accordance with the provisions of the law of Railroads and the Right of Way in the State of Iowa." A copy of this law is appended to the report and is signed by George W. McCleary, Secretary of State. The Report further tells us:

Subscriptions to the capital stock have been made as follows:

By individual subscribers.....	\$686,300
By Cedar county, in bonds.....	50,000
By Johnson county, in bonds.....	50,000
By Jasper county, in bonds.....	42,000
By Polk county, in bonds.....	150,000

Total\$978,300

There have been prepared for issue, and a mortgage has been executed on the first division of the road for the security of the payment thereof, 800 bonds of \$1,000 each, \$800,000. The individual and county subscriptions being a basis for the issue to this amount.

Assurances are made, and may be relied on with confidence, that six additional counties will subscribe for stock and authorize an issue of their bonds to an aggregate amount of \$500,000, making the present immediately prospective resources amount to \$2,278,300.

There is little doubt that the resources already secured, and the progress already made in constructing the road, will induce large individual subscriptions, as further means may be required.

There have been issued to contractors on account of grading and bridging, in bonds of the company, \$300,000. The residue of the bonds prepared for issue are in the hands of the executive committee, to be issued for work on the First Division, as progress shall be made thereon. The amount of grading and bridging done, as will appear by the Chief Engineer's report, is about \$200,000. Materials for superstructure, rolling stock and iron have been purchased to the amount of \$176,500, making the expense for work done and materials purchased on the first division amount to \$376,500.

The work is now steadily progressing with a winter force of about 430 men and a corresponding number of teams and implements. As soon as the frost shall be out of the ground, to admit of a vigorous

prosecution of the work, a sufficient force will be put on the line to bring that part of the first division as far west as Iowa City into running order as soon as possible.

The work of grading the second division, which extends westwardly to Fort Des Moines, will be commenced and prosecuted as rapidly as additional subscriptions to the stock of the company shall warrant.

The annexed reports of the chief and the consulting engineers are submitted as part of this report.

By order of the Board.

Wm. G. Haun, Vice-Pres.

Lyons, Iowa, Feb. 14, 1854.

The Board of Directors, chosen at the annual meeting, Feb. 14, 1854, were:

Thomas A. Walker, Fort Des Moines, Iowa.

James H. Gower, Iowa City, Iowa.

John Culbertson, Tipton, Iowa.

William G. Haun, Lyons, Iowa.

Derick Adams (N. Y.), Lyons, Iowa.

Hiram A. Tucker, Chicago, Ill.

Thomas Dyer, Chicago, Ill.

Paul B. Ring, Chicago, Ill.

David McCartney, Fulton, Ill.

Thomas T. Davis, Syracuse, N. Y.

Henry P. Adams, Syracuse, N. Y.

Abel Chandler, New York.

S. M. Allen, Boston, Mass.

The officers appointed to manage the business of the company during the year were:

Thomas T. Davis, President.

Wm. G. Haun, Vice-President.

W. E. Caldwell, New York, Treasurer.

James McCoy, Secretary.

Allen Slack, Chief Engineer.

William C. Young, Consulting Engineer.

From the report of Chief Engineer Slack to the Board of Directors, February 14, 1854, I take the following excerpts, which show the progress of the work and the estimated cost of construction between Lyons and Tipton; and show also, how new a country Iowa then was, especially that portion lying west of Iowa City. Mr. Slack says:

A survey was made early last spring and the fall previous, from Lyons to Iowa City, for the purpose of getting a general outline of the country.

On the third of May, 1853, I was directed to commence the location at the Mississippi river and to prepare it for grading. This was accordingly done, and the work commenced on the first 52 miles to Tipton.

From Tipton to Iowa City four lines have been run, and although a portion of the line next east of Iowa City has been located, and considerable work done, yet on account of the unevenness of the ground, I desire to make a more careful examination before submitting an estimate.

The survey west of Iowa City was commenced on the first of September, 1853, and in order to get through to Council Bluffs before cold weather there was no time to revise the line. This survey, however, I consider of great value, as furnishing data to indicate the final location. Portions of it, no doubt, will require little or no alteration, but as much will be susceptible of improvement, I considered it useless to prepare an estimate from the present notes, particularly as our services were so necessary elsewhere.

I would recommend that the whole line west of Iowa City be revised early in the spring, and that the country be more minutely explored on each side of the line, particularly on the north. . . .

The State of Iowa is more rolling and more cut up by small streams than the State of Illinois, and the direction of your line is not the most favorable for the feasible construction of a cheap road; but from all the information I can obtain your route is more favorable than can be found either north or south of it, and it is worthy of remark that at all the navigable streams which your line crosses, the grades are out of the reach of steamboat chimneys, while on either side of your route this would be impracticable. In addition to this advantage your route is peculiarly straight in direction from the Mississippi crossing to Council Bluffs. The grade of your road, as far as located, may be regarded as favorable for a maximum grade of 40 feet to the mile, there being no elevation at any one place exceeding 60 feet from the general level of the country.

As to directness, there is not one-eighth of a mile lost between Lyons and Iowa City, and for fifty miles east of Tipton there are only ten degrees of curvature, so that this part of your road can be safely run at a high rate of speed.

The total amount of excavation and embankment between Lyons and Tipton is 2,994,404 cubic yards. The paying amount is 1,723,688 cubic yards which are estimated to cost \$356,216.10. The culverts and bridges are estimated to cost \$34,283.90, making the cost of grading \$390,500.00.

After apportioning this total among the fifty sections of the division, Mr. Slack adds to it ten per cent. each for contingencies and engineering, and arrives at an estimated cost of grading per mile between Lyons and Tipton of \$9,372.00. For the 24 miles from Tipton to Iowa City he estimates the cost of grading, culverts, bridges, engineering and contingencies at \$360,000.00 or \$15,000.00 per mile, making a total from Lyons to Iowa City of \$826,600.00, or an average of \$11,197.29 per mile.

The country lying west of Iowa City is less favorable for the construction of your road than that on the east side, although no portion of Illinois or Iowa is better adapted to agricultural purposes than the section through which your line passes. In addition to the agricultural resources of this part of Central Iowa, capable of furnishing an immense freighting business, may be mentioned the extensive coal fields.

In view of the directness of the line through Central Iowa, and the advantages it possesses in regard to the several bridge crossings, I think there can be no doubt it will do the greatest share of through business, both in the conveyance of passengers and freight. In addition to the freight of Central Iowa that will seek an eastern destination, is the immense lumber trade from the Mississippi to supply the demand of Central and Western Iowa, which range of country, as well as the vicinity of Council Bluffs, is dependent on the Mississippi river for its supplies of pine lumber. This article alone will furnish a large western business.

No drawbridges will be necessary on the entire extent of your line.

Wm. C. Young, consulting engineer, in his report presented at the same meeting, concludes that "a capital outlay of \$30,000 per mile will suffice to construct and equip" the road. Of the proposed bridge over the Mississippi he says:

The expedient of a drawbridge, suitably elevated above the floods, may be adopted at Lyons as advantageously as at any other crossing of this great river, but in view of the preceding objections (obstruction to navigation and possible litigation resulting) and also the unavoidable delay and break of continuity in the line, and consequent danger to the trains, it may not be advisable to adopt such a plan of structure although less expensive than the other. A truss framed and arched superstructure of wood and iron combined, elevated 90 feet above high water, resting on piers 200 or 250 feet apart, would offer every attainable advantage for the purposes of your road. . . .

Another and a possible alternative may be found in the adoption of a suspension bridge of iron wire, at a sufficient elevation to avoid any obstruction to vessels. Suspension bridges for railroad purposes, although in process of construction in this country, may still be considered in a great degree as experimental. At Niagara Falls this kind of bridge is the only admissible mode of structure, and the one now being erected there will be fully tested during the present year. . . .

Of the Lyons bridge he says:

Two sections of 1,000 feet each over the waterway, and one section of 500 feet over the depression of the receding banks on each side, or six sections of 500 feet each, will span the entire valley at the grade line. One pier or even three within the waterway, will leave the openings so large as to offer no appreciable obstruction to the navigation of the river.

The site of the proposed bridge over the Mississippi is peculiarly favorable. The rocky bluffs on the banks of the river, exceeding 100 feet in height, bold and precipitous on the east side, and more sloping on the west, approach each other more closely at this point than at any other locality available for a railroad crossing. . . .

There will be sufficient time for all practical purposes to decide upon the particular plan of bridge after some degree of experience is gained from the actual use of the suspension principle at Niagara Falls, as applicable to railroad purposes. The operation of a draw bridge and the effect of piers will also be exemplified in the case of the proposed bridge over the Mississippi at Rock Island.

It is now more than fifty years since the submission of the above report. During this time the two bridges mentioned—the Draw at Rock Island and the Suspension at Niagara—have given daily evidence of their “feasibility” and their “practicability,” and yet the site for a bridge at Lyons, which the chief engineers of the Mississippi and Rock river road, also those of the Galena, Chicago and Union, united with those of the Lyons Iowa Central in pronouncing a favorable point for crossing, remains unoccupied.

Returning to Mr. Irish’s journal for further information regarding the locating of the line, I read under the date of April 1, 1854:

I today commenced work in Mr. Allen Slack’s corps, second division of civil engineers, as flagman. Heretofore I had served in the capacity of axe man. I have received my pay up to this date. The

personnel of the party at this time is as follows: Mr. Estes, Asst. Engineer; W. W. Peck, 2d Asst. Engineer; J. W. Olds, G. Wilder, J. E. Ennis, Mr. Byers, J. Winters, R. P. Mendenhall, J. D. McCall, J. Hagarty, Wm. Hunter, R. M. Brandenburg and myself.

April 11. Made ready this morning for a start in Mr. Estes' company to run a line from Iowa City west to Fort Des Moines. The morning was pleasant. We started out from camp and ran a curve commencing at 3941 west of Iowa river.

The records of the days that follow are records of work and of storm, of pleasure and of weariness, of bridging swollen streams, getting swamped teams ashore, and of the men appeasing their appetites with "fat pork and corn dodger for supper, and corn dodger with fat pork for breakfast," sometimes followed by a long day's work without water.

Hard as this railroad work seems to have been, there were yet many pleasant features about it, especially to those who easily made friends among strangers, and who had a love for Nature in her wildness. April 23d he records:

We retired last night with a clear sky over our heads, and the stars shining ever so brightly. We were soothed to repose by the tree toads' melancholy wail and the pheasants' kettledrum accompaniment. We slept and snored away until about four A. M., when we were rudely awakened by the bass notes of bellowing thunder. The wind began to blow hard, causing our tent to creak, snap and groan. We roused out to secure it, the rain meanwhile pouring down upon us in torrents. By sunrise the clouds had cleared out of sight and the day became very warm. From the number of snakes killed near our tent we have named the place Snaky Hollow, and the grove—in compliment to the Pennsylvanians—Juniata grove.

The line as located by Mr. Estes' party started westward from Iowa City, passed about six miles south of Marengo, Iowa county, thence west to Sugar Grove, on the line of Poweshiek and Jasper counties, where were found, as the journal states, "the purest of spring water, plenty of grass for our beds and our horses, and enjoyable shade from the trees." This grove on the head waters of Sugar Creek, was reached early in May and here Camp No. 11 was made, of which Mr. Irish says:

The first night therein was hideous because of the howling of a pack of hungry, gray timber wolves which were stationed not far

from our tents and kept up their concert and depredations most of the night. They were daring and ferocious. To satisfy their appetites they killed and ate one of our saddle horses. One of the boys, new to camp life and unacquainted with the diet preferred by wolves, suggested during the night that we had better bring in the potatoes which were left outside, as the wolves might eat them. Ha, ha! He will get his eyes opened!

May 15. Crossed the North fork of the Skunk river and are now entering in the midst of a Congregationalist colony. They have a large tract of land entered here. After the tragic death of our horse we have been careful to guard our animals day and night, and have reduced the number of wolves somewhat by the use of strychnine, which we obtained from some trappers. We have seen occasional deer and elk in this region.

May 21, Sunday. Bright and clear. While at breakfast we were surprised by a visit from a well-dressed gentleman who, after enquiring our business and destination, told us that he was a Congregationalist minister, that his name was Grinnell, and that but a few days before he, with a colony of people from New England and New York, had landed upon the heads of Sugar Creek to found a settlement in Poweshiek county. He took deep interest in our work and the advancement of the country, but because it was Sunday did not care to talk much of business. He invited us to come and hear him preach at two o'clock this afternoon, and pointing out the top of a large oak tree said the services would be held under that tree. We went at the appointed hour and heard for the first time in our experience, divine services resounding through the grove and awakening its echoes.

May 22. Today passed Mr. Grinnell's quaint log cabin nestled among the trees upon a little knoll. Have made a sketch of it.

This cabin, which is pictured in the Iowa Historical Record, October, 1896, was the embryo of the present college town of Grinnell.

While the Estes locating party were approaching Fort Des Moines those working east of Iowa City were racing with the Rock Island, which was doing effective work between Davenport and Iowa City, on what had been known as the Mississippi and Missouri route, and a great spirit of rivalry existed between the Rock Island men and those of the Lyons party. When the Lyons boys in their rush used any sort of material at hand for stakes, the Rock Island boys taunted and jeered and called attention to the fine oak stakes they were using. The Lyons boys retorted, "Of course the Rock Island should

use something permanent, for it would be years before its track was laid if ever."

With jibes and jokes the opposing companies kept the attention and interest of the citizens, who were ready to applaud whichever won the race.

Thus, with varied and interesting experiences, during the years '52, '53 and '54 the Lyons Iowa Central was located to Des Moines; but was destined never to measure its length with iron rails, nor span the navigable streams with bridges "out of the reach of steamboat chimneys!"

That he who laughs last laughs best was fully exemplified in this contest, for the Lyons Iowa Central boys, in June, 1854, were all laid off indefinitely, many of them without recompense for their months of weary toil. What caused this sudden collapse of a project that seemed so flourishing, and was so well boosted financially by the communities through which the road was projected, was not quite understood then by the men in the field, and after a lapse of 55 years, cannot be fully determined now. The little evidence obtainable points to misappropriation of funds by some trusted party or parties, near the head of the company. Mr. Dey, in his interesting letter on the subject, says that one of the board of directors for the road, "H. P. Adams, of Syracuse, N. Y., was a fugitive from justice at the time that he was making his strong campaign through the counties of Iowa, encouraging the issue of railroad bonds," in proof of which he tells the following story:

General Ney, a member of Congress from the Syracuse district, came to Chicago, called at the Rock Island office and while there stated he was in the West for a requisition to arrest Mr. Adams and take him back for trial in New York. This Mr. Adams was the one who had, as I have before stated, the machinery at work for obtaining for his road county bonds which pliant County Judges—as the plan was popular—readily issued. Judge Lee issued the Johnson county bonds, although it was stated that he had pledged himself not to do so. . . .

It was generally believed, after the failure of Adams and his railway project, that with the county bonds he had made his peace with General Ney. At all events this gentleman entered heartily into the railway campaign in Adams' behalf, and being a popular orator,

his services were very effective. I recall reading one of his reported speeches wherein he was advocating the advantages of a high bridge over the Mississippi river, a suspension bridge of nearly a mile span, where he used the following figure of speech: "The trains will cross the Father of Waters without detriment to the navigation of that noble stream. There will be no piers or other obstructions. Its abutments will be on the high hills. The good fellowship of the river and the railway will be shown as the locomotive laughs when the steamboat puffs in its face." As an orator at Tipton, on another occasion, his eloquence not exhausted, he uttered the following tribute to the man whom he had come into the West to arrest: "Caesar crossed the Rubicon to crush the liberty of Rome, H. P. Adams crossed the Mississippi to make the prairies blossom as the rose." It was said that General Ney went home happy and his clients were satisfied.

Following his reminiscence regarding Adams, Mr. Dey again says:

I think it was in June, 1854, that Mr. Adams, having used all of his resources, withdrew his men from the field, many of his contractors unpaid and his popularity gone. It is possible that Mr. Adams hoped, by getting bonds from all the counties between Lyons and the Missouri river, that he could form a basis that would enlist enough capital to build the road; if so his plans were certainly sanguine. It was generally believed, after his failure to accomplish anything, that it was a cold-blooded scheme to rob the counties and, after getting their bonds, pocket the proceeds and decamp.

When the collapse came it was a severe stroke, not only to the locating engineers but to the construction men as well. Between Lyons and Iowa City much if not all the road-bed had been completed. This grading work had been done by a large gang of Irish immigrants who had been brought from New York and Canada for the purpose. These men, with their families, some 2,000 persons in all, were now stranded at Lyons and vicinity, practically helpless and enduring great hardships. The railway company had supply stores at Lyons from which were issued to the graders—in lieu of their wages—groceries, dry goods and miscellaneous articles; but these supplies were exhausted long before the indebtedness was cancelled. It was from these stores that the enterprise was derisively called, and is still known as, "The Calico Road."

Returning to the bond issue which a number of the counties

had made in favor of the Lyons road, and which produced litigation of long standing and intense interest, Mr. Dey tells us: "Later I met in Chicago, Paul B. Ring, who was in some way connected with the project (he was one of the Board of Directors) who offered the Johnson county bonds—the \$50,000 that had been issued—for \$35,000. These bonds the county afterward paid in full with ten per cent. interest from date of issue." The counties had resisted the payment of these bonds, and were sustained by the Supreme Court of the State; but an appeal being taken to the United States Supreme Court, it was held that although the law authorizing their issue might be questionable, the counties having sold them, and having received in pay thereof the consideration named in the bonds, could not be released from the obligation voluntarily incurred.

The final climax of the bond issue is told as follows by Mr. Gilbert Irish in his "History of Johnson County":

After years of discussion and litigation a convention of counties was called December 15, 1868. Delegates from Washington, Muscatine, Johnson, Jefferson, Lee, Cedar and Poweshiek counties met in the city of Muscatine. After a lengthy discussion the following preamble was adopted:

Whereas, the recent decision of the Federal court, involving corporation railroad bonds in this State seems to us subversive of our authority and the dignity of our State courts, and dangerous to the rights and privileges of citizens of the State, if not a positive and unwonted encroachment upon the jurisdiction of the State courts, therefore, Resolved, that this convention recommends to the citizens of the several counties, and citizens interested in this railroad bond question, to pay all their taxes except the railroad tax, and refuse to pay that until all legal and practical remedies are exhausted.

Several other default resolutions were adopted, speeches were made by Hon. Rush Clark of Johnson county, Charles Negus of Jefferson, Robert Gower of Cedar and by ex-Governor Kirkwood, who said: "All will admit that we have a right to make our state constitution and laws just as we please, provided we do not trench upon the constitution of the United States. What value is this right if our courts cannot interpret the meaning of our constitution and laws."

Still, like Banquo's ghost, the railway bonds would not down, and in the following May, 1869, a United States Marshal

came to Iowa City and arrested the Board of Supervisors and City Council on a warrant for contempt, and took them as prisoners to Des Moines. When the United States entered the field it soon closed the bond war. The terms of peace were brief and dictated by the victorious bond holders,—it was tax or prison, and tax it was for some years. And when the bonds were at last paid and the personal feeling had died out, it was discovered that meanwhile railroad building had gone rapidly on; so there was rejoicing, and general good feeling was restored. Also a permanent good had resulted, since in the Constitution of 1857, the people of Iowa, warned by this unhappy bond war, fixed the limit of indebtedness—State, county and city—at 5 per cent. of the taxable valuation. On the failure of the Lyons company all its property was sold at sheriff's sale, and so ended this ill-starred venture which, with transit and level, followed by pick and spade, did the first actual railroad work in the State.

On October 15, 1908, as it chanced just 56 years from the day on which my father began work for the Lyons road, I took my first trip over a part of its route. It was glorious October weather and the day, in every particular, was satisfactory for a pleasure excursion and conducive to a reminiscent mood. Accompanying me were the late Dr. P. J. Farnsworth, a pioneer resident of Clinton, who acted as guide, Mr. A. F. Ewers of Davenport, as photographer, and my son Charles.

We climbed first to the top of "Lone Grave Bluff," the highest and most abrupt point on the Mississippi at Lyons overlooking what is known as the "Narrows," and upon which the western end of the proposed suspension bridge was to have rested. After enjoying the magnificent outlook for a time, and securing views of this point, and of Fulton Bluff opposite, on which was to have rested the eastern end of the bridge, we started westward from the top of Lone Grave Bluff. We journeyed along at grade, through cut and across fill until we reached the "Big Cut" some three miles from the river, in the ravine beyond which, in 1854, a large culvert was built of handsome cream-colored stone, but of which culvert now not a stone remains. Built strong and true, it waited





vainly through the years to feel the weight of commerce upon its strong back, and might still be waiting and wasting in vain had not the citizens of Lyons, after the failure of the road, shifted their interest and zeal from commercial to religious matters. Under the leadership of an Episcopal clergyman, Mr. Beers, who came among them from the East about 1857, a goodly congregation was formed, and soon there was need for a church building. The panic of 1857 made funds scarce, but that did not deter the faithful. Material was at hand in the abandoned culvert, and energetic hands soon had it metamorphosed from a burden bearer into a temple wherein men should learn to obey the command: "Bear ye one another's burdens." This was the first church erected in Lyons. It is still in use and in good repair. We took a photograph of the culvert site, and on our way home secured a good picture of the church.

Stretching westward from Lyons the old road-bed, we were told, can still be traced for forty miles or more; but our appetites being keen and our feet tired, we closed our tour of inspection at the historic culvert.

Later I visited points on the road-bed that are still visible at Iowa City, prominent among which are a big cut just outside and north of the Catholic cemetery, and a remnant of embankment at the head of Dubuque street which was to have formed the approach to the proposed bridge over the Iowa river. Soon these historic evidences of the Lyons road will be gone, as are the men who wrought and suffered loss and disappointment in its work. As the laborer is worthy of his reward it is gratifying to realize that not a few of the men who bravely met defeat in this venture afterward attained distinction in their chosen profession. Prominent among these were Messrs. J. I. Wanzer, J. L. Estes, Allen Slack and Charles W. Irish. Of the after history of the two former I have as yet been unable to get definite data.

Mr. Slack, the Chief Engineer, was a native of Vermont, and a graduate of the University of that State, where he took a course in civil engineering. After graduation he went to New York, where he was employed on the Erie Canal until

called west to take a position on the Illinois Central. Later he was sent into Iowa as Chief Engineer to locate the Lyons Iowa Central, making his home at Lyons. In 1880 he accepted a call to the Southern Pacific. Here he labored with eminent success until failing health forced him to retire to his Oakland home, where he died in 1888. To Mr. Slack's early work in Iowa, Hon. Peter A. Dey pays this tribute: "He succeeded Mr. Buck and made locations that were creditable, and were adopted west of Iowa City in some places by the Rock Island company when their road was built."

Mr. Irish, although sharing defeat with the Lyons Iowa Central in its race with the Rock Island to Iowa City, had the pleasure a few years later, as locating engineer for the Northwestern, of helping to win the race to the Missouri river, which gained for this road the carrying of the U. S. mails, and of all the materials to be used in the construction of the Union Pacific; and resulted also in securing for the Northwestern the Congressional land grant of 1856 which had first been voted by the legislature to the Lyons Iowa Central.

Born in the Empire State in 1834, Mr. Irish was reared and educated in Iowa, to whose development he contributed not a little both as scientist and civil engineer. After many years of successful railroad building throughout the great West he was appointed by President Cleveland, Surveyor General of the State of Nevada, and afterward was made Chief of the Bureau of Irrigation, which necessitated his removal to Washington, D. C. Returning later to his home in Nevada he resumed his engineering work there, and died at Hope Gulch, Elko county in 1904.

In arranging his effects for removal to Nevada, he gave me, among other papers, his Lyons Iowa Central note book, on the last page of which stands recorded: "To 104 days work as second assistant Engineer for L. I. C. Ry., at \$2.00 per day, \$208.00, by loan to the President of the Co. \$52.00, sum total of indebtedness to C. W. Irish, \$260.00, which I never expect to get." And he never did.

For the data collected in this paper I am indebted chiefly to my father's notes and the published report of the pro-

jected road; also to Mrs. Ella Slack McIntyre of Oakland, Cal., to the late Dr. P. J. Farnsworth, of Clinton, Iowa, Hon. Peter A. Dey of Iowa City, ex-governor Gue's History of Iowa, and the History of Johnson County by Hon. G. R. Irish. I wish also to acknowledge my indebtedness to Prof. A. F. Ewers of Davenport and Miss Jane T. Irish of Iowa City for photographs of interesting points on the old road bed.

THE OLD-TIME TRAPPER.

TACITUS HUSSEY.

The creeping on of civilization during the last seventy years has wrought many marvelous changes. The man with the buckskin suit, the long rifle, the double-barreled shot gun, with the sheath knife and the hand axe dangling at his belt, silent during his busy hours, except when spoken to; yet garrulous enough over an evening pipe lighted at the camp-fire, has passed away from the Middle West. If he exists at all, it is in the land of the setting sun, or on the borders of the frozen lakes of the almost limitless Northwest.

It was from the lips of an old trapper, Landon Hamilton—who seemed like an unbended bow, relaxed from its strain—that I gained my information for this article, including the modes of trapping game in the months containing the "R's" now usually associated with the "oyster season."

Iowa was originally part of the territory which formed a grand hunting and trapping ground for the Red Man, with his primitive weapons and traps, and later, for the pale face with the more modern weapons with which to kill and capture without thought of the morrow, all food and fur-bearing animals coming within range of the deadly rifle and the lure of the concealed steel trap.

The fur and food animals, in those early days, were the deer, wild turkey, pheasant, squirrel, wild goose, brant, duck, otter, beaver, wolf, mink, muskrat, raccoon, with an occasional black bear. Trappers usually had from forty to fifty steel

traps of different sizes. To these were added the "medicine" used to put on the bait to lure the animal to the trap. This "medicine" was a mixture of aniseed oil, asafetida and musk, mixed with fish-oil; a highly perfumed concoction, as the writer can testify. A drop or two of this mixture placed on the bait, or sprinkled near it, generally attracted a victim. Sometimes, in order to form a "trail," a small quantity of this mixture would be placed in a small sack, perforated with a few fine holes and dragged on the ground by the trapper when he visited his traps, and it always yielded good results.

The mink has a passion for rummaging in the leaves and fine grass, and is often taken by a steel trap, artfully concealed under a light covering of fallen leaves, which must be scattered in the most natural way, to disarm suspicion. Should his instinct instruct him that any other hand than Nature's had placed the thin covering over the trap he will carefully avoid it. For otter, a steel trap well smeared with aniseed oil is a very taking bait, the oil being a perfume they cannot resist. Otters are fond of sliding down hill, and a trap half buried on one of their slides during the winter, or at the foot of it, under the surface of the water, near the entrance to their burrow, will very often enrich the trapper by two or three catches before the season is over.

The muskrat is fond of a plant called "stinkwort," and a trap baited with a frog or mussel, with a drop or two of the decoction made from this plant, is a sure decoy. Sometimes the trap is set below the surface of the water, and on a twig or stick just above it is placed a dead frog or mussel. Climbing up or down for the coveted morsel, the muskrat is apt to get one of his feet upon the pan of the trap and fall a victim to his appetite. The muskrat is very fond of the fresh water shellfish. He has not the power to open one; but realizing that "all things come to him who waits," lays it on a log or stump, or on the shore until it opens of its own accord, letting "patience have its perfect work." Sometimes traps are concealed under water near their burrows, with chain of sufficient length to allow the animal to reach deep

water and drown; otherwise he will gnaw his imprisoned leg off and escape.

Foxes are the slyest and most suspicious of all animals on the list, and the hardest to trap. The utmost care must be taken to cover up all signs of a man's presence, or his work will all be for naught. A trapper who can boast of capturing a dozen foxes during a single trapping season by the steel trap method is considered a very skillful trapper.

Central Iowa used to be famous for beaver lodges, dams and trapping, hence Polk county has a Beaver creek and a Beaver township. The "beaver lodges" here, consisted of families of from ten to twenty members and afforded good catches in those earlier days. They seemed to be reasoning animals. If the wiser ones of the family detected too many absentees at roll call they would sound the alarm and the entire family would desert its lodge and dam and depart to a safer locality. Traps were generally set close to the banks near the dams, covered carefully with moss. A small portion of "castoreum" was placed on the bank just above the trap, and the search for this often caused a beaver to place his foot on the concealed pan which springs the trap. Then there was a rush for deep water; but the chain attached to the trap and fastened to a weight or a pole, allowed sufficient length to the tortured animal to reach the deep water and drown. There have been many beaver dams on the various streams of Iowa.

Raccoon river had many of these dams. "Gray's Lake," within the corporate limits of Des Moines, where now stands the Great Western car office, was once the bed of Raccoon river; but the beavers built a dam at the lower end of it, and in time, turned the channel in another direction. Fifty years ago there were still traces of the dam to be seen, as also stumps and logs of cottonwood trees cut down by these industrious little animals, whose chisel-shaped teeth grow as fast as worn off by contact with the wood.

Mr. George C. Duffield, of Keosauqua, Iowa, who visited this region in 1838-40, says that five miles from the "Raccoon Forks," on the Raccoon river, he found a very scientifically

constructed beaver dam, so wide and compactly built that it might have been possible to have ridden a horse across it. Having seen many of these dams during his pioneer life in Iowa, he pronounced the "beaver dam," a few miles above the spot where the future capitol of a great State was to stand, the finest he had ever seen. These dams may account, to some extent, for the crookedness of the Raccoon river.

As has been mentioned, Beaver creek, which empties into the Des Moines river a few miles above the city of Des Moines, was famous for its beaver dams in the earlier days, and afforded the pioneer trapper profitable work for the winter months. The mounted beavers in the Historical Department Museum, were caught on this creek. At a point where Twelfth street would cross the Des Moines river, if extended in a northerly direction, there was a famous beaver dam, the remains of which could have been seen fifty years ago, and it is known even to this day by the old boatmen, as the "old beaver dam." As described by an old pioneer who saw it fifty-three years ago: "The dam seemed to have been formed by felling two trees, on opposite sides of the river. These trees falling into the river and not being entirely severed at the stumps, made the foundation. Then there was a long row of stakes, or pieces of wood about four inches in diameter, sunk in the mud and standing upright, very close together, reaching entirely across the river. These stakes seemed to have been settled in the mud in some way only known to the little dam builders. Fine brush was then woven in between the stakes, with soil on the upper side to make it compact and solid, which rendered it almost water-tight. The apex of the structure was up stream, the better to resist the pressure. It was deserted at the time I saw it, but was in a fair state of preservation. I have often regretted since, that I did not preserve a stick or two showing the cuttings of these industrious little animals."

There were many of these dams on the smaller streams, constructed when the water was low. When the "break up" came in the spring they formed obstructions, and being strong enough in many cases, to resist ice and flood wood, caused

new channels to be made. This will account, in some degree, for the crookedness and the many deserted channels of some of the smaller streams.

The raccoon was trapped in large numbers, sometimes by steel traps, sometimes by the "dead fall," set and operated by the figure-4 triggers, baited with a frog, bird or part of a quail, with a drop of "medicine." These traps were set along the small streams which abound in crayfish and frogs. The raccoon is a nocturnal ranger, and frequents the smaller streams. He examines everything closely, sticking his paw down a crayfish hole, in the hope of finding his victim asleep. When a frog is captured he rolls it on the ground with both forefeet, very leisurely, as a woman kneads dough for baking. After having sufficiently elongated, or "tendered" the tidbit, it is devoured with much gusto.

There are few boys or men living in a timbered country who have not spent an occasional night, during the fall of the year, in hunting the wary 'coon with a pack of well-trained dogs. A couple of axes, a gun, and good running qualities are the only requisites. When the nocturnal prowler comes out of his hole in a hollow tree during the night, in search of food, the dogs run across his trail, and after a chase of a few miles he takes to a tree and is either shot by moonlight or the tree is cut down and the pack is upon him at once. He makes a brave fight for his life, but yields to superior force. The hunters are richer by one pelt, and hie the dogs on in search of another victim. A well regulated "coon hunt" covers a distance of eight or ten miles, through bush and brake, over streams and through dense thickets, to the damage of clothing and shoe leather. Would it be any wonder if the father, sons, hired man and pack, were troubled with "that tired feeling" for a day or two? And would a sensible wife grumble if all hands were a little late to breakfast for a morning or two following the "hunt?" But the man of the house can point to four or five "coon skins" stretched and drying on the end of the barn; so "honors are easy!"

In the autumn, Mr. Landon Hamilton would begin to grow restless, "homesick," he used to call the feeling which was

really an intense hunger for the solitude of the woods. Early in October he would begin to get his steel traps in order, overhaul his long rifle and double-barreled shot gun, buy his ammunition, place his powder, especially, in water-proof tin cans, buy such provisions as he thought would be needed for his five months' exile, and hiring a teamster, would depart for a place he had selected by hearsay, or an actual visit, and bid adieu to civilization.

Long before his destination was reached the trapper was all eyes and ears for "signs." Many times he would make detours to examine the bed of a small stream for mink and raccoon tracks. He would search among the leaves for the "droppings" of fur-bearing animals, or notice the trunks of smooth-barked trees for "bear-scratchings." All these forest signs were as familiar to the trapper as if they were a printed page. When the sought-for place, which was generally on the shore of some good-sized stream was reached, the implements and supplies were unloaded and the trapper began at once to construct his winter lodge. A bluff was usually selected, and an excavation made in the side of the hill. Then four or six forked posts were set in the ground, with cross poles to support the roof. The fireplace was made of stones with a perpendicular opening to serve as a chimney, which was sometimes built up part of the way of stones, sticks and mud. The roof was generally of linden, or oak bark. The sides of the lodge not protected by the bank, had wooden stakes driven in the ground two feet apart, into which were woven or "wattled" very firmly, small branches of the pliant willow, which, when well done, made a very compact wall. These walls were extended across the front, leaving a narrow opening which served as a doorway. This opening was covered with a blanket or water-proof canvas. A hole was dug in the side of the hill in which the potatoes were placed beyond the reach of the frost, two forked posts were driven near the door with a cross piece, upon which the camp kettle was hung, to serve on days when a "boiled dinner" was desired, and the trapper felt very much at home.

With the completion of the lodge, came the beginning of the winter's work. A tour of inspection was made, after which forty or more steel traps were baited and placed. These were visited morning and evening. When an animal was caught it was killed as soon as possible and the trap rebaited and reset. During the day the trapper spent his time in skinning his prizes and stretching the pelts in a way to make them most valuable in the market. It was necessary to mark the spots where the traps had been set so that the trapper could find them in case of a fall of snow, which changes the woods and landscape in the most bewildering manner. This was done sometimes by "blazing" a tree near the trap, or breaking a branch or two on some tree which pointed in the direction of the trap.

His evenings were spent by the fire with pipe, in study, or listening to the voices of the night. Sometimes the whispering of the winds among the branches formed words and sentences as they sent down their dead and dry leaves in showers on the bark roof of the lodge. Sometimes an inquisitive owl on a tall tree not far away would ask, "Who-who-whoah?" And getting no answer, would laugh, in owl fashion: "Ah-ha-ha-ha-ha-h-a-h-h!" Or perhaps a belated flock of geese on their way to the southland, repeated their good-by honks, to the land which was soon to be in the reign of the "Frost King!" Then there was the ceaseless plash of the stream singing its soothing song to the dreamer in the lodge, knowing well that in a few days its voice would be hushed in an icy sleep only to be awakened by the kiss of the spring sun and melting showers.

Tobacco is a solace and a soother of nerves in these solitudes, and woe be to the man, who, by any mishap lost his supply during those months of solitude. On one occasion the trapper found on returning to his lodge, that a venturesome cow had pushed aside the door covering, and stood on the outside chewing, without a grimace, a goodly stock of his smoking tobacco. He recognized it at once by the strings on the tobacco bag, which she had not the presence of mind to conceal in her mouth. A sharp chase followed and the

pursuit was so warm that the tobacco was recovered, but in a moist condition. However, it was dried by the fire and served its purpose very well; for trappers as a general thing are not very particular in regard to what they eat, drink or smoke. A hungry fox or wolf might forage on his stock of frozen pheasants or quails and not a kick would be made; but his tobacco—that was as precious as gold.

Sometimes a month or so would pass and a territory of three or four miles in diameter would be trapped over; but the catches, maybe, would grow smaller as the days passed by, and then the trapper would begin to consider moving farther up the stream. When this conclusion was reached he began to prospect for a new camp. When a location was found, if no teamster was to be had, he would have to carry his entire outfit to the place selected after the lodge was prepared, a load at a time. This was a slow and wearisome task, taking, while attending to his other duties, about eight days. As there was never a calendar in camp, Sundays did not count as days of rest. "Moving" might occur three times during a season, each move adding to his stock of pelts. And in some cases, when success did not crown his efforts on the stream he had chosen for his winter's work, he would return to civilization, and hiring a teamster make a new start in some other part of the territory. He did not fear to leave his camp alone for a few days; for it is an unwritten law of the woods never to molest a hunter's tent or a trapper's lodge. When the new territory was reached, business began as before.

Mr. Landon Hamilton, during his fifty years' trapping in Iowa territory, visited nearly every stream and locality in the present State of Iowa, which held out any prospect of a good catch of the fur-bearing animals. During this period he gathered many thousand dollars' worth of furs. His winter's catch would often amount to more than a thousand dollars, to say nothing of the hundreds of specimens found during his summer rambles among the hills and his winter sojourn along the streams of Iowa.

Skunk river was also a favorite trapping place, and several winters were spent there in hunting, trapping and fishing.

In company with an old-time friend, "Uncle Thomas French," a well-known character in the early days of Des Moines, he fell in with a tribe of Musquakies, now living on a reservation in Tama county, Iowa. This tribe of Indians was camped there and were engaged in their usual avocations. "Uncle Thomas French," as he often expressed it, "had no use for boys," and when an Indian boy offended him by his presence in camp, on a begging expedition, it may be, Mr. French gave him a violent shaking, and told him to "Puckachee!" (to git.) "Uncle French" was a large, grizzled, swarthy man, and generally wore a pair of spectacles about three sizes too big for him, which evidently struck terror to the heart of the boy, who ran with all possible speed to the Indian tepee. In order to explain the indignity visited upon him, he shook his father violently by the shoulder, exclaiming: "Big-Eye-Smoky-Face-Man say, 'Indian Puckachee!'" Mr. Hamilton explained the eccentricity of his guest, but the Indians were not satisfied and soon after left the vicinity, as they evidently believed the "Smoky-Face-Man" was one of the big chiefs of the territory. There was no retribution visited upon the two white trappers and they were left in full possession of the territory without further annoyance.

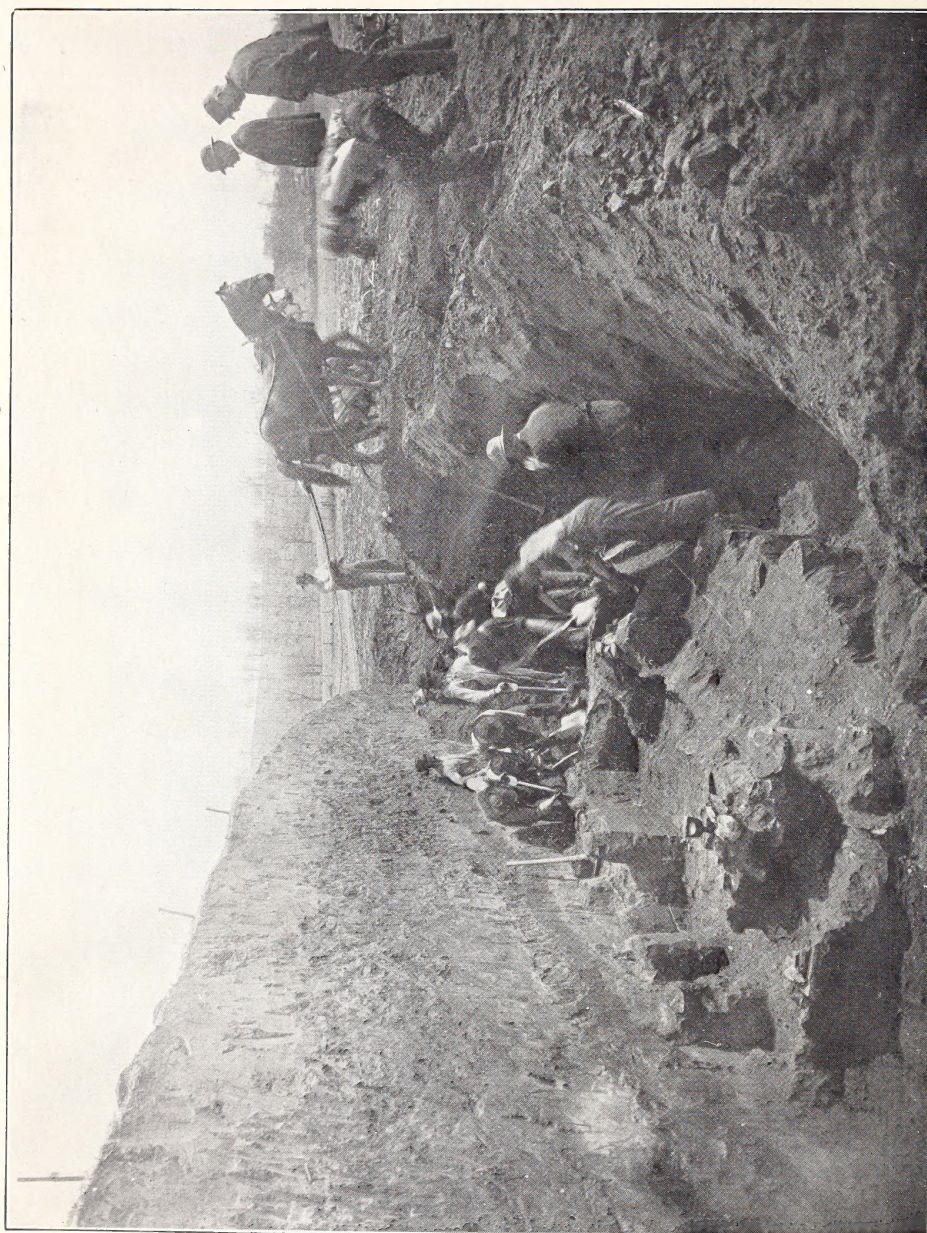
With the honk of the wild goose, seeking the northern lakes, the trapper began preparations for return to civilization. A teamster was procured and all the "duffle" which was to be brought back was piled into the wagon. The furs were carefully assorted and prepared for market, for the trapper well knew that the fur buyer would be on hand early in the spring to snap up the choicest of the catch and ship them to their eastern houses. The speculating fur buyer generally doubled his money; the manufacturer received a liberal slice; but the catcher, who had spent his winter in the woods, looked at the prices offered as being about "so much money found," and parted with his furs at low prices rather than run the risk of shipping them to St. Louis, Chicago or New York.

The last trip made by Mr. Hamilton, so far as known, was to some point down the Des Moines river, where he spent two or three months in examining some of the mounds from which

he took a choice assortment of prehistoric pottery and implements. A collection of these may be found in the Historical Department Museum as a part of the gift he made to the State during the last days of his life. At some point down the river he caught the "Lazy Ann," a nondescript steamboat, which landed him and his valuable finds at the "old steamboat landing," near the junction of the rivers. This was about 1884. Soon after that, the "Lazy Ann," in trying to pass under the C., R. I. & P. bridge at Vine street, struck one of the abutments and was hopelessly wrecked. Her hull lies there yet, well buried under the sand and drift of years.

With the fleeting decades come many changes. Game animals and birds are slowly but surely going the way of all the earth. Timber lands are being depleted and only recently have steps been taken to replenish them. Congressman Lacey, was one of the first to lift up his voice in Congress and ask for a stay of the hand of the destroyer, and that a portion of the wooded lands, lakes and streams be set apart for the preservation of the game and fur-bearing animals, birds and reptiles.

Let a stream be reserved where the beaver can build dams and cut food woods to his heart's content; where the buffalo may range, where the deer, the antelope, and the elk may herd, and where every animal known in former generations may find a safe refuge from the murderous hand of man. To carry a war of extermination on the four-footed and winged inhabitants of the earth is a crime, the effects of which will be felt in all coming generations; for surely, this blood wantonly shed, will be required at the hands of the people of America.



ANNALS OF IOWA.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

SYSTEM IN MOUND EXPLORATION.

From the advent of the white man into Iowa, the works of prehistoric peoples have elicited interest. They have formed a part of the written and printed comment on the country, and furnished a field for the exercise of healthy curiosity, as well as stimulated a desire for knowledge on this subject. Nearly every one of the ninety-nine counties has its published history and practically all of these contain accounts of local works of the Mound Builders. In different parts of the State and at various times in the course of our development, some serious effort has been made at thoroughly exploring mounds and carefully recording, preserving and reporting their disclosures. Much has thereby been added to our knowledge of these works, and many objects relating to these ancient peoples have thus been put within our reach for study. Many mounds worthy of consideration and of ample authenticity as work of the ancients, have been found vacant as to relics; a fact of value. But the reduction of the soil to the uses of agriculture has done much to lessen the opportunity to record their locations, contours and dimensions. Each year does more, and the time is near at hand when many works will be obliterated unless some systematic work is undertaken for their preservation. The ruthless digging by boys and curious men is not so serious. Results of even careless excavation may be made highly beneficial by prompt and diligent interviews, by the collection of objects and by other exercise of ingenuity.

We believe there is no one who does not wish a systematic exploration of the Iowa mounds. Certain scientists and one considerable religious body especially wish it. Every one is

less desirous of haste than of exactness in exploration and report. All recognize that immediate general beginning or constant work are impossible, but each effort should relate to all others. It is to accomplish the final and sufficient exploration, without loss of effort or opportunity that the Historical Department would urge upon all the adoption of its plan for operation.

Let some body or activity of the State have authority conferred upon it by which it can acquire and hold title, either in fee or for use, upon conditions for proper exploration or preservation. Let it be empowered to confer the privilege of such exploration upon any who apply and who disclose a willingness and ability to explore, record and report results uniformly with those of other exploring ventures elsewhere in the State. Let it guarantee the land owner against trespass during crop seasons and other inopportune times, and against loss of identity of his name with such contributions to knowledge as may result from his co-operation. On the other hand, let it guarantee the explorer against unnecessary expense and annoyance in doing his work. Let it go into the field, locate, prospect, make contour maps and all preliminary preparation where grounds are being disturbed. Let it guarantee the public the maximum of information in quantity and authenticity, and the care and distribution of this information. The result must inevitably be a thoroughness and uniformity of study and a permanence and reliability of exploration and report that cannot otherwise be accomplished surely and inexpensively.

The Historical Department has a standing welcome to many grounds that it must at present forego exploring for want of funds. It has found a universal interest in the work. Local students volunteer ample assistance for preliminary surveys, including the making of topographical charts, maps, borings, and the gathering of facts as to previous excavations. Everything, up to the actual handling of the dirt, and part of the cost of that, is often volunteered. No land owners, and few tenants are found, who object to, or obstruct work, especially with reasonable protection against waste, and assurance of

the restoration of the land surface. Had the Historical Department authority to receive gifts of realty, as it has of personalty, it would be a ready and efficient servant in acquiring and holding for the use of present and future students rights and titles to fields of prehistoric interest. It could then more efficiently perform the duty of retrieving objects that are going from our State to enrich the collections of other States, and information that is disappearing with the first occupants of lands where mounds are situated. It could better assist both owner and explorer in making the most of their respective opportunities with the least of loss and waste.

SOLICITING CONTRIBUTIONS.

A most effective step towards acquiring materials for our collections was that taken by Charles Aldrich when he mailed to patriotic men and women of Iowa the circular given below. The situation today is essentially the same as it was when the circular was issued sixteen years ago, except that acquisitions are now deposited in the fire-proof building of the Historical Department.

HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT OF IOWA.

CHARLES ALDRICH, *Curator*.

Des Moines,.....1894.

This Department was established by act of the Legislature of 1892 for the promotion of historical collections pertaining to Iowa and the territory from which our State was set apart.

The Historical Rooms are in the basement story of the State House, are fire proof, and will be a safe depository for valuable books, files of newspapers, pamphlets, manuscripts, maps, charts, portraits and articles of value, illustrative of the history and progress of our State and its people.

Here it is desired to collect:

1st. A copy of all documents, papers or pamphlets, letters or manuscripts relating to early settlements in any part of Iowa; to the laying out of towns or cities, establishment of counties, changes of boundaries, establishment of or removal of county seats, with *exact dates* in all cases, if practicable.

2d. Well authenticated facts relating to the naming of any of the lakes, rivers, counties, cities and chief towns of Iowa, stating the origin, signification, and authors of such names; the dates, and any other interesting circumstances connected therewith.

3d. Personal narratives; the biographies of men or women who were among the early settlers in any part of Iowa, giving details of all facts of public interest; incidents of pioneer life, narratives of privations, sufferings, recollections of the various steps of progress in settlement, development and improvements, disasters, crimes, intercourse with Indians, appearance of the country when first seen, the wild animals, birds and reptiles found in early days.

4th. Copies of old Iowa newspapers, files of such papers up to the close of the War of the Rebellion; letters written by soldiers during the war; incidents connected with the organization of Iowa regiments, battalions, companies, of mustering into the service, leaving the state for the seat of war, camp, hospital, marching and battle incidents; life in southern prisons, sufferings, escapes and deaths of comrades. Lists of all known to have been in southern prisons.

5th. Every fact worthy of preservation relating to the various political party organizations from the earliest dates; doings of state political conventions, incidents of noted political campaigns and candidates.

6th. The name, date of establishment and brief history of all Academies, Seminaries, Colleges and Universities in Iowa. Names of founders, and of principals or presidents and dates of term of service, *catalogues and other publications*.

7th. The names of all newspapers and periodicals ever published in your county, together with the date of their establishment, name of editor and proprietor, and the various changes of name and paper and other facts of interest relating thereto.

8th. Brief history of organization of agricultural and other industrial societies, county or state, names of their projectors, plan of work, etc. The date of entry of first railroad in your county, name of the company building it, and number of roads and miles of railroad since built.

9th. Photographs or other portraits, and short sketches of the life of any notable man or woman who has ever been a prominent citizen of your town or county, and especially those who have served in the army in any way.

10th. Letters, diaries, commissions of officers, newspaper articles in war times, histories of companies and regiments, arms or equipments used in any of the wars, battle-flags, etc.

11th. Heretofore Iowa has been a free foraging ground for collectors of prehistoric stone and bronze implements for other states

and countries. Neither the State nor any of our institutions possesses a collection of these implements worthy of the name. We are most anxious to gather in such as may still be left. We shall be glad to receive single specimens, or information as to where any may be had. Full and permanent credit will be given for all donations or other aid in this direction. Send to the State Historical Department the stone axes, hatchets, mauls, pestles, arrow and spear heads, and do not allow them to be wasted by scattering them elsewhere.

12th. Official State documents previous to 1860 have become very scarce, and we shall be glad to have any of them to complete our files.

13th. IN SHORT we want all circulars, pamphlets, political speeches, lectures, sermons, books or manuscripts, referring to Iowa or the West, or prepared by Iowa men or women on any subject at any time or place.

14th. We want a copy of all city ordinances, proceedings of public meetings, reports of boards of trade, plats and maps of Iowa towns and cities, photographs or engravings of public buildings of Iowa or western historic places, and drawings, paintings or portraits relating in any way to Iowa or to Iowa people.

15th. We want especially any arms, household implements, or ornaments in use among any of the Indian tribes which have at any time inhabited Iowa; also recollections of the Iowa Indians by any of the pioneer white settlers. Any thing relating to this rapidly disappearing race will possess deep interest to future generations.

Where owners of rare documents or valuable relics do not wish to dispose of them, they may be willing to deposit them in our fire-proof rooms where they will be secure from loss or destruction and carefully preserved, with the name of the owner attached, subject to withdrawal at any time.

Citizens of Iowa: Will you not take a State pride in helping to build up a great Historical Department at the Capital, by loaning or contributing such treasures as may come into your possession illustrative of the past history, the progress of civilization, and the natural resources of our State and its people.

Address letters or contributions to the HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT OF IOWA, at Des Moines.

When you are in Des Moines come to the State Historical Rooms.

NOTABLE DEATHS.

MARTIN H. CALKINS was born near Mexico, Oswego county, New York, September 15, 1828; he died in Wyoming, Jones county, Iowa, September 28, 1909. He was of Puritan ancestry. He attended the common schools of his native county, in which he served as a school teacher at the age of seventeen. He began his medical studies in the office of the local doctor in Oswego, pursued them in the college of medicine at Geneva, completing his course in the medical university of the City of New York. He began the practice at Constantia, New York, continuing until 1856, when he removed to the state of Iowa, beginning his practice anew on June 14, 1856, at Wyoming, where he made his final residence. Upon the lot where he erected his first dwelling he continued to reside, though afterward in a much more pretentious house. In 1862 he acted as mustering officer and as such mustered into the State militia a company of eighty-nine men, which afterward formed Company K of the 24th Iowa Infantry. He also acted as one of the commissioners who took the vote of the Iowa soldiers in the field in 1862-3. Dr. Calkins was unanimously chosen as mayor of Wyoming. In 1881 he was nominated by the Republicans of Jones county as their candidate for Representative in the Iowa House, the Democrats making no nomination and causing his unanimous election. He was re-nominated to be his own successor and was given a large majority against strong opposition. He was appointed on the committees of ways and means, insurance, penitentiary at Anamosa and medicine and surgery. To him is accredited the leadership in securing statutes for oil inspection and for most effective support for the prohibitory law. He was no seeker after political honors, and returned to the comfort of private life upon the completion of his second term as Representative. He kept memoranda of passing events and wrote rather fully on the early days in Jones county. He was distinguished for his fairness, and both the gentleness and strength of his character.

LAWRENCE MARSHALL BYERS was born at the Chateau of Bocken, near Zurich, Switzerland, on August 18, 1872; he died in London, England, July 7, 1909. He was the son of Major and Mrs. S. H. M. Byers. His birth occurred during the residence of his father in Switzerland as United States Consul. He was first taught by private teachers, and then entered the select academy of Count Benst, where he acquired perfect knowledge of the continental languages and prepared for college. His education was continued in Penn College, a Quaker institution at Oskaloosa in 1885, from which he was graduated at the age of seventeen. Here he won the scholarship for Haverford College, Philadelphia, where he took the course in astronomy and received the degree of A. M. He attracted the attention and favorable remark of Professor Simon Newcomb, the celebrated astronomer. He was offered employment by the Government, but turned his attention to the law, taking up the course in Roman law at the University of Zurich. He returned to America, entered Yale Law School and graduated with special honors. He entered the practice in the city of Des Moines, from which he was

called to a chair in the law department of Drake University and later to the law department of the State University at Iowa City. In his work at the State University he achieved success as professor of practice and pleading, and as presiding judge of a most successful moot court. Professor Byers had started upon a tour of Europe and especially upon a visit to his birthplace, when he was seized with an acute disease from which he sought relief at the hands of a London dentist. He died after an operation without returning to consciousness. His body was brought to America and after a funeral service at St. Helens, the home of his parents at Des Moines, was buried on July 26th at Forest Cemetery, Oskaloosa.

ORLANDO H. MANNING was born at Abingdon, Wayne county, Indiana, May 14, 1848; he died at Atlantic City, N. J., September 19, 1909. In 1854 he removed with his father, Rev. Joseph Manning, to Adel, Dallas county, Iowa, and four years thereafter to Linn county, where he attended Western College, afterward Leander Clark College, at Toledo. In 1868 he taught school and read law at Jefferson, Greene county. He was admitted to the bar in 1868, and removed to Carroll and engaged in the lumber business. He began about this time the publication of the *Enterprise*, a newspaper at Jefferson, which was discontinued upon the establishment of the *Herald*, which he purchased in 1870 and owned for four years. He served as county treasurer for one term; was elected representative in the General Assembly from the district composed of Greene, Carroll, Calhoun and Mac counties. He was chairman of the committee on judicial districts, and as such reported the bill which became a law, establishing the Fourteenth Judicial District. He was re-elected to the House and became chairman of the committee on railroads, reporting the bill for the establishing of the Board of Railroad Commissioners. In the repeal of the "Granger Law" Mr. Manning had charge of legislation in the House. He was elected Lieutenant-Governor in 1881 and again in 1883. He removed to Council Bluffs in 1885; became a candidate for the nomination for Congress, losing the same to Joseph Lyman by a small margin. He removed to Topeka and later to Denver in his practice as corporation counsel. In 1889 he removed to Chicago, where for some years he had a large legal practice. The last several years of his life were spent at his home in the city of New York. He established the bank at Carroll and assisted in founding the town which bears his name, Manning.

LARKIN MORRIS MARTIN was born at Point Pleasant, Virginia, Dec. 1, 1853; he died at Chicago, Sept. 18, 1909, and was buried at Pella, Iowa. His parents removed to Iowa when he was one year of age, settling in Marion county. From the time he was old enough to work until 1870, he helped on his father's farm. He then went to Pella, where he was engaged in the *Blade* office for one year, when he went to Prairie City and learned telegraphy. In May, 1872, he was appointed agent for the old Des Moines Valley Railroad at Comstock, remaining a representative of that branch when the same was absorbed by the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad. He became general agent of the St. Louis, Des Moines and Northern in 1882, and later became general manager of its purchaser the Des Moines and Northern R. R. Under his management, the latter, a narrow gauge road, was made a standard gauge. Leaving its employ

he became manager of the Iowa Central Railroad for some years. His last work was as president of the La Salle, Galesburg and Kankakee Railroad, an interurban line in Illinois. Col. Martin was an active Democrat in politics, and was an effective force in procuring the election of Governor Boies, on whose staff he served as colonel. He was one of the strongest leaders in 1896 of those known as Gold Democrats.

ANSEL KINNE BAILEY was born in Wales, Erie county, New York, November 18, 1835; he died at Decorah, Iowa, September 20, 1909. He was the son of Wesley and Eunice (Kinne) Bailey, and the grandson of Rev. Elijah Bailey. He was educated in the public schools of Utica, N. Y. He became connected with the publication of a newspaper owned by his father in his native town, but removed to Decorah, Iowa, in 1860, where he began the publication of the *Decorah Republic* which afterward became and still remains the *Decorah Republican*. The enterprise was a co-partnership between Mr. Bailey and his father, afterward between himself and a brother and still later between himself and a son. He was elected treasurer and recorder of his county in 1863, was appointed postmaster by President Grant in 1869, serving for sixteen years. He was elected to the Iowa Senate from Winneshiek and Howard counties in 1889. He was made chairman of the committee on federal relations, whose chief accomplishment was its part in providing representation of Iowa at the Columbian Exposition. In the Twenty-fourth General Assembly Senator Bailey was in charge in the Senate of the drafting of the Australian ballot law. His draft was concurred in by the House and became, and remains with slight amendments, the law.

HIRAM C. WHEELER was born at Hopkinton, N. H., May 10, 1835; he died in Chicago, September 25, 1909. He removed with his parents to Chicago when he was one year old, where he received his education. For some years he was a resident of California. He came to Iowa about the year 1866, purchasing some six thousand acres of land in Sac county, on which was laid out the town of Odebolt. He was president of the State Agricultural Society from 1886-89, during which time the present grounds were purchased and the fair located permanently on its present site. He was an unsuccessful candidate for Congress in the Eleventh District in 1882, and for Governor in 1889. In 1891 he was nominated for Governor by the Republican party, suffering defeat at the hands of Horace Boies. He was a man of fine presence, strong personality and great energy. Financial reverses limited his usefulness in his latter years, but his career ended as one of the most honorable.

MARK JOSEPH FURRY was born December 25, 1861, at Eldora, Iowa; he died at Alden, Hardin county, August 8, 1909. He was the son of Joseph and Sarah Regina (Stancliffe) Furry. He was educated in the common schools and at the State College at Ames, from which he received his degree of B. S. in 1881. In 1883 he was admitted to the bar where he attained distinguished success. He was elected to the House of the 28th and 29th General Assemblies. He was the editor of the *Alden Times*, and active in public enterprises of his town and county. Mr. Furry was most conscientious and energetic in all his labors.

SEWELL S. FARWELL was born in Coshocton county, Ohio, in 1834; he died at Monticello, Iowa, September 21, 1909. He was educated in the common schools and at Keene Academy in his native county, and in a school at Cleveland, Ohio. He removed to Jones county, Iowa, in 1852 with his father's family, thence to Pella, engaging in the mercantile business until 1854, when he removed to Clay county, Kansas, residing there until 1859, when he returned to Iowa, locating on a farm near Monticello. He assisted in raising and was made captain of Company H, 31st Iowa Infantry. He served throughout the war, was present at the grand review in Washington, and was mustered out June 27, 1865. Of his company more than half lost their lives in the service. To commemorate the lives of those who enlisted at Monticello, Major Farwell recently presented a monument to the local cemetery. In 1865 he was elected State Senator, serving through the Eleventh and Twelfth General Assemblies. General Grant appointed him assessor of internal revenue, in which place he served for four years, and was then appointed in 1874 as collector of internal revenue, in which capacity he served for six years. He represented the Second Iowa District in Congress following his election in 1880. He was a life-long and active Republican.

MONSIGNORE B. C. LENEHAN was born in New York city, February 3, 1843; he died at Fort Dodge, Iowa, September 21, 1909. His parents removed to Dubuque in 1853 where he received his preparatory education. Later he attended St. Vincent's College, Cape Girardeau, Mo., and St. Francis Theological Seminary at Milwaukee, Wis. He was ordained as a Catholic priest December 8, 1867, by Archbishop Hennessey. His first charge was at McGregor, where he remained five years. He was appointed pastor at Sioux City in 1872, remaining there for fourteen years and doing a remarkable work. He was for a time assigned to Denison, and was later transferred to Boone where he remained for sixteen years. In 1903 he was transferred from Boone to Corpus Christi church, Fort Dodge. He became Vicar-General of the Sioux City diocese in 1902. He was a master of English, a powerful man in every way, as simple in his pretensions amongst the highest honors as when a missionary priest as a mere boy. He was an inspiration to unbeliever, to Protestant and to Catholic alike.

DR. J. M. EMMERT was born in Washington county, Maryland, June 13, 1846; he died at Atlantic, Iowa, July 15, 1909. He was the son of Joshua and Anna G. (Funk) Emmert. He was educated at Mechanicsburg and the Millersville State Normal School of Pennsylvania, and graduated at Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia in 1872. He removed to Hamburg, Fremont county, the same year, and on March 16, 1874, removed to Atlantic, Iowa, where his home thereafter remained. He was a delegate to the International Medical Congress in Philadelphia in 1876. He was appointed a member of the State Board of Health in 1892, serving until his resignation in 1898, upon being elected to the State Senate. He was appointed to a membership on the State Board of Parole in 1907, in which office he was serving at the time of his death. He was a successful financier, a loyal, enthusiastic member of the Presbyterian church, and a member of fraternal societies.

CAPT. AARON M. LOOMIS was born in Rodman, Jefferson county, New York, April 30, 1831; he died at Wyoming, Iowa, December 5, 1909. At an early age he removed with his parents to Medina county, Ohio, where he resided until 1856, when he removed to Wyoming, Iowa, engaging in the mercantile business. He enlisted for service in the civil war Aug. 9, 1862, as a private, but on the 20th of the same month, he was elected second lieutenant of Co. K, Twenty-fourth Iowa Volunteer Infantry. He served under General Grant at the siege of Vicksburg, and on the 11th of June, 1863, was made first lieutenant. He was in the Red River Expedition and with Sherman in the Shenandoah Valley. July 21, 1864, he was promoted to the captaincy of his company, and continued in command until the close of the war and his mustering out in August, 1865. He served as a member of the school board of Wyoming, on the city council, and as mayor. He was also for some time a trustee of Lenox College. In 1895 he was elected to represent Jones county in the Twenty-sixth General Assembly.

CAROLINE M. MATHEWS, (wife of Governor William M. Stone,) was born in Coshocton, Ohio, about the year 1835; she died at the home of her son, William A. Stone, in Caldwell, Idaho, January 7, 1910. She came to Knoxville, Iowa, with her family in 1855. In 1856 she became the wife of William A. Stone, her father's law partner. During her husband's public career few women in Iowa were better known. Some time after the expiration of Governor Stone's term of office, the family moved to Marshalltown; then back to Knoxville; to Washington, D. C., and finally to Oklahoma City, where Governor Stone died July 17, 1893. She was buried at Knoxville, Iowa, beside her husband.

CHARLES W. STEWART was born in Hendricks county, Ind., in 1851; he died at his home near Clive, Iowa, January 15, 1910. He removed to Iowa in 1868. He attended the common schools, and the Baptist College in Des Moines, later graduating from the law department of Simpson College. In 1881 he removed to Cheyenne, Wyoming, where he entered the practice of the law. He had charge of the auditing and insurance departments of Wyoming for seven and one-half years. He returned to Polk county in 1890, engaging in farming and stock raising near Clive. He was elected to the legislature from Polk county, serving in the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth general assemblies.

WILLIAM I. CHAMBERLAIN was born in Binghampton, New York, March 24, 1846; he died at his home in Wyoming, Iowa, December 10, 1909. He attended the public schools and academy at Binghampton until 1864, when he removed with his parents to Wyoming, Iowa. He studied law and was admitted to the practice in 1870. In 1880 he purchased the Wyoming Journal, which he continued to publish during the remainder of his life. Aside from his work as a lawyer and editor, he held many offices of trust and confidence.

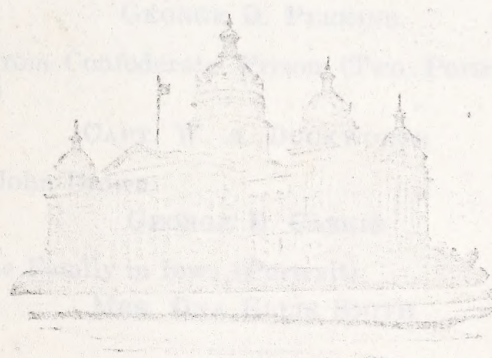
THIRD SERIES.

VOL. IX. NO. 3.

APRIL, 1910.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

A HISTORICAL QUARTERLY.



PUBLISHED BY THE

HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT OF IOWA.

EDGAR E. HARLAN, Curator.

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DES MOINES, IOWA.

ANNALS OF IOWA

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Godfrey

ANNALS OF IOWA.

VOL. IX, No. 5. DES MOINES, IOWA, APRIL 1910. 3D SERIES.

AZRO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN HILDRETH.

BY GEORGE D. PERKINS.

When I came to Iowa in the latter part of the second month in the year 1860 and engaged with my brother in planting a newspaper at Cedar Falls, in Black Hawk county, Azro Benjamin Franklin Hildreth had been established in like business at Charles City, Floyd county, since the summer of 1856. Floyd county is in the second tier of counties north of Black Hawk, and by that measure in that early day it was deeper in the wilderness. Mr. Hildreth was my senior by exactly twenty-four years, for we were born in the same month and on the same day of the month, which time, rather oddly, was the 29th of February. What attracted my early attention, however, was the fact that Mr. Hildreth was at the head of his class in Cedar valley.

My first meeting with Mr. Hildreth was during the political campaign of 1864. The late Senator Allison was first chosen to the House of Representatives in 1862, and in 1864 he was elected to his second term. Prior to 1862 the State was divided into two congressional districts, as defined in the act of 1847 and the amendatory acts of 1848 and 1857. The census of 1860 gave Iowa a largely increased population, an increase of more than 250 per cent. in ten years. Under the ratio fixed by Congress the State was entitled to six representatives in Congress, and under the act of 1862 districts were made accordingly. The Third District included the counties of Dubuque, Clayton, Allamakee, Winneshiek, Howard, Mitchell, Buchanan, Floyd, Chickasaw, Bremer, Fayette and Delaware. Black Hawk was in the Sixth District, which included Marshall, Story, Boone, and that line of counties to the Missouri River, and all counties west of the Third District and north to the State line. There was no railroad north or west of Cedar Falls. I was invited to join the Allison party for the north-

ern excursion, and it was on that trip that I first saw Mr. Hildreth and his famous printing-office.

Mr. Hildreth was a New Englander of the old school. He was forty years of age when he came to Iowa, and his steady habits he brought with him. He was born in the town of Chelsea, Orange county, Vermont, on the 29th of February, 1816. His father was Daniel Hildreth, a native of Massachusetts. While residing in New Hampshire, Daniel Hildreth married Clarissa Tyler, a native of that State. Another branch of the Tyler family produced John Tyler, who was elected Vice-President of the United States in 1840 on the ticket with William Henry Harrison, and who succeeded to the Presidency upon the death of Harrison in 1841. The Hildreths trace their genealogy back to Richard Heildreich who reached Massachusetts colony in 1640, twenty years after the arrival at Plymouth Rock of the precious cargo of the *Mayflower*. He was so well thought of that he was made the recipient of a grant of 150 acres of colony land.

The blood of the fathers was in the veins of A. B. F. Hildreth. He was the first born of twelve children, equally divided as to sex. He was brought up in the New England way, industrially and religiously. The Hildreths were farmers, and had been time out of mind, and Azro's early years were passed in close intimacy with agricultural pursuits. The name Azro was his mother's choice, and Benjamin Franklin was interjected by his father, out of admiration for the great man of Philadelphia. It was a good deal of a name for a young man to carry, and in course of time he came to be known to the family in general as Frank, though the mother stuck to her first choice.

Mr. Hildreth admitted late in life that his name had to do with the direction of his ambitions. He was perhaps temperamentally exceptional in his family in his love of books. This was so marked that it entered into the plan of his father to assist the young man to a college education, but the plan did not mature. He had the opportunities common to the New England boy of his class, but he improved these opportunities in an uncommon way. At the age of four years he was per-

mitted to enter the district school, and "his young heart leaped for joy." During his school days "it was his constant effort and pride to stand at the head of his class, and in this he was successful beyond the majority of his schoolmates." Aside from the district schools, he attended academies of the neighborhood, and the branches taught in these "institutions of learning" were such as "were deemed most essential in the ordinary transaction of business." Such was his industry and capacity that at the age of sixteen years he was engaged to teach a district school. He was successful in that undertaking, the more to his credit because among his pupils he had "grown up" young men and young women. "The large girls called him their beardless schoolmaster." His reports of that experience indicate that he was conscious of his youth, his weight of 113 pounds, and of what the school might be thinking of his assumption of mastery. This first school over which he presided was at Piermont, N. H. For several years he taught school during the winter and during the summer worked on the farm, an experience common to bright young fellows of his time in the New England States. Among other things he made himself a master of penmanship, and he occupied available time in this relation after he was through with the winter terms. He taught writing school at different times in Vermont, New Hampshire and Massachusetts. He wasted no time. He not only looked to an honest penny, but he neglected no opportunity to better his education. Before taking up his winter school teaching, he was glad to attend the fall term of a neighboring academy. By hard work and persistence he provided himself with a liberal education.

In 1891 a little book was printed in Charles City, dedicated "to the wide-awake, enterprising and go-ahead boys and girls of the American union," the copy for which was provided by Mr. Hildreth and turned over to the late Charles Aldrich, founder of the Historical Department of Iowa, to edit. Mr. Aldrich had suggested to Mr. Hildreth that he ought to write and publish his biography, and it appeared that Mr. Hildreth had the manuscript prepared. Mr. Aldrich consented to act as editor, "although I knew," as he sets forth in the preface,

“that any writing which came from Mr. Hildreth’s pen would require little at the hands of any editor.” In preparing this sketch I shall borrow from this book, and at this point the following is introduced:

When only nine years old, little Azro was placed in a private boarding house in Chelsea village for the purpose of attending the high school there. Among the different branches of study given him was that of English grammar. In a few weeks he had committed to memory and recited to his teacher the entire contents of his grammar book, a text-book prepared by Prof. Rufus Nutting, at that time principal of Randolph, Vt., Academy. The teacher of the high school had not taken much pains to explain the rules laid down in the grammar book. But one day, while visiting home, the mother, who was a good grammarian for those days, gave the lad some lessons in parsing, and showed him the relations which words composing a sentence bore to each other. When required to apply the rules which he had memorized, he at once saw their application, and from that time ever afterwards he was fond of the study and became an excellent grammarian. Usually, with most students, grammar is a dry, dull study, and is generally disliked by new beginners. Not so with Azro. He was delighted whenever the grammar class was called for recitation or for exercise in parsing.

I am prepared to believe this. In my early experience in Cedar Falls the fact was developed that Mr. Hildreth retained his partiality for English grammar. I had printed something indicating a difference of opinion on some matter dealt with by *The Intelligencer*. Mr. Hildreth’s reply was brief, devoted mainly to pointing out an error in grammar. It may be that I wished I had not provoked the reply, but the lesson was of such benefit to me that I doubt whether I have made the same error since.

When Mr. Hildreth was nineteen he had plans to go to Michigan in company with Washington A. Bacon, a farmer’s son of the neighborhood, who had settled in Detroit. Young Hildreth expected to continue his studies in the west and he entered into the arrangement most heartily. He was to meet his friend in Albany, New York, and thither, with much solicitude on the part of his parents, he repaired. The business of young Bacon in the east was to procure a wife; and, for

some strange reason, he did not meet young Hildreth in Albany. The disappointed Azro took a steamboat and landed in New York. He found temporary employment in the publishing house of Thomas George, Jr., at No. 4 Spruce Street. Then he was taken sick. Before his landlady really turned him out under conviction that he had smallpox, it was developed that he had a case of measles. On his recovery he went to Paterson, New Jersey, where he engaged himself to teach a select school. But Mr. George sent for the young man to come back; and when he presented himself again at No. 4 Spruce Street, "the office boy told Mr. Hildreth that he had heard Mr. George say he was determined to have Mr. Hildreth if he could find him, for he knew he was honest." The incident goes to show that office boys were as office boys now, and that the perplexities of men in business then had much in common with the perplexities of men in business at the present time.

But another change was in store for the young man; and let the book explain:

Mr. Hildreth remained in the employment of Mr. George during the season of 1836 and enjoyed his fullest confidence. He was often entrusted with large sums of money, and was frequently sent out to make collections, not only in the city but to the various cities up and down North river, out in New Jersey, Connecticut and Rhode Island. In the fall he was sent to Vermont for the purpose of establishing agencies for the sale of his employer's publications, with the privilege of visiting his home and enjoying a winter vacation, fully expecting to return to New York in the spring. But when spring came there came with it the great financial crash of 1837, and Thomas George, Jr., his employer, went down in the general ruin. All the banks in the United States suspended payment, thousands and thousands of business men failed, and it was said that 40,000 clerks in New York city were thrown out of employment.

There was nothing for the young man to do but to resume work on his father's farm. Soon, however, an opening was presented to him to learn the trade of a printer in the office of William Hewes in Chelsea. When he had completed his engagement with Mr. Hewes, young Hildreth went again to New York, where he found employment on the *American*

Family Magazine, published by J. S. Redfield, at No. 13 Chamber Street. Subsequently he was employed on the *Christian Intelligencer*, the organ of the Dutch Reformed church. The office was in Ann Street, and in the same building Horace Greeley was making a hard struggle with his *New Yorker*. "On one Saturday," Mr. Hildreth remembered, "Mr. Greeley, failing to obtain money enough to pay off his help, sat down and cried over his hard luck."

In 1839, being then twenty-three years of age, Mr. Hildreth determined to go into business for himself. He located in Lowell, Mass., and began the publication of a weekly paper called the *Literary Souvenir*. He added a daily publication called the *Morning News* and a semi-monthly publication called the *Ladies' Literary Repository*. The daily failed for want of sufficient support, and in the winter of 1842 he sold the *Souvenir* and *Repository* to a Methodist clergyman and an abolitionist lecturer, the purchase price being mainly in notes given by these enterprising reformers, and the notes were never paid.

Mr. Hildreth then went to Boston, where he connected himself with the printing house of S. N. Dickinson, on Washington Street; and Mr. Hildreth entertained the opinion that no man in America up to that time had done more than Mr. Dickinson to improve the art of printing.

But in the fall of 1842 Mr. Hildreth was induced to go to Bradford, Vermont, and re-establish himself in the newspaper business. He started the *American Protector*, of Whig politics and an earnest pleader for a high protective tariff, with Henry Clay as the ideal candidate for president. After the defeat of Clay in 1844, the *Protector* gave way to the *Vermont Family Gazette*. He added the *Green Mountain Gem*, and the revenue from the two publications gave him a comfortable support. In 1852, having been ten years in Bradford, Mr. Hildreth sold out to a returned Californian, Ezra Southworth, who paid the purchase price in gold. The establishment was removed to White River Junction, Vermont, and a little later the entire property was consumed by fire.

Mr. Hildreth's last stand in New England was at Holyoke, Massachusetts, to which place he removed in 1853, after settling up his business at Bradford. At Holyoke he established the *Mirror*, which he conducted until the fall of 1855, when he sold to M. C. Pratt. Mr. Hildreth made money in Holyoke, but he was induced to sell "by the more flattering temptations held out to him by parties then interested in opening up a new and magnificent town in the then far west, viz.: Charles City, in Floyd county, Iowa."

When Mr. Hildreth arrived in Charles City, in the spring of 1856, he found himself in a new world. The change exhilarated him. His spirits were buoyant and his hope bright. "Here was opened before him a broad field for enterprise and usefulness." Business was not overdone in his new home. Newcomers were not set upon by angry competitors and treated as interlopers. Men were wanted and welcomed. The situation at this distance, however, was not altogether alluring, as may be gathered from this summary:

In those early days Charles City contained a population of only a few hundred. Not a dozen frame houses were to be seen in the whole town, the others being built of logs and several families were "dwellers in tents." Provisions were very scarce and could only be obtained at high prices. The few settlers who had come into the county during the previous year had raised but a small quantity of farm produce, not nearly enough to supply the rapidly increasing demand of the immigrants who succeeded them. The nearest market was Dubuque, distant 145 miles, and thither teams were dispatched to procure the necessities of life.

The first white settlement in Floyd county was made by Joseph Kelly, who established his home on the site of a deserted Indian village on the Cedar River, formerly the home of Chief White Cloud and his band of Winnebagoes. In 1853 Mr. Kelly laid out a part of his claim into town lots and named the place St. Charles. This was the Charles City which offered welcome to Mr. Hildreth in 1856, the county seat of Floyd county. In 1858 there was a vote on the question of removing the county seat to the geographical center of the county, and Charles City lost by a vote of 453 to 434; but in subsequent proceedings, in some way known to early

history, actual removal was prevented. Mr. Hildreth from the first found plenty to engage his attention.

Mr. Hildreth had purchased his newspaper outfit in New York, and he had also bought in that market a chest of carpenter's tools. During his first months in Charles City he was carpenter and builder, and he was boss mechanic on the job of putting up the "Intelligencer Building." Much of the material he delivered on his own back from the Kelly saw-mill. The building was made two stories, the first story for mercantile purposes and the second story for his printing-office. On the 31st of July, 1856, he issued the first number of the *Republican-Intelligencer*. It is presumed that he took the name from the *Christian Intelligencer* upon which he had been employed in New York. Bishop Berkeley's line, "Westward the course of empire takes its way," was made the motto of the *Republican-Intelligencer*. The first impression of the paper was sold at auction and brought \$20. Such was the demand for the paper that three editions were printed of 1,000 each. In 1857 the paper was enlarged, though prematurely, as the hard times of that and the following year brought proof, but Mr. Hildreth permitted no backward step. In 1862 the name of the paper was changed to *Hildreth's Charles City Intelligencer*. Business conditions in the Cedar valley were improved by the Civil War, and general prosperity attended all of Mr. Hildreth's business affairs.

Mr. Hildreth made the *Intelligencer* first-class. He put into it the best of his life. He made it representative of his high moral standards, and he made it in a large sense independent in politics. The paper was always Republican, but it did not favor men calling themselves Republicans apart from the principles he held to as his guide. Necessarily he met with opposition, but he had the courage to meet it, and talk of killing the paper did not alarm him. He neither fell under the influence of designing men, nor did he at any time lower the standard of his paper. He kept his paper clean. He extended his strict rules to advertising matter, and advertising he thought objectionable he excluded, though the money temptation at times was severe.

On the 1st of October, 1870, after a little more than fourteen years of hard work with the *Intelligencer*, Mr. Hildreth sold the paper to Dyke and Rowell, and permanently retired from the business. He was then in the fifty-fifth year of his age.

The book giving Mr. Hildreth's memoirs says:

Among Mr. Hildreth's contemporaries, during nearly fifteen years of editorial life in Iowa, may be mentioned your humble editor, Charles Aldrich, then of the *Hamilton County* [Webster City] *Free-man*; Frank W. Palmer and J. M. Dixon, of the *Des Moines Register*; Clark Dunham, of the *Burlington Hawk-Eye*; L. D. Ingersoll, of the *Knoxville Journal*; John Mahin, of the *Muscatine Journal*; J. B. Howell, of the *Keokuk Gate City*; Charles Beardsley and Lieut.-Gov. Needham, of the *Oskaloosa Herald*; Perkins brothers, of the *Cedar Falls Gazette*; N. H. Brainerd, of the *Iowa City Republican*; Lieut.-Gov. Gue, of the *Fort Dodge North-West*; Ed Russell, of the *Davenport Gazette*; Tom Drummond, of the *Vinton Eagle*; Willis Drummond, of the *McGregor News*; J. L. McCreery and Jesse Clement, of the *Dubuque Times*; Frank M. Mills, of the *Des Moines School Journal*; and many others who might be named—all of whom left their impress upon the institutions and habits and character of the people of Iowa.

Of this list the writer of this sketch knows of but one who is still in active newspaper work, and with few exceptions all others mentioned have departed from this world.

Enough has been said to suggest that Mr. Hildreth brought his religion with him from New England. He was one of the incorporators of the First Congregational Society in Charles City, and was for several years chairman of its board of trustees. The church was organized in 1858, and five women and three men at that time constituted the entire membership. Mr. Hildreth himself was inclined toward the Unitarian wing of the New England Congregationalists, but in his new home he was free to enter into the church relation indicated as the next best thing.

Mr. Hildreth always took a deep interest in the cause of education. In 1858 he was elected to the State Board of Education, representing a district composed of the counties of Allamakee, Winneshiek, Howard, Mitchell, Floyd, Chickasaw, Fayette, Clayton, Bremer and Butler. The State was divided

into eleven districts, and Mr. Hildreth's was the Tenth. The board held biennial sessions in Des Moines and had control of all the educational interests of the State, aside from such as were represented in private and sectarian institutions. Mr. Hildreth took an important part in the business of the board. He was a strong advocate of co-education, and he was most influential in the work of securing legislation requiring that the State University, located at Iowa City, be opened to young women the same as to young men. His success in this undertaking gave him much satisfaction. A few years later he was privileged to address the students of the University at a chapel meeting, and he confessed that it was one of the proudest moments of his life to appear there in the presence of more than 200 young women students and nearly as many young men students. For many years Mr. Hildreth was a member of the school board of Charles City and much of the time its president. He took an active interest in the free public library of the city, contributed money and books and his valuable counsel. When it passed under the control of the city, he was elected one of the directors and continued in that relation several years. Wherever educational work was to be done Mr. Hildreth was qualified to lead.

In the early part of the Civil War Gov. Kirkwood appointed Mr. Hildreth draft commissioner for Floyd county. He attended faithfully to the duties of the place, disagreeable as they might be. In a letter to his mother, August 24, 1862, he said:

On Friday the mail brought me an appointment from the governor of the state as "commissioner of draft for Floyd county," devolving upon me the duty of appointing an examining surgeon and an enrolling officer, and attending to and managing all the business of drafting soldiers in the several townships in this county for the war. This is a very responsible and at the same time unpleasant duty. The unpleasantness rises from the fact that, while this business is being transacted, nearly every family is in a state of suspense and anxiety lest a husband, a father, a son, a brother, may be drafted; snatched from them, and at once hurried off to the war. Great prudence and discretion are needed in the transaction of this business, and a large amount of writing and correspondence with

the governor and adjutant general has to be done. I shall endeavor to do my duty as faithfully as possible, without favor or partiality. The war feeling all through this country is intense. Ten companies were called for from this congressional district, and we have already raised twenty-five—all done within two weeks! Oh, what a terrible war this is! The world has hardly ever known the like of it. Possibly we shall never be able to subdue the south, but I hope so. We shall be borne down with taxes for many years to come.

Fortunately, no draft was required in Floyd county, nor in Iowa.

In 1863 Mr. Hildreth was elected to the Legislature from the fifty-fourth representative district, and the following January took his seat as a member of the Tenth General Assembly. He was made chairman of the committee on schools and State University, and had membership on the committee on banks and banking and the committee on printing. He was greatly interested in the proposed line of railroad west from McGregor. He secured the adoption of a strong memorial to Congress asking for a grant of land to aid in the construction of the proposed line. Previous efforts to obtain favorable congressional action had failed, and Mr. Hildreth applied himself to the task with his accustomed energy and prudence. He was constant in his correspondence with the Iowa senators and representatives, and the grant was made under act of May 12, 1864. Mr. Allison, under date of May 5, 1864, wrote to Mr. Hildreth as follows:

I have succeeded in getting through the house for you my McGregor land grant bill. It will also pass the senate; probably today. This bill is preferable to Senator Harlan's for the reason that it is of present benefit to the railroad company. Mr. Harlan's bill only allowed the railroad company co-terminous sections of land to road actually built, thus compelling them to build 150 miles or more of road before they could get any lands. Under my bill they draw lands for every ten miles, and must build twenty miles each and every year or forfeit the grant. Mr. Harlan will accept the proposition. Judge Hubbard, from Sioux City, has faithfully stood by me in the matter, although seemingly against his interest. But he believes with me that it is better to give the company immediate aid so as to insure the completion of the road, at least to the Cedar river valley, without delay.

The act of 1864 was amendatory of the general land grant act of 1862. Originally it was supposed the road would connect with the Sioux City and Pacific, but conditions changed the early plans materially. The McGregor road was built as far west as Algona, which was reached in 1870, and there it halted for a number of years; but subsequently it was extended, as a part of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul system, to Chamberlain, S. D., on the Missouri River. This was the first railroad to enter Charles City, and was soon followed by the Cedar Falls and Minnesota, which became a part of the Illinois Central system.

Mr. Hildreth's other important work during his legislative service chiefly related to school matters. He introduced "a bill for an act to provide for the loan of the permanent school fund, and fixing the rate of interest thereon, and limiting the price at which school lands may be sold, and for other purposes." The bill was intended to correct existing abuses. A bill passed the house as a substitute for Mr. Hildreth's bill which simply regulated the rate of interest. In the senate he had three of the most important sections of his bill incorporated, and in this amended form the bill was returned to the house. The following from Mr. Hildreth's record will show the subsequent proceeding:

Being chairman of the standing committee on schools and state university, Mr. H. allowed the matter to lie quietly until near the close of the session, waiting for a favorable opportunity to call it up in the house. Accordingly, one evening, when the members felt humorous and had got parliamentary matters into some confusion, Mr. H. hinted the matter to the speaker, who was favorable to the bill and promised to aid in its passage. In due time the bill was called up, when, without debate, and not many knowing what they were voting on, the bill was passed by sixty-eight yeas to four nays, and thus a stop was put to the waste of the school money.

At the expiration of his term in the Legislature Mr. Hildreth was not disposed to continue the service, and the explanation is given in the following extract from a letter, under date of March 16, 1865, addressed to his mother:

It would indeed afford me pleasure to accept your invitation to call and eat maple sugar with you. I should enjoy it as much as

I did the raspberries with milk which you gathered and gave me the last time that I saw you. But I do not see how I can visit you at present. I have no suitable person to leave my business with. Good journeymen are so scarce and charge so high that I cannot afford to hire suitable hands, and my present printers would ruin everything were I to leave them in charge of my affairs. On this account I must decline going to the legislature again, although I should like to go and the people would like to send me.

No one could attend to the *Intelligencer* just as well as Mr. Hildreth could himself, and absence from home caused him much uneasiness. For something like a kindred reason, Horace Greeley found his service as a member of the house of representatives at Washington irksome, and he cut it short. He fretted constantly over the *Tribune*, and his letters home did not add to the joy of living in the *Tribune* office. Nor was Mr. Hildreth well adapted to personal politics. It is enough to say, by way of explanation, that he believed the office should seek the man.

Probably the bother over suitable help assisted Mr. Hildreth to his conclusion to sell his newspaper business. Possibly he was beginning to think of himself as an old man; at least, as a man entitled to a rest. When he sold in 1870 he was in his 55th year. He had been a hard worker from boyhood; he was in comfortable circumstances, and he desired the liberty which the disposal of his newspaper would provide.

Mr. Hildreth was not much of a traveler. He made a home visit in 1876, but both his parents were dead. His father died in 1858 in his 76th year, and his mother died in 1870, also in her 76th year. When he came west he expected in a few years to return to New England to make his permanent home. He had held out the promise to his mother in 1861 that he would pay her a visit, but he had to withdraw it. In a letter to her, under date of May 28, 1861, he said:

And now I must say that it looks as if I shall not go east this season. I had begun to lay by some money for the journey, when the banks failed (in Illinois and Wisconsin) and their money will not pass anywhere. It will sometime be redeemed at a large discount, but I don't know when. The war is causing very hard times. My business amounts to nothing, and, everything considered,

I fear I shall be disappointed in making my contemplated journey. However, we must submit to all our disappointments and afflictions as well as we can.

Business, however, was better the next year, as the following to his mother, under date of June 19, 1862, goes to show:

I had a very good journey to Milwaukee. I purchased me some clothing and groceries, also various things for Liveria [his wife] such as a beautiful bonnet, mantilla, two dresses, a gold chain for her watch (she has a nice gold watch), and various knickknacks. . . . I am having me a nice buggy made. When in Milwaukee I bought a plated harness. Father Knight [his wife's father] has bought a horse, and we intend to enjoy a ride occasionally, notwithstanding we work so hard. Now, mother, don't think we are extravagant. I should not pay out money to buy these things, but many of my patrons, who have printing and advertising, wish me to take such pay, and would not patronize me unless I would do so. I shall have to go to Milwaukee and Chicago in September, and my going to Vermont at that time will depend upon whether I can be absent from home long enough to go there, in addition to the time I must spend in attending to business in those cities, or not. It looks doubtful now, yet if I can run away a few days when I reach Chicago, you will see me. Do not depend on it, and then you will not be disappointed.

When Mr. Hildreth was on the state board of education and a member of the Legislature he made his journeys to Des Moines by team, a distance of more than 200 miles.

Mr. Hildreth was four times married. He was at Lowell when he was first married, October 24, 1839. Miss Hannah D. L. Rier, of Newburyport, was the bride. She died of consumption at Newburyport, May 20, 1841. He took his second wife the next year, marrying Miss Olive Freeman Fuller, of Paris, Maine. He was then established in business at Bradford. His wife died January 26, 1844. On the 21st day of the following October he married Miss Liveria Aurette Knight, of Fryeburg, Maine. She was one year his junior and he first knew her as one of his pupils when he taught school, at the age of sixteen, at Piermont, New Hampshire. To this union one child was born, a daughter who was named Mary. The child lived to see the new home in Iowa, but died soon after attaining her sixth year. This was a very heavy blow to both Mr. and Mrs. Hildreth. The mother of the child died in

Charles City, December 8, 1890, in the seventy-fourth year of her age, after a married life of a little more than forty-six years. In 1891 Mr. Hildreth married Mrs. Julia A. Waterhouse, formerly of Boston, but at the time a resident of Charles City. This wife survives* Mr. Hildreth, who died November 29, 1909, at the age of ninety-three years and nine months.

In a letter to his mother, dated March 16, 1865, Mr. Hildreth said:

You will see by the *Intelligencer* of this week what we are doing for education in this place. My advice and assistance in all our school matters is constantly sought by our leading men, and it is flattering to thus enjoy the confidence of the community. Nearly all the resolutions and business which was transacted at our school meetings were prepared by me, and the people were rallied by my friends to sustain them, which was done by an overwhelming majority. It is pleasant to live among such whole-souled and enterprising people as we have here. Oh, that I had children to be benefited by these educational labors of mine. Then I should feel that I was receiving some compensation in return. Now, it is all for the public good, and little or none for myself.

But the appreciation he received and the good he did were compensatory in a large sense; and to render himself worthy in this regard he abated nothing of his labor and generous co-operation.

In 1871, the year following his retirement from the *Intelligencer*, Mr. Hildreth took an active part in the organization of the First National Bank, serving as director and for a time as vice-president. In 1873, when the Floyd County Savings Bank was organized, he was chosen its president. He was the prime mover in the work of organizing the Floyd County Agricultural Society, dating back to 1859. From the beginning of his time in Charles City to the end of his active life he was a leader in all the public activities of the community in which he had cast his lot and which he distinguished by his life and works for nearly fifty-four years.

The Hildreth hotel and opera house was the most substantial material contribution of his later years to the business and social needs of Charles City. This property was completed

in 1893. It was there, on Lincoln day, February 12, 1906, at a meeting under the auspices of the Sons of Veterans, that the writer last met Mr. Hildreth, then within a few days of his ninetieth year. He was the guest of honor at the banquet.

Mr. Hildreth was of the type of which the best of pioneers in northern Iowa were made. He had physical and moral health. He was steadfast in adherence to principles, and he took his conscience for his best guide. He had many difficulties and many sore trials to contend with, but he kept his lamp burning, though at times it flickered dimly in "the encircling gloom." He had great will power, yet he was never stranger to tenderness and never superior to the ties of true friendship. He had great love of home; and the love he bore his child, made manifest at the time of separation, was pathetic. He left an impress on Charles City that will not disappear; and the influence of his good life in association with his good works will not be lost as the years come and go, to that portion of the State where he was best known, and to Iowa whose foundations he so well assisted in laying.

The story of every life is interesting, and the study of every good life is inspiring. Trouble and sorrow are common heritage, and victory alone is to them who make contest to the end, guarding well their integrity, bearing well their burdens, and holding fast, doing the work of the day, and keeping faith in a better tomorrow.

City Scrip—We have been favored with a sight at our new City Scrip. It is a handsome engraving, and intrinsically is no doubt better for our local purposes than much of the stuff which has been circulating amongst us. We do not know what arrangements have been made with our bankers; but in the absence of a sounder currency, we recommend the use of the Scrip in ordinary business transactions.—*Tri-Weekly Iowa State Journal* (Des Moines), Jan. 15, 1858.



CAPT. W. A. DUCKWORTH

ESCAPE OF IOWA SOLDIERS FROM CONFEDERATE PRISON.

BY CAPT. W. A. DUCKWORTH.

In the fall of 1863, Gen. Banks, in whose Department was the Thirteenth and Nineteenth Corps, received orders from Washington to penetrate into Texas. General Ord, who commanded the Thirteenth Corps, directed General Herron to establish his division at Morganza to observe the crossings of the Atchafalaya River, and hold Confederate General Green in check. General Herron sent Colonel J. B. Leake, of the Twentieth Iowa, with the Nineteenth Iowa, the Twenty-sixth Indiana Infantry, and 250 cavalry to Stirling's farm, about nine miles from Morganza. The following account of this engagement is quoted from "History of the Civil War in America," by the *Compte de Paris*:

On the evening of the 28th of September Green secretly crossed the Atchafalaya River with three brigades of infantry and one of cavalry to surprise a portion of Colonel Leake's brigade. . . . Leake had posted himself, with two regiments of infantry (the Nineteenth Iowa and Twenty-sixth Indiana) numbering about six hundred men and two cannon, at two miles from Morganza. He had placed his two hundred and fifty cavalry, under Major Montgomery, more to the westward, near Atchafalaya. Green, sending Major Boone against the latter, with a regiment of cavalry, and Mouton's and Speight's two brigades of infantry, direct against Leake, had taken a circuitous route with the rest of his troops to attack the latter in the rear and place himself on his line of retreat. Boone, being the first to attack, separated the Union cavalrymen from Leake's troops, and pushing them in disorder in another direction, did not permit them to give Leake the alarm.

At the same time, Speight, followed by Mouton, marched rapidly and fell unexpectedly on the Federal infantry. The latter, surprised and hastily drawn up, defended itself energetically. But Boone's cavalry, arriving on its flank after their first success, threw its ranks into disorder, and, not even giving Mouton time to arrive, forced the swarm of fugitives on the ambuscade set up by General Green. The latter picked up all that had escaped his lieutenants. There were more than one hundred men *hors de combat* but he

withdrew, taking with him two cannon and nearly five hundred prisoners.

J. Irvine Dungan, who was a member of the Nineteenth Iowa, and participated in the battle, was captured and sent to Tyler, Texas. He gives a brief notice of his escape in his "History of the Nineteenth Iowa Regiment." He states that Col. J. B. Leake protested about the insecurity of his position at the Norwood farm, and that General Vandever was sent out to investigate, and reported the position as being dangerous for Col. Leake's force. But General Herron, who was then in command of the division, would not consent to a new position. On the 28th of September things were looking so serious that Col. Leake on his own idea of the insecurity of the location at Norwood's farm, moved to the Stirling farm.

The infantry of the command made a gallant defense, and if the cavalry and mounted infantry had stood their ground, or had charged Mouton's brigade, which was then under the command of Col. Henry Grey, the result might have been different, as in that event most of Col. Leake's command might have escaped capture. Or, had information of General Green's advance in the morning been given to General Dana, then in command at Morganza, the Federal forces combined might have taken nearly all of General Green's forces prisoner, on account of his limited means of crossing the Atchafalaya River.

The men of the Nineteenth Iowa fought to the limit, and only surrendered singly or in squads, and some of them had to be disarmed by the Confederates before they would surrender.

The *Galveston News*, a Confederate paper, gives in its issue of the 20th of October, 1863, the following account of this battle:

According to the plans, Lieut. Col. Jas. E. Harrison, commanding Speight's Brigade, was to bring on the engagement with the enemy's position, four miles in the rear of their cavalry. Colonel Gray was to hold Colonel Mouton's Brigade two miles above in the direction of Morganza, to meet any reinforcement sent to the enemy from that direction. While one battalion was to follow Harrison in supporting distance, Harrison was conducted by a guide who gave but little idea of the country.



Robert L. Orbes, Jr.

Harrison attacked their rear about half past 11 o'clock, on the 29th of September. His position was almost as strong as though it had been made for the purpose. He was covered on every side by ditches, embankments, fences, and levees, with a large sugar mill on his rear in addition to a large ditch and fence, inside of all this there was large negro quarters in regular streets. His force consisted of two regiments and a battalion, in force much stronger than Speight's Brigade, the latter in advancing on him had to pass through a canefield covered with vines, which while it afforded no shelter, embarrassed our troops very much. This advance was made under a galling fire from his entire force covered. He was driven from the sugar mill and first ditches to the first row of negro houses where he contested every inch of ground. Harrison made him change front by flanking him, forcing him from street to street till he was forced over the levee when he changed his front, face by the rear; here he fought desperately, using two pieces of artillery with great effect.

Harrison ordered one of the pieces to be taken, which was captured and retained during the action. The enemy now attempted to flank him, by a movement on his left by marching rapidly behind a high levee. The attempt was discovered through a gap or break in the levee. Our men were now inside, the enemy outside. . . .

While he was attempting this, Harrison flanked him with his right and with a division held his flanking column back when his left gave way, retreating across an old field covered with high weeds. At this moment, Major Boone commanding Weller's Battalion of cavalry came up with a gallant charge on his right flank, and completed the rout. The supporting force never reached Harrison, and the officers and men fought gallantly; men could not have done better. . . .

We lost twenty-seven killed and eighty wounded; and captured of the enemy four hundred and thirty-two privates and non-commissioned officers, and twenty-nine commissioned officers.

General Dana sent out a detachment under the command of Capt. Jourdan, under a flag of truce, and buried the dead of both parties.

Robert Forbes of Company I, Nineteenth Iowa, now residing at Keosauqua, Iowa, made his escape during the confusion of the surrender of the detachment. He hurriedly left the scene of the encounter, and keeping in the high weeds and cane, safely eluded the enemy. While making his way in the direction of Morganza, he encountered a man on horseback,

dressed in Confederate gray, whom he made prisoner, and walked him into Morganza. The man whom he captured proved to be Lieut. Col. Guest, either of the Fourth or Fifth Texas Mounted Infantry, then serving as dismounted. Forbes turned his prisoner over to the commander of the post at Morganza, together with his horse, which was a fine one, and his trappings, including a silver mounted Colts revolver. Forbes asked to keep the revolver as a trophy, but the officer in command would not permit it.

In this engagement the Union forces lost as follows: killed, 2 officers, 14 enlisted men; wounded, 5 officers, 40 enlisted men; captured or missing, 21 officers, 433 enlisted men, making a total of 515 men.¹

The prisoners were taken across the Atchafalaya River and left standing in line all night in the rain and mud, without food and without even a chance to sit down or take any rest. As they had been hurried away after capture, they had had no opportunity to secure either clothing or food.

When morning came the Confederates issued to the prisoners flour for their only ration. The only method of preparing it was to mix it in muddy water, roll the mixture on the end of sticks and bake it by the fire. Some of the men might have made their escape, but the Confederate officers promised from the first to parole them.

The next morning the prisoners were started for Alexandria, La., eighty miles away. On this march nothing unusual occurred other than hard tramping, with little to eat and no sleeping accommodations except the bare ground. On arriving within twenty-five miles of Alexandria they were hauled to that place on a cotton tramway, aboard small flat cars. This was slow going but better than walking. Arriving at Alexandria they were quartered in the court-house, and had a ration of corn bread and cooked beef issued to them.

The Confederates repeated their promise to parole the prisoners, but next morning they were started on foot for Shreveport, La., one hundred and eighty miles distant, under escort of a detachment of cavalry. The first town through which

¹Rebellion Records, ser. 1, vol. 26, pt. 1, page 325.

they passed after leaving Alexandria was Mansfield, where a Major of the Mexican War, a man with a wooden leg, and who appeared to be an independent and leading citizen, brought to the prisoners a wagon load of cooked sweet potatoes, and another wagon load of cooked meat, all of which came in mighty good play.

The party rested at this place two days and were visited by a large number of women and children, who were anxious to see the Yankees. One little girl said to her mother, "Why, mamma, I don't see any horns on the men." A very aristocratic elderly lady tried to argue the questions of the war with the prisoners, but with poor results. The boys were in a situation in which they cared more for their immediate comforts than for the questions of the equity of the war. Really, the only argument they had to present was with a musket, not against the women, of course, but the army which represented their side of the case.

The next town was Mackintosh, where the following incident took place. A man brought a cart load of provisions to the prisoners' camp to sell. The boys crowded around the cart, which had a dump bed, and some one slipped out the toggle-pin, whereupon the load was dumped on the ground. This frightened the mule attached to the cart and caused it to run away, and before it could be caught and brought back the provisions were "*non est*."

Shreveport was the next town at which a stop was made, after leaving Mackintosh. The party of prisoners arrived there on Saturday, Oct. 17, 1863, after nearly a two weeks' tramp. Nothing happened on the march beyond the usual hardships incident to men in this situation. The fare was corn bread and sweet potatoes, with a little meat. The sleeping accommodations were the bare ground, without blankets or covering of any kind. Arriving at Shreveport, the prisoners were marched through the streets; a performance very humiliating to them as they were nearly naked and very dirty, having had no opportunity to change their clothing or take a bath since the day of their capture.

The boys had behaved badly here, some of them having used vile language while marching through the streets. They were called into line by a Confederate major, an ex-steamboat mate and captain, who had assumed command of the prisoners and escort. He threatened them with death and other dire punishments, unless they conducted themselves in a little more decent manner. The major announced that the prisoners were to be taken to Tyler, Texas, and that there they would have good quarters, good treatment, and would shortly be paroled.

About November 1, 1863, the party reached Tyler, Texas. Tyler is situated some one hundred and twenty-five miles from Shreveport, a little southwest and about two hundred miles north of Galveston. The prisoners' camp was located in the piece of timber near the town, where was a spring forming a branch which ran through the grounds. The officer in command of the camp, a Colonel Allen of the Confederate army, had been a preacher in the Methodist Episcopal Church South. He was really a very good man, and as long as the prisoners were reasonable in their conduct and demands, they had no trouble.¹

Permission was given the men by the Colonel to go outside of the camp to cut fire-wood and secure something extra to eat. On these expeditions they were placed on their honor. Axes were furnished them and they were allowed to build suitable houses in which they could pass the winter in reasonable comfort, although the winter of 1863 and '64 was extremely cold, even in Texas. The prisoners, however, were not retained here all winter.

The food here was corn meal and beef, cooked by means of old-fashioned skillets and ovens, borrowed from the guards, as had been done all the way from the place of capture.

The boys found 400 U. S. Marines at Tyler who had been there thirteen months. They had been captured at Sabine Pass in the naval encounter with the Confederates. The boys fraternized with the Marines and the two parties got along nicely together.

¹Colonel Allen was assassinated soon after the war. He was killed from ambush by a rifle. The authorities never ascertained by whom or for what cause.

An imaginary line, called the dead line, had been established about five feet inside the outer line of the camp. In bringing their fire-wood to camp, the prisoners stopped at a safe distance and pitched it across the dead line. Orders were strict that no prisoner should approach the dead line. A man reported for guard duty shortly after the arrival of the Nineteenth Iowa, who made threats that he never would be satisfied until he had killed a Yankee. Of course this was not a soldier from the firing line, but a home guard. Well, soon after he took his place as one of the guards, while some of the boys were pitching wood over the line of the camp, he fired his musket, the ball from which killed one prisoner and passed through the arm of another. Both these men were receiving the wood and were on the inside of the camp.

A rush was made by a lot of the prisoners for the man who had performed this dastardly act, and he would have been torn limb from limb had not their own officers interceded for milder measures. The Methodist Colonel in command called a court of inquiry and after hearing the testimony from both guards and prisoners, turned the man over to the civil authorities of the State of Texas. What was finally done with him the prisoners never learned.

In the main the prisoners were fairly well treated here. This was largely owing to the Methodist Colonel in command of the camp, who was a kindly man and seemed to have a happy faculty of getting along with everybody. They were often out on their honor and were sometimes late in getting back to camp; but most of the tardy cases were condoned by the officer on duty.

The shanties or cabins built by the prisoners were made of pine saplings and roofed with pine boughs. Such roofs kept out the wind and cold, but would not keep out the rain, of which there was an unusual amount that season for that latitude. Fire-places were built in the cabins, small logs being used for this purpose, and they were plastered inside with mud to make them fire-proof. Stick chimneys were built, coated with mud on the inside in the same way. Their Confederate hosts furnished them with boards out of which were

constructed sleeping bunks. While building the cabins the prisoners were allowed great liberty, going and coming without guards.

After completing their shanties the prisoners were employed in building a stockade around the camp. This was made of logs set upright, four or five feet in the ground, the larger logs being split. The height of the stockade was about twelve feet and a narrow platform about eight feet from the ground ran all around the inside, for the use of the guard while on duty.

A number of the prisoners made their escape from the camp at Tyler only to be recaptured, some of them within less than fifty miles of the Mississippi River, but the most of them after having gone only a short distance from Tyler. Bloodhounds, a meagre population and scarcity of food, combined to defeat the efforts of the men who tried to make their escape.

Near the end of December the prisoners taken at the battle of Stirling's farm, consisting of the Nineteenth Iowa, Twenty-sixth Indiana and the Artillerymen, were paroled in order to save guarding, and sent under escort of a squad of cavalry to Shreveport. There their paroles were withdrawn and the prisoners confined in a camp four miles below Shreveport, and about one mile back from the Red River. Here, as at Tyler, the prisoners were permitted to build cabins for shelter, boards being furnished by the Confederates for roofs and bunks. The officer in command of this camp was Colonel Theard. He was ordered to the east of the Mississippi, and in conversation with some of the prisoners said he was dissatisfied with the way the war was being conducted, and that he would desert the army when he reached a point convenient for the purpose, and go to his home in New Orleans.

After the successful escape of the seven prisoners to whom he had thus expressed himself, they met Colonel Theard at his office in New Orleans, when on their way to rejoin their regiment.

The paroles of the prisoners having been withdrawn, as stated above, two separate parties determined to effect their

escape and immediately began preparations by storing up what food and clothing they could procure. It happened that two Confederate couriers, who visited the camp bearing dispatches, hitched their horses near the camp while they delivered their dispatches to the Colonel at his headquarters. A double roll of home-made blankets was fastened on the back of each courier's saddle. Two of the prisoners who were preparing to escape, succeeded in evading the camp guards, cut away the blankets and got back undetected inside the guard lines. The blankets were secreted and the seven prisoners used them during their subsequent journeyings while making their escape; these were the only covering they had.

The parties sold the brass buttons off their clothing, taking pay in Confederate money. The South was literally without buttons for their ordinary wearing apparel, while the uniform clothing was very frequently found equipped with buttons acquired from Union soldiers. They bought all the fresh beef they could procure, which they dried (jerked). This they stored away with what corn bread they had been able to obtain, ready for the break for liberty.

There was a depression in the ground, a shallow ravine just inside of the lines. It had been planned, on pretext of imparting some news to one of the guards, to attract his attention, and hold him with his back to the ravine, until the other guard had reached the ravine and turned, so as to get them back to back. Fires were also built near the guard line on each side of this ravine. It was expected that the reflection from these fires would have a tendency to blind the guards. The break for liberty was made on the night of February 25, 1864. In walking their beats, the guards met at the ravine above alluded to, where they turned and walked back to the next post. At six o'clock in the evening the guards were doubled. It was therefore necessary for the prisoners who had made preparations to escape, to make the attempt between dark and six o'clock. The interval was only about fifteen minutes, at that season of the year. Some of the men who remained at the camp and were in the secret, were to keep

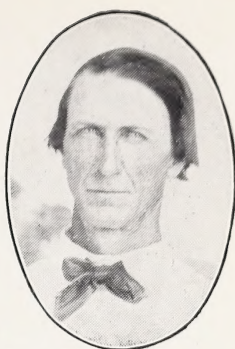
watch, and cough as a signal the minute the conditions were favorable.

The favorable moment came, the signal was given and the party of seven marched in single file safely out of the prison camp.

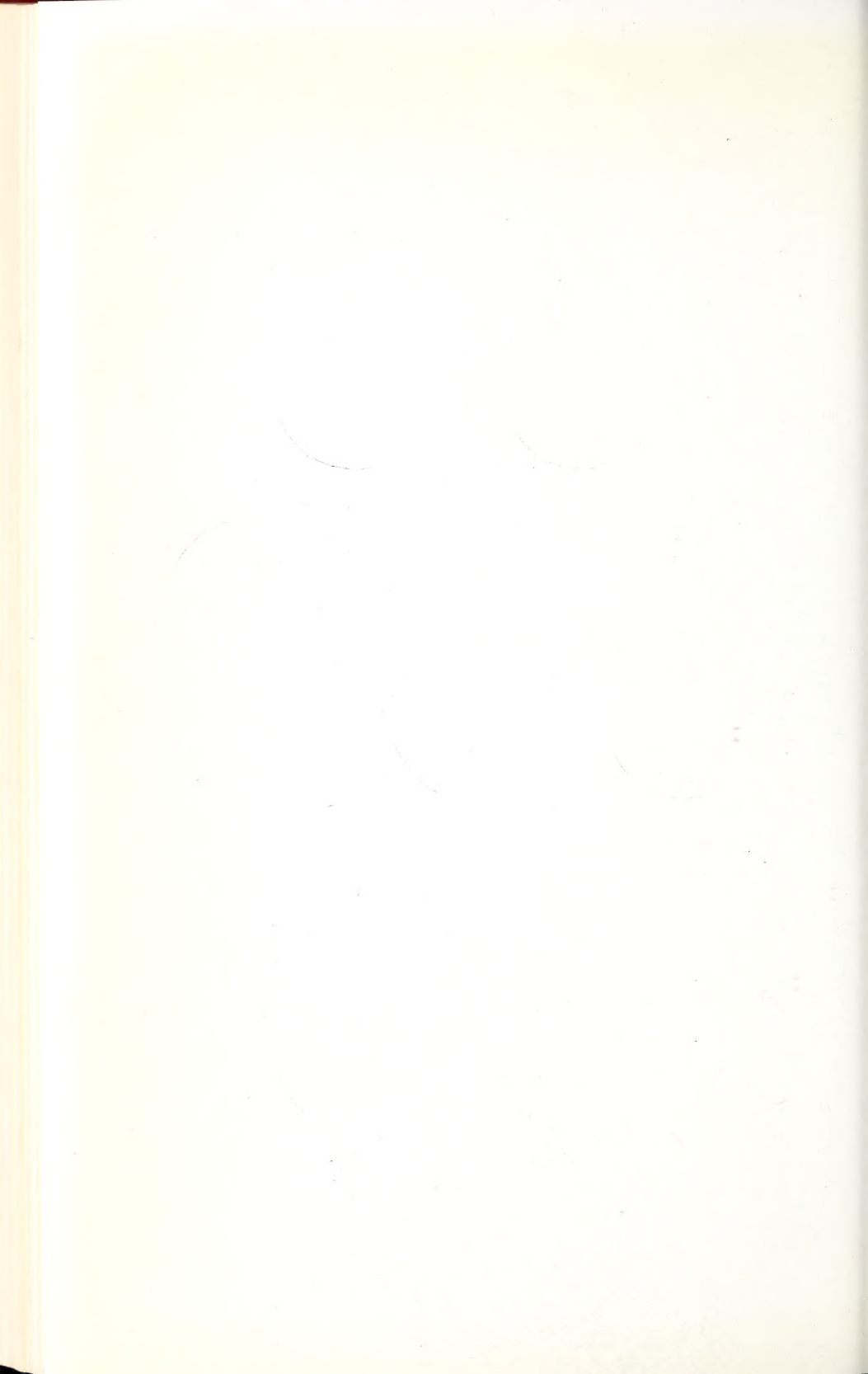
Six of the men were members of Company H, Nineteenth Iowa, viz.: Sergeant W. W. Byers, afterwards a lieutenant, still residing at Chautauqua, Kansas; Corporal J. F. Daugherty, still residing at Keosauqua, Iowa; Privates: E. P. Taylor, living now at Greenfield, Mo., J. T. Paxton, residing at Milton, Iowa; Jonathan Nixon, who died at Keosauqua, Iowa; and Simon Bodkin, now living at Wellington, Kansas. The seventh man was Sergeant J. S. Ragsdale, now living at Birmingham, Iowa, who was afterwards promoted to First Lieutenant of Company I, Nineteenth Iowa.

The timber was very thick near the guard line and there was considerable underbrush. It had been agreed that the men, leaving the camp one by one, should meet at a certain deformed tree some distance from camp. This they did and traveled down the river, crossing a creek on the line of march, which was so deep with quick sand that part of the company barely escaped drowning.

The night before, Ragsdale and Byers, while waiting at the corner of the camp where the path led to the spring, for their turn to get water, fell into conversation with one of the guards named Sledge. This man announced himself to Ragsdale and Byers as a Union man at heart and urged them to make their escape. Becoming convinced that he was really what he pretended to be, a friend, the two men confided to him the secret of their intention to attempt an escape the next night, whereupon Sledge promised to help them. He directed them to go down the river about six miles until they should find themselves opposite a certain house, on the plantation of a Confederate major, where his brother-in-law, a Mr. Green, resided. Green was a Northern man, Sledge explained, and devoted to the Union cause. He was, however, the most successful farm superintendent and "nigger" driver in that part of the country, and because of his value



	E. P. TAYLOR	JONATHAN NIXON	
J. F. PAXTON		J. S. RAGSDALE	W. W. BYERS
SIMON BODKIN		J. F. DAUGHERTY	



in these respects, and through political and personal influence, he had been allowed to remain South and keep out of the Confederate army. It was Sledge's intention to go to his brother-in-law's house next morning as soon as he should be relieved from guard, and he promised to arrange with Green to help them get away.

After wading the creek already mentioned, and a swamp which was neck deep, the escaping party hid in some woods and tree tops opposite Green's house for the remainder of the night. When daylight came, they saw a negro on the opposite bank of the stream, to whom they signaled their wish to cross. The negro came over in a boat. It had no sooner struck the landing than all seven of the men rushed down the bank and boarded it, considerably alarming their black ferryman. He suspected who they were, however, and rowed them across, cautioning them against danger of Sledge's betraying them and admonishing them to be careful, as it was pretty dangerous around there.

Having safely crossed the stream the men hid in the woods, covering themselves securely with brush-wood, and there they remained all day. They could hear the bloodhounds baying on the other side of the river, and knew by the sound that they were being hunted by the Confederates.

When night came, two of the party made their way to the vicinity of Green's house and inquired of the negroes if their master was at home. The negroes found him and when he came out he told the men that Mr. Sledge had been there the morning before, and that everything was all right. He then sent a negro with two men to a point above the house for his skiff, telling them to row it down past the cotton-gin, about a mile below to a plantation, where they would find a yawl large enough to carry their entire party. Accordingly two of the men got into the skiff and following the instructions given by Green, succeeded after some searching (it was then after dark), in discovering the yawl. It lay in a bayou, or creek, on the north side of Red River. Meantime Green, after supplying them with bread and meat, piloted the five men down to the bayou, where they joined their companions. Green's

skiff was fastened to the bank, and the seven men boarded the yawl and proceeded down the river until daylight.

For three nights they continued their journey, floating down the stream, hiding in the timber back of the plantations in the upland during the day and concealing their boat by sinking it in some safe place.

One or two incidents in their night journeyings were somewhat exciting. Coming around a bend in the river, on one occasion, they found themselves looking full into a Confederate camp. Just beyond a town was plainly to be seen. There was no going back, of course. The banks, luckily, were high and steep, and they thrust the boat close to the shore and floated past the danger points unmolested and unseen.

The river was full of snags and drifts, and the nights being very dark, considerable trouble was experienced in steering clear of them. Rounding one of the many bends in the river, the man in the bow of the yawl, who was the lookout, seeing that they were about to strike a drift, cried out, "right" when he should have said "left." In consequence of the false directing, the boat ran against the drift sideways, partly overturning it. In their efforts to save the provisions, the men got a thorough wetting, but the boat was finally righted and they floated on. It was an old and leaky affair, and after running on the drift, leaked of course worse than ever.

On the fourth evening, having passed the hours of daylight in hiding, as usual, and coming to the place at which the boat had been sunk for concealment, no boat was found. This caused the party great alarm, for it seemed a pretty sure prelude to their capture. Careful search was made at once for the missing craft, and to their decided satisfaction it was found hidden in a clump of willows and bailed out ready for use. Some vagrant negro doubtless had found the boat by accident, raised it and concealed it with intent to take it away at his convenience. The men were not long in getting under way and were greatly relieved when out of gun shot of the locality.

After floating a part of this night, it was decided by a vote to abandon the boat and strike across the country. Navigation had grown more hazardous for various reasons, but chiefly on account of the increasing frequency of Confederate craft on the river. Accordingly the boat was abandoned and the land journey resumed. As before, the men traveled by night, being guided in clear weather by the north star and in cloudy weather by the bark on the trees.

As a means of defense each had provided himself with a cane, in the shape of a hardwood club, with a ball on the larger end whittled out with their pocket knives. These clubs were hardwood sprouts with the root attached, the roots grubbed out of the ground. For covering when lying down, there were the three blankets which it will be remembered had been "borrowed" from the saddles of the horses of the Confederate couriers before leaving the prison camp. The clothing of the escaping men, including their shoes, was badly worn. They could not have a fire, and in consequence suffered greatly from the rain and cold.

Most of the streams were crossed with the aid of rafts, which were made by binding together fence rails and pieces of drift wood by means of vines. The food and clothing were put aboard the rafts, the men, those of them who could, swimming behind and pushing it across, the others holding on. The ferrying was a matter of considerable time as at least three extra trips had to be made.

For several nights the journey was pursued without incident or adventure. But one night while traveling the main road, they were startled by the barking of a dog, which was immediately answered by a number of others, and presently the unwelcome discovery was made that they were on the edge of a town on the Red River. Lights were displayed in several windows. Retreating at once to a safe distance, they made a circuit of the place, through the woods and fields, coming upon a sheet of water, which proved to be Lake Bistineau, which they skirted until they again struck the main wagon road on the river east of the town. While thus skirting this lake the travelers came to a Spanish settlement. The

men of the place were all absent, either in hiding or in the Confederate army. The women could not speak English, but from the appearance of the travelers they had no difficulty in reaching the conclusion that they were in want of something to eat. Accordingly they gathered some corn from the shocks in a nearby field, husked it and shelled it, and ground it in a stone mortar with a stone pestle, Mexican fashion. From the meal they made bread and gave to the men. Expressing their grateful appreciation as well as they could, the men journeyed on.

A large camp was passed, consisting of a Confederate wagon train with supplies for the army. Giving the camp a wide berth, they came to a point where the lake had its outlet into the Red River. This proved to be wide and deep, just how wide they were unable in the darkness to determine, as the growth of trees was dense on both banks and hung over the water. Fortunately they found a good-sized ferry-boat, of unusual length, and built after the plan of a barge, with long poles for propelling it. Boarding this boat they proceeded to use the poles vigorously until they thought they were under sufficient speed to be carried to the other shore, when the poles were dropped and they waited for their craft to make the bank. It was some time before the boat struck and the men had become alarmed, when finally one corner struck the opposite shore near the outlet to the main river. The men in front sprang ashore, the boat rebounded and those farther back had to leap into the water. It was with the greatest difficulty that they reached the shore and saved their provisions. The ferry-boat floated out into the main river and was soon lost to view. Its loss was no doubt a serious inconvenience to the Confederates in their communication with the army. The party continued to journey by night and pressed forward with the utmost speed their strength would allow, fearing to be captured and held for the loss of the ferry-boat, which no doubt would have been the severest penalty.

The distance between here and the Washta River was made without incident of note, except the meeting of rebel cavalry

squads occasionally. They were enabled to avoid them by means of one of their number walking a distance ahead, and giving a signal of alarm by striking two canes together. When the alarm was given all would leave the roadside quietly and lie down until the enemy had passed. The pine forests through which they were now passing were thinly settled and but little food could be obtained. On reaching the Washta just after dark, in a thick fog, voices were heard on the other side. Hallooing lustily, they were answered by a negro, to whom they cried out "Over!" This request was complied with by the negro coming over in a flat, capable of carrying four persons, thus requiring two trips. The negro charged fifty cents each for his services. He was paid in part, the travelers promising to pay the balance on their return next day. They represented themselves to be Confederates, belonging to Jones' brigade, which the negro had informed them on the way over was in camp a little way down the river. The fog and darkness prevented the negro from seeing how little or much they looked like Confederates. Owing to the proximity of "Jones' brigade" the party made as great a distance as was possible in their weakened condition, darkness, fog and the uneven swampy ground over which they had to pass. After they had traveled as far as they could for weariness—three or four miles—they threw themselves upon the cold ground to rest and sleep as best they could until daylight, for it was exceedingly hard to make headway in the darkness of the night.

The journey was resumed next morning due east. The day being still foggy and overcast with dark clouds, their course could only be determined by the moss on the trees. The Bayou Boeuf was soon reached and a very large stream, too, for a bayou. There were no signs of civilization here whatever, and the question of crossing the stream weighed heavily on the minds of the party. They, however, naturally started up stream, the source of which was apparently north-east, thus enabling them to increase the distance between them and the camp of Jones' brigade, which was very much to be desired. The men were so engrossed in the matter of

finding a crossing or something to cross on that they did not observe a gradual but continuous bend in the bayou to the northwest, thus causing them to curve in their line of travel. After pursuing this course for perhaps two miles they heard the tinkle of a cow bell away to their left. This was a welcome sound, for they were almost famishing from hunger. Hoping to find some trace of human life and habitation, they left the river at right angles, in the direction of the sound of the bell. After winding their way through a swampy forest wilderness of dense growth, they emerged into a small opening where the sun could penetrate and grass could grow. Here they found the bell and the cow that tinkled it. This was encouraging, for they thought something to eat could not be very far away. Casting about a little further the party discovered the exact spot where they had lain the night before. This was a little too much, as they had not realized they had made such a circuit. A council of war was held at once. There was not even a path or anything to show that the cow belonged in the direction the party wished to proceed. Every feature of the country on their course was wilderness and desolation. To go far into this wilderness without food would mean their inability to get back. Suggestions to go to Jones' camp and give themselves up were made and considered, and other features and conditions were gone over, and discussed. But the thought of home and loved ones was all prevailing, and a resolve to make one more effort, "sink or swim, live or die," for home and native land prevailed, and the party started again for the Bayou Boeuf.

Searching about for a means of getting over, they discovered what appeared to be a section of a fallen tree. On closer inspection the tree trunk turned out to be an alligator, of the largest size. The creature crawled into the water, but as it took up a position close to the shore and refused to be driven away by vigorous and repeating clubbing, it was decided not to attempt to cross the stream at that point. They therefore followed the river or bayou up for about two miles to an abrupt bend, where they came upon a well-worn path, leading directly back from the river to another bend at right angles

with the first. From this point they had a view of quite a nice plantation on the other side. Raising their voices in loud halloos, a negro finally responded, coming down to the river bank. He came over on a raft and ferried the party across. The overseer and all other white persons were absent from the plantation, and the negroes furnished the travelers with a good supply of provisions. The night of that day they slept in a swamp, after tramping and wading in swamps and bayous all day. The following morning a small stream was reached, which was greatly swollen from the recent rains. While constructing a raft from a pile of lumber on the bank, a troop of Confederate cavalry was seen passing on the road near by. Fortunately the troopers failed to discover them, or if they did, concluded they were natives. At any rate they paid no heed to them. Finishing the raft, the party crossed the stream and journeyed in an easterly direction.

In the course of this day's journey, they came to a nice looking plantation. The peach trees were in full bloom, making a pretty sight. Approaching the house, the men represented themselves as Confederates; but the inmates there found, a man and his two sisters, saw through the pretension, and insisted that they were Northern men. As the folks appeared friendly, the travelers finally confessed the truth about themselves, admitting they were Federal soldiers, escaping from imprisonment. Therefore they were invited in, the people offering to keep them in hiding for the present, and to furnish a guide as far as the Mississippi River, when they should be ready to go on. The Mississippi, they said, was about twenty-five miles distant.

The men declined the invitation and offer, but accepted with gratitude a generous supply of provisions. Proceeding on their way, they had hardly left the plantation behind, when a mounted conscript passed near them. As his path led through thick timber, the Confederate was kept so busy dodging the low hanging branches that he had no eyes for anything else, and consequently the men escaped being seen.

The food obtained had greatly strengthened all the members of the party, and their progress was now rapid. Having

had such a narrow escape from discovery by the conscript soldier, they were naturally inspired by the incident to increase the distance between themselves and that locality with all possible speed. At dark, another small stream was reached, turbulent and much swollen. It was decided not to attempt a crossing that night, so they camped near its bank. The next morning it was found that the water had subsided and they crossed with little difficulty.

The following night the men slept on the cold, wet ground as usual. Morning coming, the march was taken up and after traveling about two miles through heavy forest, with thick underbrush and briars, they reached the Macon River. Like the other streams which had been met in their journeyings, the Macon was much swollen from the spring rains. There was a large plantation just above the point at which they had struck the river. The place not being favorable for effecting a crossing, the party went back some distance, skirting the plantation, with the intention of striking the river above. When the circuit was about half made, however, the baying of bloodhounds was heard, and the creatures could be perceived, apparently on their trial. Appearances were in accordance with the facts, for when the hounds reached the river where the men had paused, they could be seen hunting around for the trail. Picking it by the aid of their keen scent, they started back on the tracks of the fleeing men.

Without hesitation the party struck across a field for the river, and hurriedly put together a raft of rails procured from the fence near the river, binding the rails with vines which fortunately grew near by. The frail raft was immediately launched and while the three men who were not swimmers, supported themselves in the water by holding to the raft, the men who could swim pushed the raft across the stream, though Ragsdale, being a good swimmer, struck out boldly alone for the opposite shore, with what provisions he could carry along on his back. In midstream he was seized with cramps, and came near drowning, but he struggled on and made the bank safely. The main party with the raft

also crossed in safety. As they climbed up the river bank, they looked back and saw the pursuing bloodhounds standing at the water's edge opposite. They now felt themselves comparatively safe, knowing that bloodhounds can not keep the scent through running water. Their conviction was strong that they were being followed. Naturally, the suspicion was in their minds that the friendly man and his two sisters, who had been so solicitous to entertain them, might be responsible for their pursuit. But whether they were or not or whether they really had been seen by the trooper in the woods, it was of course impossible to decide.

Continuing the journey, after proceeding some two miles, they came upon an abandoned cavalry camp, with the camp-fire still smouldering, and an amount of corn and cornbread scattered around. Gathering up a quantity of the bread, the men went on. The journey now lay through cypress swamps with their slimy logs to cross, cane-breaks, brushwood, and grape vines. Traveling in such a country was not exactly a pleasure jaunt, but all haste possible was made and at length the Tensas River was reached. This inlet stream to the Macon the men were anxious to place between themselves and the bloodhounds.

A large drift of logs lay near the place at which they had struck the stream, and from this it was determined to construct a raft. On walking out on the drift, however, the discovery was made that many of the supposed logs were alligators. The men tried with clubs to drive the saurians from the locality, but without success. While the raft was being put together in the edge of the river, they formed a circle around the place, watching the men as they worked. It was necessary to make no less than six trips across the stream, as the raft was only strong enough to bear the weight of two men at a time, and at each journey the alligators followed the raft, keeping close watch, apparently expecting some one to fall overboard.

Mr. E. P. Taylor, now of Greenfield, Missouri, one of the squad of escaping prisoners, has written an account of the

adventures of himself and comrades in which many incidents of an instructive kind are narrated, from which we quote the following:

Taylor and Byers, leaving their comrades in hiding, applied at the door of a house and asked for food. The elderly woman who answered their knock, said she would bake them some bread. They waited. Her first move was to go out and get some corn, which she brought in and husked. The men supposed that she was going to feed a horse which stood near at hand. But she began shelling the corn off the cob. Seeing no sign of any bread being made, the men asked the woman how soon she would get at her bread-making. She replied, as soon as she got the corn shelled and ground. They concluded they would not wait. As they were leaving they saw a hand corn-grinder and concluded that the woman would really have baked them some bread if they could have waited for the long preliminary process. This incident may indicate the primitive way in which many of the natives of that section of the southwest lived.

At another time, night having fallen, they stopped at a house where supper was served for them. There was no table in the house, but outside the door was a contrivance that answered the purpose, made in the following way: four forked sticks had been driven into the ground, slender poles laid in the forks, and on these split boards or "shakes" were laid. Now for the table service,—it consisted of two broken plates, one knife with a broken blade, and one with a broken handle, one two-tined fork with a broken tine, and to match the knife another fork with a broken handle. Rye coffee was served in two utensils, one a gourd cup, cracked, and the other a tin cup minus a handle. The coffee-pot had no spout. The only sound and whole article was the skillet. In this they cooked first the bread and then the meat. The meat was dried beef and it was very good. They bought some of it to take with them and also a good-sized cake of corn bread. In spite of the rudeness of the arrangement, the kindness of the people was genuine.

The escaped prisoners were now within fifteen miles of the Mississippi, and realizing that the nearer they approached their own line, the greater was the danger of recapture, they pushed on with fear and trembling. When Bruins Lake was reached, which is about fifty miles below Vicksburg, the men, supposing it to be the Mississippi, on approaching the bank, in their enthusiasm very indiscreetly gave three cheers for the Father of Waters. There was a small group of houses near,

and the occupants, hearing the cheering, came out to see what was the matter. An old gentleman approached the men and from him they learned that the body of water before them was not the main river but Lake Bruin; that the main river was five miles distant, and that to reach it they would have to go down and around the lake for the distance of ten miles. Guided by this information and feeling the situation to be critical, the party at once proceeded on its way with all haste.

As they finally approached the Mississippi, they came to a large plantation, and were informed by some negroes on the place that a Yankee gunboat was lying up the river guarding a lot of cotton. The smoke of the gunboat could be perceived. Turning their steps now up the river, the gunboat was reached just at twilight. As the party approached, it was challenged by the sentinel on duty. To his, "Who goes there?" the response was made, "Friend without the countersign"; whereupon one man of the party was ordered to advance and communicate.

The officer of the guard was called, and was satisfied of the identity of the travelers. The captain of the gunboat, with the paymaster, just then coming up, having been out for a walk, made inquiry as to the situation and very kindly sent the men aboard the boat. There they had an opportunity to take a good bath, and each man was supplied with a full suit of clothing. Then they sat down to supper, which included coffee, a beverage of which they had not partaken for six months.

Blankets were furnished them and they lay down for a night's rest. It seemed so much like a dream, however, the comfort and the freedom from peril, that little sleep visited their eyes.

Arising next morning, however, and having breakfast, the full realization came to them that they were indeed free.

The following day a boat was seen coming up the river, and the Captain of the *Switzerland*, which was the name of the gunboat which the escaping men had boarded, hailed her and transferred the escaped prisoners to her. They were landed at Vicksburg late the next evening. Next morning

they reported to General J. B. McPherson, who treated them kindly, inquiring very particularly into their adventurous trip in making their escape, and as to their present wants. He offered them transportation either to their homes or to their regiment. They chose the latter and within a few days proceeded to rejoin their regiment by way of New Orleans and Gulf steamer, to Brownsville, Texas, at which point they arrived without accident.

The arrival of the escaping men at the bank of the Mississippi was on the 13th day of March, 1864. They had been eighteen days on the perilous journey from the prison camp at Shreveport; a time fraught with constant danger and in which they had endured great suffering. The history of such a trip should live in the annals of our country.

The gunboat *Switzerland*, on which the escaping men had found refuge was what was known as a "tin clad," a merchandise boat, reinforced with heavy planking as a protection from musket shots in the hands of the guerrillas, who infested the banks of the southern rivers during the last two years of the Civil War.

On the same evening that the seven, whose adventures have been related, escaped from Shreveport, viz.: February 23, 1864, Sergeant B. H. Rodrick and N. E. Dawson with Corporals P. H. Grant and John Terrill also made their escape. They left Red River at the start and met with nothing beyond the usual danger and vicissitudes incident to such an undertaking.

Omer Hoskins, L. B. Cocklin, L. S. Hall, J. M. Towne, Enos Rushton, Benedict Rumer, and B. F. Goodwin also escaped at different periods of the captivity of the regiment, and came into Federal lines at various times and places.

J. Irvine Dungan, Horatio W. Anderson and Wm. McGregor were less fortunate. They made their escape from Tyler, Texas, and aimed to come into our lines at Ft. Smith; but were recaptured when near that point.

They broke jail, however, in company with Anthony C. Johnson and Wm. Greer, both citizens of Arkansas, who were

confined in the jail with them. They were captured again, unfortunately, near Little Rock, which was then occupied by the Federal troops, and from thence taken back to Tyler.

While confined in the prison camp at Shreveport, H. W. Anderson made his third escape, the last of February; and although the country was covered with water from the spring rains, reached Natchez, Miss., in safety, and rejoined his regiment.

The prisoners who remained at the prison camp below Shreveport, from whence our seven escaped, were finally returned to Tyler, and in the first week of July, 1864, the main body of the Tyler prisoners were ordered exchanged. They marched bare-headed, bare-footed and nearly naked, under the July sun, to Shreveport, where, taking boats, they steamed down the Red River. On the 22d of July, 1864, they floated out on the broad Mississippi and beheld the Stars and Stripes, feeling such a thrill of joy as only returning prisoners can feel.

TRIAL OF JOHN BROWN.¹

HON. GEORGE E. CASKIE.

The trial of John Brown did not establish any great legal principles, nor is it pre-eminent as a great legal battle, but the conditions out of which it grew were as momentous as those connected with any of the great contests which had preceded or which have followed it, and place it well up in the list of important trials.

In order to appreciate the position of the prisoner and the environment under which the trial was held, it will be well to review for a moment a few leading facts as to Brown himself.

John Brown's ancestors were among the Puritans who landed at Plymouth; in his veins mingled the blood of three sturdy races, the Scotch, the Dutch and the Welsh. For at least three generations the Brown family had been abolitionists, and John Brown, reared amongst such environments and

¹Paper read before Virginia State Bar Association, August, 1909.

possessed of an intense nature, became an *intense* abolitionist. He himself attributed much of his zeal to the ill treatment of a young negro slave which had come under his observation when he was very young, and which, he said, caused him to dedicate his life to the abolition of slavery. Right well did he keep his vow.

The first idea he seems to have had on the subject, as shown by a letter to his brother Frederick, written in 1834, was to educate the slaves, being of the opinion that if he could accomplish this the slave-owners would be forced to begin the work of emancipation without delay. It was about this time that, gathering his older sons in his humble home, he and they engaged in earnest prayer for the cause of abolition, and whilst on their knees, with hands and voices raised to Heaven, each solemnly pledged himself to devote his life to an effort to abolish slavery.

In the year 1840 he was engaged as a surveyor in the neighborhood of Harper's Ferry, and thus acquired some information as to the country, and perhaps heard the remark which had been attributed to George Washington, to the effect that the mountains around Harper's Ferry would serve as a stronghold for the Continental Army in the event it were repulsed by the English. Subsequently Brown expressed the opinion that these same mountains were designed by the Almighty as a refuge for the fugitive slaves.

In 1846, Garrett Smith, a large landowner of New York, donated 10,000 acres of wild land in northern New York to such colored families as would settle upon, clear and cultivate it. Brown approved that plan, and in order to aid it, obtained himself a small part of this land upon which he moved with his family, and which he ever afterwards regarded as his home.

Shortly after locating in New York, Brown seems to have become very hostile to all slave-owners, and we find him in Springfield in 1847 denouncing slavery in look and language fierce and bitter, and declaring that slave-holders had forfeited their right to live, and that the slaves had the right to

resort to any means to rid themselves of their masters and gain their liberty.

In 1854 the Kansas excitement was at its height; five of Brown's sons moved to Kansas, attracted by the double inducement of finding desirable homes and of lending their aid to the effort to make Kansas a free State. In October, 1855, John Brown himself went to Kansas and played no small part in the stirring scenes which occurred in that State during the terrible struggle through which it had to pass.

During all this time Brown's views had evidently been undergoing a change, for while his zeal never abated in the least, and his determination never wavered, his idea as to the best method by which to accomplish his object materially changed. As early as 1847 he is said to have consulted with Fred Douglass and secured his approval of a scheme for transporting fugitive slaves into a free country, and protecting them until such transportation could be accomplished.

Afterwards, in discussing the Harper's Ferry incident, Brown declared that his only object was to establish on slave soil a defensible station, within reach of the Pennsylvania border, where the fugitive slaves could defend themselves until transferred, as occasion offered, through the free states to Canada.

By the year 1857 Brown had evidently reached the conclusion that his end could only be accomplished by resort to arms, for in that year he established at Tabor, Iowa, a school for military drill, and later a similar school at Springdale, Iowa. During the same year he obtained possession of 200 rifles which had been contributed by George L. Stevens of Massachusetts, for the use of the Free State people of Kansas, and began negotiating with friends for money, ammunition, etc., and in 1858 he made a trip north to raise money to be used in carrying out his scheme.

On the 3d of June, 1858, he left Boston with permission to retain the rifles, also with \$500 in gold; later he made other collections of money and contracted with a Connecticut firm for the manufacture of 1,000 pikes.

Brown does not seem to have realized the difficulty of collecting an army to be composed of fugitive slaves, nor to have realized that the placing of a pike in the hand of such men would not convert them into soldiers.

Harper's Ferry seemed well suited for his purposes. Accordingly, in June, 1859, Brown and two of his sons appeared in that neighborhood for the avowed purpose of buying a home, or renting a farm for a term of years. They gave the name of Smith, John Brown himself being known as Isaac Smith. They succeeded in renting a place known as "The Kennedy Farm," where they resided unsuspected by the neighbors until the attack on Harper's Ferry, when Brown was recognized, after his capture, by Lieutenant J. E. B. Stuart, of the United States troops, who had known him in Kansas and who addressed him by his true name when he was captured. Brown's daughter, Ann, and his daughter-in-law, Mrs. Owen Brown, kept house for them. Here they gradually received the rifles from Ohio and the pikes from Connecticut, and gathered together their men.

In August he met Fred Douglass by appointment. They met in an abandoned and long-neglected rock quarry near Chambersburg. Douglass brought with him the negro, Shields Green, while Brown was accompanied by his trusted friend, Kagi. The meeting was kept strictly secret. They remained in consultation most of Saturday and Sunday. With rocks serving as chairs, they discussed the matter in all of its details, Brown announcing his purpose to take Harper's Ferry. Douglass urged that they should adhere to the former plan of running off slaves, pointing out that Brown's plan would necessarily be fatal to all those engaged; that it would likely be regarded as an attack upon the Federal government, and would arouse the whole country. Brown thought that the whole country should be aroused. He believed that the attack upon Harper's Ferry would be as a great bugle blast at which all of the slaves and their friends would rally, and, armed with rifles and pikes, would be practically invincible. He urged Douglass to join him, but he was as immovable as Brown. When about to leave, Douglass asked Green what he

had decided to do, to which Green replied, "I believe I will go wid de ole man," and he did to the bitter end.

By the middle of October, Brown had collected at the Kennedy Farm twenty-two men, six of them negroes; these spent the days in hiding, only going out at night.

On Sunday evening, October 16, 1859, it was dark, cold and raining. Brown decided that the time for action had come. After delivering a short address to his men, he started to the Ferry with eighteen men, two being left to take care of the supplies at the farm, whilst two were sent to cut the telegraph wires, and then to protect some arms and ammunition left at a schoolhouse, about a mile from the Ferry. By half-past ten they had reached the United States Arsenal, which they broke open with sledge-hammers, and, overpowering the guard, appropriated such of its contents as they desired, and established headquarters. By midnight his men were in possession of the town and quietly patrolling the streets. Six of his men were sent out to arrest some of the more prominent of the slave-owners in the adjoining country, who were to be, and afterwards were, held as hostages.

Shortly after midnight the east-bound express train was due; four men were sent to stop it, and in this effort the negro porter was shot and killed, being the first life to be sacrificed in this enterprise. The train was detained for several hours, but finally, in a moment of weakness, Brown released it and it was allowed to go on, spreading the news of the raid and hastening the doom of the raiders.

When the citizens of the town awoke on Monday, October 17th, from twelve to fifteen prisoners had been brought into the Armory, and several bodies of slaves had been liberated. Among the prisoners was Colonel Washington, the possessor of the historic sword presented to George Washington by Frederick the Great, which Brown had especially directed should be impressed for his own use. In the early hours of the morning, as the citizens of the town appeared on the streets, they were arrested, till some forty or fifty were prisoners in the Armory; but when the town became fully awake, the citizens began to arm themselves and exchanged shots with

Brown and his men. The news spread, and as speedily as possible the State militia was called out. The Jefferson Guards, of Charlestown, under the command of Captain Rowan, arrived some time during the day. This company, together with the citizens, had so depleted Brown's forces that but six remained, and these, together with the more prominent of their prisoners, had been forced to abandon the Armory and take refuge in the engine-house, in the sides of which Brown made holes through which they could shoot. Brown had lost the major part of his men, while on the other side several of the citizens had been killed.

By three o'clock the Winchester Rifles, commanded by Captain Clarke, had arrived, and a little later the Continental Marion Guards, of Winchester, under the command of Captain Lewis Barley, were also on the grounds. These three companies of State militia, commanded by Colonel L. S. Moore, of Winchester, held Brown and his men in the engine-house until the United States Marines, eighty in number, under the command of Colonel R. E. Lee, reached the scene of action, about three o'clock on the morning of October 18th. About seven o'clock Captain J. E. B. Stuart, of the United States forces, offered Brown opportunity to surrender and release his prisoners, promising protection to him and his men and a fair trial by law. Brown declined, being willing to surrender only on condition that he and his men should be allowed to cross the river unmolested.

Fearing that some of the citizens held by Brown as prisoners might be shot, Colonel Lee ordered his soldiers to draw their loads and fix their bayonets on their guns. The door of the engine-house was battered down and Brown and his men taken prisoners, two of the marines being wounded and one killed in the effort. Brown was not to be captured, however, without resistance, and in order to effect his capture Lieutenant Green struck him over the head with a sabre and some of the soldiers wounded him with their bayonets, inflicting the wounds from which he suffered during his trial. Ten of Brown's men were killed, five escaped and the remaining seven were captured.

Excitement was of course very high, and if Brown and his companions had been put in the hands of the civil authorities, or even the State militia, to be conveyed to the jail at Charlestown, it is doubtful whether there would have been any need for a trial. They were, however, escorted to the jail by the United States Marines, whose connection with the matter then ceased, the State militia performing all the necessary guard duty from that time until after the execution.

When Brown reached Harper's Ferry his first act was to take possession of the United States property, and to overpower and remove the United States guards found there. When finally captured it was by the United States troops upon United States property, after a fight in which one of the United States Marines was killed. Were these occurrences to take place today, it will hardly be doubted that jurisdiction of the whole matter would be taken by the United States courts.

As Brown was anxious for time, and doubtless would have preferred that his trial should be held as remote from the scene of his crime as possible, it seems strange that he and his friends did not make an effort to invoke the Federal jurisdiction. It only goes to show how the rights of the States were then regarded as paramount to even that of the general government.

That no effort was made to take these men out of the hands of the law, is most creditable to Virginia. To some extent it may have been due to the conviction, which seems to have been universally prevalent, that they would be tried and convicted within the space of a very few days by the Circuit Court, then just about to hold its fall session.

The general public in and around Harper's Ferry was in no condition to give quarter to Brown or any of his men; still they were satisfied to let the law take its course, now that the prisoners were safely in the Charlestown jail, in the charge of Captain John Avis, the jailer in whose ability to hold them, especially when aided by State militia, the public had absolute confidence; then, too, the public believed that

only a day or two would be needed for the law to vindicate itself and punish the criminals.

The Virginia statute, however, provided that the prisoners should have five days' notice of the preliminary examination, and this must precede the court trial, thus a little delay was occasioned. It was during this period that Governor Wise saw and interviewed Brown. No record of this interview seems to have been preserved, but at its close Governor Wise said: "They are themselves mistaken who take him to be a mad man. He is a bundle of the best nerves I ever saw, cut and thrust and bleeding, and in bonds. He is a man of clear head and courage, fortitude and simple ingenuousness. He is cool, collected and indomitable, and it is but just to him to say that he was humane to his prisoners and he inspired me with great trust in his integrity as a man of truth. He is a fanatic, vain and garrulous, but firm, truthful and intelligent."

The public were not idle, however, whilst they waited for the trial. Rumors of all sorts were rife. There were those who believed that Brown would never have undertaken so perilous and impossible a task, unless there was some arrangement by which he was to be reinforced, either by the slaves who were already organized to take up the fight or by some of the abolitionists of the North, who might appear on the scene at almost any moment; the belief that a rescue would be attempted was well-nigh universal. Brown himself expected to be rescued. A gentleman who acted as one of his guards and spent one or more nights with him in his cell, told me that he expressed the opinion that he would never be executed, but that his friends in the North would make an effort to rescue him, and would succeed. This opinion, my informant says, he retained until the morning of his execution.

These conditions caused the citizens to arm themselves and the Governor to keep the State troops constantly on guard, so that from the time Brown and his men were put in jail until after his execution, Charlestown had much the appearance of a military camp.

The preliminary examination was held on October 25, 1859. The early morning found Charlestown in the possession of the

militia. Cannon were posted before the court-house and every approach was guarded by armed sentries. The town was crowded with people, not only from the immediate vicinity, but from remote sections, each and all anxious to get a view of the prisoners, and to witness the proceedings. For the most part the crowd was orderly and behaved with great circumspection. There were, however, individuals who indulged in denunciation of the prisoners and their crime. The crowd pressed against the court-house door eager to gain admission, and when finally it was opened the room filled rapidly until there was not standing room. Eight justices of the peace, Col. Davenport presiding, formed the examining board. They ascended the bench, and almost immediately the court-house bell announced that the proceedings were about to begin, and a double file of soldiers marched from within the jail and took their positions on each side of the path leading from the jail to the court room. Along this path and between these soldiers Brown and his associates were escorted in charge of Sheriff Campbell, John Avis, the jailer, and an armed guard. The Commonwealth was represented by Charles Harding, the Commonwealth's attorney of Jefferson county, and Andrew Hunter, who was appointed special prosecutor.

The Attorney of the Commonwealth made inquiry as to whether the prisoners had or desired to have counsel. Brown rose from his chair, disregarding the court, and fixing his eyes on the crowd, as if by his manner to charge that the crowd and not the justices were his judges, he said:

"Virginians, I did not ask for quarter at the time I was taken; I did not ask to have my life spared. The Governor of the State of Virginia tendered me his assurance that I should have a fair trial, but under no circumstances will I be able to attend to my trial. I have no counsel, I have not been able to advise with any one. I know nothing about the feelings of my fellow prisoners, and am utterly unable in any way to attend to my own defense.

"My memory don't serve me. My health is insufficient, though improving. If a fair trial is to be allowed us there are mitigating circumstances that I would urge in our favor,

but if we are to be tried by a mere form, a trial for execution, you might spare yourselves the trouble. I am ready for my fate; I do not ask a trial. I beg for no mockery of a trial, no insult, nothing but that which conscience gives or cowardice would drive you to practice. I ask again to be excused from the mockery of a trial. I do not know what the special design of this examination is; I do not know what is to be the benefit of it to the Commonwealth. I have now little further to ask other than that I may not be foolishly insulted, as only cowardly barbarians insult those who fall into their power."

The court assigned C. J. Faulkner and L. Botts to defend the prisoners. The preliminary examination was, of course, uneventful; a few witnesses were examined and the prisoners sent on to the grand jury, but not until Brown had again objected to the proceedings, and asked for further delay.

Despite the independent and defiant way in which Brown had addressed the examining court, he was not as indifferent to the result as it would seem; almost immediately upon his incarceration he had written to Judge Tilden of Massachusetts, asking his aid in procuring counsel from without the State of Virginia.

As soon as the preliminary examination was over, the Circuit Court of Jefferson county opened its fall session, Judge Richard Parker presiding; a grand jury was impanelled, charged by the court and sent to their room.

On the next day, October 26th, the grand jury returned a true bill against the five prisoners, Brown, Stevens, Coppoc, Copeland and Shields Green (the last two negroes) for treason, advising and conspiring with slaves and others to rebel and for murder, each offense punishable with death. Thomas Rutherford was foreman of this grand jury. (Cook and Hazlett were subsequently arrested, indicted and tried.) The prisoners were brought into court; Faulkner had declined to act as counsel for the defense, and Thomas C. Green, the mayor of Charlestown, had been appointed in his stead. The prisoners elected to be tried separately, and the Commonwealth elected to try Brown first. Upon his arraignment, and

before the indictment was read, Brown again asked for a postponement; his address much more respectful than that delivered the day previous to the examining justices, and his request was based upon his physical condition, making no mention of any desire to obtain other counsel. This request was presented by his attorneys. The court called the jail physician, who testified that Brown's condition was not such as to preclude his giving proper attention to the details of his trial. The court overruled the motion, and the trial was begun. Whilst the indictment was being read, Brown was supported by two of the court officers, and when it was ended he lay down upon a cot which had been placed in the court room for his use. Many of those who attended the trial have supposed that Brown need not have used this cot as continuously as he did; as a matter of fact, he spent a large part of his time there, and appeared to be but little interested in what was transpiring. He made no suggestions and gave no assistance to his counsel, but he kept sufficiently abreast of the proceedings to interpose whenever it suited him to do so.

Twenty-four veniremen had been summoned for the trial; four of these were rejected and others summoned from the bystanders. Fourteen of the bystanders were summoned before the four vacancies were filled. The panel being complete; the prisoner struck off eight, and from the remaining sixteen twelve were selected by lot, who constituted the jury. The prisoner was remanded to jail and the court adjourned until the next day. Thus ended the first day of John Brown's trial.

It does not appear just how searching the examination of these jurors was; it was remarkable, however, that in the then condition of the public mind and the universality of the feeling, that twenty-four jurors, free from exception, should have been obtained out of the first thirty-eight persons called.

When the court assembled the next morning the crowd had not diminished, nor was the military display any less imposing.

As soon as the court assembled, Mr. Botts again moved for a delay, stating that he had information to the effect that

there was insanity in Brown's family, and he desired a short time to investigate and obtain the evidence. In the midst of Botts' plea the expected took place. Brown rose from his cot, and addressing the court, he denied that there was any insanity in his father's family, denied that he was mentally defective, and took issue with the position of his attorney. Botts was taken by surprise, and did not further press the matter; but Mr. Green, his associate, after explaining his embarrassment at the situation, insisted that they were entitled to make an investigation. Mr. Hunter made a short reply. The court ruled that the request could not be considered, there being no sworn statement in support of the defense of insanity.

The opening statements were made by the attorneys for the Commonwealth and the defense, and the examination of the witnesses begun. The Commonwealth introduced a number of witnesses who testified to the facts as to the raid, practically agreeing in all the important details, and varying only to the extent men will differ in stating facts of any given transaction. It was shown that Fountaine Beckham, the mayor of Harper's Ferry, and several of its citizens, were killed by Brown and his men.

Some correspondence between Brown and Joseph R. Giddens, the leading abolitionist in Ohio, Garrett Smith, and perhaps others, together with certain documentary evidence, which included a copy of the constitution and ordinances which had been framed by Brown for the government of his followers, and which were found at the Kentucky Farm, were introduced in evidence.

The preamble to this constitution was in the following words:

"A. Whereas, Slavery throughout its entire existence in the United States, is none other than the most barbarous, unprovoked and unjustifiable war of one portion of its citizens against another portion, the only conditions of which are perpetual imprisonment and hopeless servitude or absolute extermination; in utter disregard and violation of those eternal and self-evident truths set forth in our Declaration of Inde-

pendence; therefore, we, the citizens of the United States and the oppressed people, who by a recent decision of the Supreme Court, are declared to have no right which the white man is bound to respect, together with all the other people degraded by the laws thereof, do for the time being ordain and establish for ourselves the following provisional constitution and ordinances, the better to protect our people, property, lives and liberties, and to govern our actions."

One of the articles (No. 46) provided: "The foregoing articles shall not be construed so as in any way to encourage the overthrow of any State government, or of the general government of the United States, and we look to no dissolution of the Union; but simply to amendment and repeal; and our flag shall be the same that our fathers fought under in the Revolution."

The court adjourned for the day, before the Commonwealth had completed its testimony.

The constitution and ordinances referred to were adopted by a convention called by Brown, and denominated by him a "Provisional Constitutional Convention," which met at Chatham, Canada, on Saturday, May 8, 1858, and which was composed in the main of the men who had followed him from Kansas and such sympathizers as he had been able to gather in the neighborhood of Chatham. It was presided over by a negro preacher named Moore, and Kagi was its secretary; Brown himself being its ruling spirit.

This constitution provides the qualifications for citizenship, for a Congress composed of only one house, a President, a Secretary of State, a Secretary of War, a Treasurer, a Secretary of the Treasury, and a Commander-in-Chief of the Army, prescribing the duties of each, and provides generally, though in a crude sort of fashion, for the conduct of the government, and the organization of the army.

Attached to this paper is a schedule which provides that the president of the convention should call another convention to fill all the offices provided for, and issue commissions to those elected. Much discussion seems to have taken place over the adoption of Article 46, but it was finally adopted with only one dissenting voice.

Immediately after the adjournment of this convention, the convention for the election of officers met in the same building; not being able to complete its labors that evening, it adjourned till Monday, May 10th, when it concluded its business and the final adjournment was had.

This convention elected the following officers:

Commander-in-Chief of the Army—John Brown.

Secretary of War—J. H. Kagi.

Secretary of State—Richard Realf.

Treasurer—Owen Brown.

Secretary of Treasury—Jas. B. Gills.

Members of Congress—Alfred M. Ellsworth and Osborne Anderson, and appointed a committee of which John Brown was chairman, with full power to fill by election, all offices provided for by the provisional constitution which might be vacant after the meeting adjourned.

This convention elected Thos. M. Kinnard to the position of President, but Kinnard was present and declined the honor; it then elected J. W. Loguen; he was not present, but great doubt was expressed as to his acceptance, and the matter was left in the hands of the committee above referred to.

None of these persons seem ever to have attempted to perform any of the duties devolving upon them except John Brown, who, as Commander-in-Chief, organized his forces, and some seventeen months later, began war at Harper's Ferry.

When, on the third day of the trial (October 28th) the court had convened and the trial was about to proceed, a young man, apparently but little more than twenty-one years of age, arose in the bar and announced that his name was George Henry Hoyt, of Boston, a member of the bar, who had come all the way from Massachusetts to defend the prisoner. Of his coming neither Brown or any one else knew. The prisoner's counsel were not disposed to permit this interference, but when Brown insisted that he should be allowed to appear, they withdrew their objection. Mr. Hunter, however, did oppose his appearing. He suggested that Hoyt was a mere boy; that he had produced no evidence of the fact that

he was a practicing attorney, and in view of his self-appointment, the court should require satisfactory evidence of his right to appear. Mr. Hunter has been much criticized by Brown's biographers and the Northern press, for this action, which they denominated as unprofessional conduct. If Hoyt's real position had been known, the populace would have relieved the situation and ended all discussion.

Judge Parker, unwilling to deprive the prisoner of any aid which he might be able to obtain, decided to dispense with formal proof in the matter and Hoyt was duly sworn in as counsel for the defense. This matter being settled, the Commonwealth proceeded with its testimony, pursuing the same lines followed the day before, and then rested its case.

The time had arrived for the defense to introduce its testimony; there had been no direct evidence to show that Brown, personally, had inflicted a single wound or injury upon any one during the conflict. There were some technical objections to be made to the indictment, or rather to the relevancy of the testimony introduced under it. It was the purpose of the attorneys for the defense to make the most of these matters, but Brown had his own ideas; he had determined the lines along which the defense was to proceed, and he was unwilling that any other course should be pursued. He had caused certain witnesses to be summoned, and he demanded that his counsel should follow the path that he had marked out. In vain Botts and Green protested; Brown was immovable, and they were finally forced to submit to his dictation.

The witnesses introduced for the defense were for the most part the gentlemen whom he had held as hostages, and the object of their testimony was to show that he was humane and considerate in the treatment of his prisoners, and did not desire unnecessarily to shed blood. This, together with the testimony showing what he alleged to be the improper treatment received by the men sent by him to negotiate terms of surrender, and especially as to the killing of Thompson, one of his men, was about all he had to offer.

The attorneys for the Commonwealth opposed the admission of this class of testimony, but the attorneys for the defense

persisted, and in one way and another succeeded in getting all the testimony before the jury, as irrelevant as it appears to have been.

Several of the witnesses for the defense failed to answer when called, but all the facts were before the jury. These witnesses would only have been cumulative.

When it appeared that the defense had about exhausted its testimony, and the trial was nearing its conclusion, Brown rose and proceeded to deliver a speech of denunciation and appeal. The trial, he declared, was a farce. His witnesses had not been compelled to appear; his counsel were not to be relied on, and he demanded that the case be adjourned and he be given further time.

No sooner was he seated than Messrs. Botts and Green retired from the case, after expressing their surprise and disgust at the reflection which had been made upon their conduct.

Thus young Hoyt was left alone in the case; and never did a young man face a more trying ordeal; he had just come to the bar, and was without experience, he was unacquainted with the law and the practice of the Virginia courts. Then, too, Hoyt must have been affected by a fact which no one in all the audience suspected, but which subsequently appears to have been established as a fact, viz.: that he had never expected or intended to defend the prisoner, but was the advance agent of a party who contemplated a rescue, if the conditions were favorable, and had assumed the role of counsel solely in order that he might have access to the jail and the prisoners so as to advise whether or not a rescue were possible, and if so, to give the rescue party needed information.

But Hoyt explained his lack of experience and knowledge of the Virginia practice, and begged for further time. Messrs. Green and Botts, although their connection with the case was ended, seconded the efforts of Hoyt, and agreed to give him such aid and assistance as they could to enable him to prepare the case. The court granted the request and adjourned until the next day; and so ended the third day of the trial.

On October 29th, the fourth day of the trial, when the court assembled, Mr. Samuel Chilton, of Washington, and Mr. Hiram Griswold, of Cleveland, Ohio, both lawyers of ability and standing, who had been secured by Brown's friends, appeared in court and were admitted as counsel for defendant. Some time was consumed by these gentlemen in the effort to advise themselves as to the situation; a little testimony to the same effect as that given the day before was submitted.

The instructions to the jury were obtained without much delay. Mr. Harding made the opening argument for the Commonwealth, and the fourth day of the trial passed into history.

The next day being Sunday, the court adjourned until Monday, October 31st.

The crowd in attendance suffered little or no diminution by the intervention of the Sabbath; Monday morning found the populace as much interested as formerly.

This, the fifth day of the trial, was consumed in the arguments of counsel, which were concluded in the early afternoon. No statement of these speeches seems to have been preserved. The known ability of the participants is a guarantee that they were forceful and able. After a short absence the jury returned into court, having found a verdict in the following words: "We, the jury, find the defendant, John Brown, the prisoner at the bar, guilty of treason, advising and conspiring with slaves and others to rebel, and for murder in the first degree." Signed by J. C. Wiltshire, foreman.

When the jury filed into the court room a solemn hush fell upon the audience. During an intense silence, the clerk read the verdict, and the jurors gave their assent thereto. The verdict met with the approval of all in that vast gathering; yet there was no applause, no expression of approval; silently the crowd passed from the court room, and soon after dispersed.

Brown himself received the verdict with perfect composure; he merely turned upon his cot, as if seeking a more comfortable position. He did not believe the sentence would ever be

executed; but if he had believed otherwise, he was possessed of too much nerve to weaken in the presence of his enemies.

On November 2d, Brown was brought into court for sentence. When asked by the court if he had or knew anything to say why the court should not pass judgment upon him, he said:

"I have, may it please the court, a few words to say. In the first place, I deny everything but what I have all along admitted, the design on my part to free slaves. I intended certainly to have made a clean thing of that matter, as I did last winter when I went into Missouri and there took slaves without the snapping of a gun on either side, moved them through the country, and finally left them in Canada. I designed to have done the same thing on a larger scale. That was all I intended. I never did intend murder or treason, or the destruction of property, or to excite or incite slaves to rebellion, or to make insurrection.

"I have another objection; and that is, it is unjust that I should suffer a penalty. Had I interfered in the matter which I admit, and which I admit has been fairly proved (for I admire the truthfulness and candor of the greater portion of the witnesses who have testified in this case), had I so interfered in behalf of the rich, the powerful, the intelligent, the so-called great or in behalf of any of their friends, father, mother, brother, sister or wife or children, or any of that class, and suffered and sacrificed what I have in this interference, it would have been all right; and every man in this court would have deemed it an act worthy of reward rather than punishment.

"This court acknowledged, as I suppose, the validity of the Law of God. I see a book kissed here which I suppose to be the Bible, or at least, the New Testament. That teaches me that all things whatsoever I would that men should do to me, I should do even so to them. It teaches me further to 'remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them.' I endeavored to act up to instruction. I say I am yet too young to understand that God is any respecter of persons. I believe that to have interfered as I have done, as I always freely ad-

mitted I have done, in behalf of His despised poor was not wrong, but right. Now, if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel and unjust enactments, I submit; so let it be done!

“Let me say one word further.

“I feel entirely satisfied with the treatment I have received on my trial. Considering all the circumstances, it has been more generous than I expected. But I feel no consciousness of guilt, I have stated from the first what was my intention and what was not. I never had any design against the life of any person, nor any disposition to commit treason, or excite the slaves to rebel, or make any general insurrection. I never encouraged any man to do so, but always discouraged any idea of that kind.

“Let me also say a word in regard to the statements made by some of those connected with me. I hear it has been stated by some of them that I have induced them to join me. But the contrary is true. I do not say this to injure them, but as regretting their weakness. There is not one of them but joined me of their own accord, and the greater part of them at their own expense. A number of them I never saw, and never had a word of conversation with till the day they came to me; and that was for the purpose I have stated.

“Now I have done.”

Again a solemn hush fell upon the crowd; for a moment there was a pause; then Judge Parker calmly sentenced the prisoner to be hanged on the 2d day of December, 1859, by the sheriff of Jefferson county; not in the jail yard, but at such other place in the county convenient thereto as the said sheriff might select.

The defendant tendered, and the court signed, three bills of exceptions taken to certain rulings of the court made during the trial.

Brown was borne back to the jail, the crowd in the courtroom not being permitted to move till he was safely in its walls.

So far as I can find there is no copy now extant of the bills of exceptions taken during the trial, and I have been unable to ascertain upon what ground they were based.

A petition for a writ of error was prepared and presented to the Court of Appeals by no less a lawyer than Mr. William Green, in which it is said that the whole field of legal learning, so far as applicable to the questions at issue, was exhausted. The writ was refused.

The State militia was kept on guard in Charlestown from the date of the trial until the day of the execution.

December 2, 1859, was an almost perfect day; when the hour for the execution arrived Brown, unaided, walked from his cell, into the wagon which awaited him at the jail door, and took his seat upon his coffin. As he ascended the hill on which the gallows stood, casting his eyes around over the landscape, he quietly remarked to those about him, that it was a beautiful day, and that a most beautiful country.

He ascended the gallows firmly and without a tremor. Spying a lone colored woman on the edge of the crowd, he waved his hand towards her and said, "Remember, I die a martyr for your race." When the time came to place the cap upon his head, he took off the old hat he wore and tossed it from him, as if to say, "I have no further use for you."

He had no statement to make. He declined to accept the services of any clergyman, though they were offered. With as little delay as possible the rope which held the trap-door on which he stood was cut, and John Brown's earthly career was ended.

That John Brown was conscientiously opposed to slavery will hardly admit of doubt. For the conscientious convictions of any man on any subject, all right-thinking men must have respect.

Brown's efforts in behalf of the cause which he had espoused, so long as they exhibited themselves in proper ways and along proper lines, are not to be harshly criticised. His indomitable will and great personal courage were most desirable qualities.

But when he announced as his creed that all slave-holders had forfeited the right to live, he ceased to be the advocate of a principle, and demonstrated that he had become an outlaw, with an utter disregard for both law and order.

When he adopted a constitution and set of ordinances so as to provide that his followers should disregard the laws of the State and the United States, and render allegiance to the government set up by him, and organized an army, however small and inefficient, to enforce his mandates, he was guilty of treason.

When, in spite of his own constitution, he declined to seek the remedy for the ills of which he complained by "Amendment or repeal of existing laws," and forcibly released slaves and arrested their owners, he became subject to the penalties prescribed by the statute in such case made and provided. When he gathered together a body of men, armed them with guns and pikes with which to kill and slaughter, and put that intention into effect, he became a murderer.

He met with no mob violence. An able and impartial judge presided at his trial, able lawyers looked to his defense. Every fact was proved in evidence. His guilt was absolutely established, and whatever divergent views may have existed upon the question of slavery, all fair and impartial minds must concede that the judgment was just and the penalty properly inflicted.

Hamilton County—The editor of the Freeman of Webster City offers a premium of \$10 to the boy under 18 years of age, who shall raise in Hamilton county the best acre of corn in the year 1858. Well done, Mr. Freeman. Your efforts to advance the interests of agriculture, and to stimulate the young to an increased attention to farming pursuits, are certainly commendable. In due process of time, give us the name of the successful boy, and we will take pleasure in publishing him.—*The Iowa Citizen*, (Des Moines), Jan. 12, 1858.

THE DEFOE FAMILY IN IOWA.

BY ONA ELLIS SMITH.

The romantic story of the settlement in America of the Defoe family,¹ has been retold many times by the eastern press but the fact that direct descendants of the original immigrant, Elizabeth Maxwell, niece of Daniel Defoe, have been residents of Iowa for three score and ten years, will revive interest in the story, and may prove of historical value.

In the year 1705, Daniel Defoe, on account of his persistent writing upon the exciting subjects of that day, was compelled to seek a safe retreat under the roof of his widowed sister, Elizabeth Maxwell, in the city of London. His pamphlet, entitled "Shortest way with Dissentors," for which he suffered the punishment of the pillory, fine and imprisonment, was written three years before he took up his abode in his sister's home.

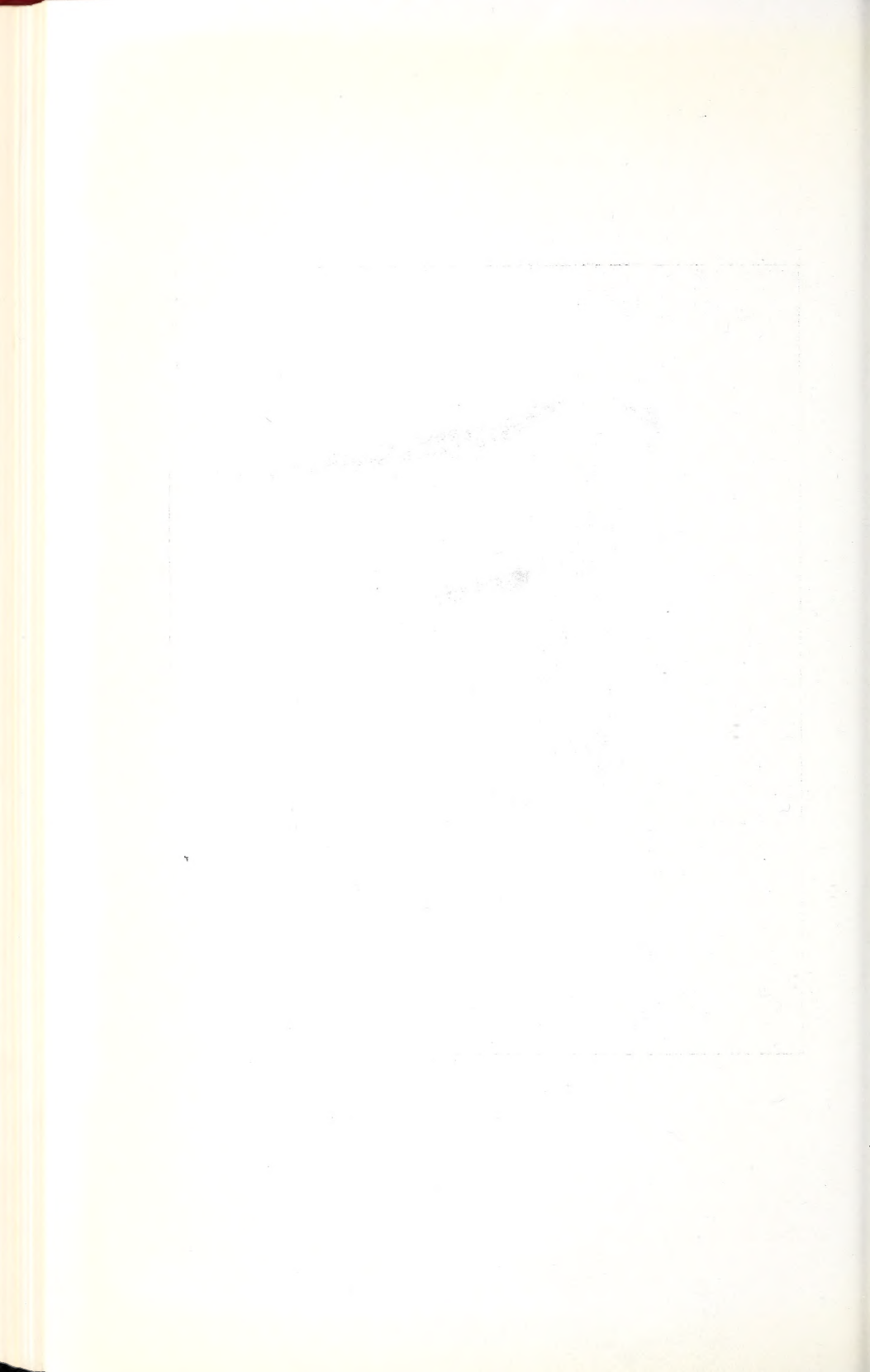
An interesting personal description of Daniel Defoe, some of the characteristics set forth being noticeable in his Iowa descendants, was given in a proclamation issued by Queen Anne's ministers shortly after the publication of that pamphlet:

"Whereas—Daniel De Foe, *alias* De Fooe, is charged with writing a scandalous and seditious pamphlet entitled, 'The Shortest way with Dissentors.' He is a middle-sized, spare man, about forty years old, of a brown complexion, and dark-brown colored hair, but wears a wig; a hooked nose, a sharp chin, grey eyes, and a large mole near his mouth; was born in London, and for many years was a hose-factor, in Freeman's yard in Cornhill; and now is the owner of the brick and pantile works near Tilbury Fort in Essex; whoever shall discover the said Daniel De Foe to one of Her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, or any of Her Majesty's justices of the peace, so he may be apprehended, shall have a reward

¹The Defoe Family in America, Scribner's Monthly, vol. xii, p. 61.



CAPT. ALBERT ELLIS



of £50, which Her Majesty has ordered immediately to be paid upon such discovery."

On his release he was again imprisoned for writing political pamphlets, but through the influence of Lord Oxford he was liberated and in the safe retreat of his sister's home he continued to send forth his barbed arrows.

A small room was fitted up to be used as a study by him, and it was in this seclusion, in the year 1719, that "Robinson Crusoe" was written.

His sister's only child, Elizabeth, was five years of age when her uncle came to live with them, and she received her education in his quiet study under his teaching. It was doubtless her active mind and interest in her studies that aroused his interest in the higher education of women which he especially advocated.

At the age of eighteen the daughter, Elizabeth, engaged herself to marry one to whom her mother was bitterly opposed, and the engagement was very unceremoniously broken off by her. This so angered Elizabeth that she left home secretly and embarked for America on a sailing vessel, bargaining with the captain to be sold on her arrival to reimburse him for her passage.

Upon arriving at Philadelphia she, with a number of other passengers, was offered for sale.

Andrew Job, an inn-keeper and wealthy Quaker citizen of Baltimore, chancing to be in the city, bought this runaway Quaker maiden and took her with him when he returned to the "Blue-ball Inn," to aid his good wife in her many household duties.

Elizabeth Maxwell seems to have been satisfied in her new home, for six years later, in the year 1725, she became the wife of Andrew Job's son, Thomas.

Soon after her marriage she wrote to her mother and uncle, telling them of her new happiness and giving them the first knowledge of her location since her disappearance.

As soon as possible she received a reply from her uncle Daniel, stating that her mother was dead and that considerable property, in addition to her mother's household goods, was left

by will to her, in case she was found. An inventory of the goods was sent by him, and especially was she asked to cherish certain articles of furniture, because they had descended to the family from their Flemish ancestors. He also apologized for the condition of two chairs, the wicker seats of which had worn out and been replaced by wooden ones. These two chairs are still in a good state of preservation, one being now owned by a great-great-granddaughter of Elizabeth Maxwell Job,—Miss Hannah A. Griffith¹ of Calvert, Cecil county, Maryland—and the other by the State Historical Society of Delaware.²

In 1726 a son was born to Thomas and Elizabeth Job. Other children were born later to this couple but this eldest son, named Archibald, became the ancestor of the Iowa branch of the Defoe family. In the year 1752 on the 30th day of July, he married Margaret Reese.

During the Revolutionary War Archibald Job and his three grown sons gave much information and valued aid to Wash-

¹The following letter from Hannah A. Griffith gives some interesting information relating to the Job family:

"Calvert, Third month, twelfth. (March, 1909.)

"To Ona Ellis Smith:

"Thine of the 8th received yesterday. Rather a surprise to me for a relative to greet me from that distance. Was not aware that my name and the fame of the old chair had traveled that far. I have had several photos of the chair but now have only one which I would not like to part with, but have just written to the artist to know if he has any copies on hand. If he has I will try to get one for thee. That old chair has been the subject for numerous newspaper items. Thee asks if I have any other relics of the Job family. Not any so old as the chair, but I have a very nice sound stand that belonged to my great-aunt, Hannah Job, which is greatly admired; and I have a marriage certificate of my great-grandfather and mother, dated on the 29th of 10th month, 1758. It is written on parchment and is well preserved, except that a mouse has cut it slightly.

"I should have said those great grandparents were Daniel Job, son of Thomas and Elizabeth Job, and Mary Brown, daughter of Samuel and Elizabeth Brown, of West Nottingham, then considered in the province of Pennsylvania.

"Thee probably has read Mary E. Ireland's article on The Defoe Family in America. It has been very widely published and is more correct than many things that are handed down by tradition. If thee has not read it, I think I can send it to thee. I have always had a strong desire to know more of the descendants of the Job family in the western states. In my mother's life I kept up a correspondence for her with two of the daughters of Archibald Job, who lived in Ohio, but of late I hear nothing of the family.

"The Job family is so nearly extinct in this locality that I have felt curious to know if the name was being increased in any other part of the country. Some of the name emigrated to Virginia a generation ago, and there may be many of the name in some section there. There are but two of the name here now, Haines Job and a very delicate son.

"I fear I am making my letter tiresome and will draw it to a close. Hope thee will excuse my writing as I am in the 80th year of my age, and my hand not very steady, and whilst not an invalid, I am a shut-in in the winter time.

"With kind regards, I will close.

HANNAH A. GRIFFITH.

"Nottingham, Chester Co. P."

²Year Book, Historical Society of Delaware, 1901, p. 17.

ington and Lafayette's armies as they passed through that part of the country. Archibald and his sons, Thomas and Morris, were also members of a scouting party—of which Archibald was captain—which became so active that they were disowned by the "Society of Friends"—of which they were birthright members—for "encouraging and participating in war-like measures."

Two daughters of Morris Job became the wives of brothers, sons of William Blair—a Revolutionary soldier who is buried at Kossuth, Iowa—Sarah Job wedding David E. Blair and Margaret Job becoming the wife of Thomas Blair. These great-granddaughters of Elizabeth Maxwell Job came to Iowa when it was yet a part of Michigan Territory and their husbands and sons took a prominent part in early day politics.

Thomas Blair, husband of Margaret Job, represented Des Moines county in the first session of the Wisconsin Territorial Legislature and also in the second session of that body which assembled at Burlington. He was also a member of the first Iowa Territorial Legislature. David E. Blair was a member of the Fifth Territorial Legislature, and of the First General Assembly of the State of Iowa.

Morris William Blair, son of Sarah Job and David E. Blair, is well known throughout the State. He is the most distinguished representative of the Defoe family now residing in Iowa. Coming here more than seventy years ago, he still resides upon the farm in Des Moines county, which his parents homesteaded in 1837. With means to gratify any reasonable desire, he prefers the simple life, living alone; for he has never married.

In a letter he says: "I am living in the house my father substituted for the claim cabin in 1840, have never been away from it. The wind blows through the boards—but I have four fires; the roof leaks—but I have a dry corner for my gun, another for my books and yet another for my range and cupboard.

"I have three good cousins whose horses and cows I pasture, who fill my basket twice a week with a pie, a loaf, and a jar of milk; the garden, the old hens and I do the rest."

In him are conspicuous the characteristics of the Defoe family from Daniel down to the relatives of the present day; remarkable longevity, a disposition to remain unmarried or to marry late in life, and the indomitable independence of spirit so prominent in the character of Daniel Defoe and his niece, Elizabeth.

In the year 1845, Hannah, daughter of Thomas Job and wife of Job Ellis, came west from Ohio with her husband and family of eleven children, the eldest son, Thomas, having preceded the family two years. They settled upon a farm one mile south of the present village of Cairo in Louisa county, and there reared their large family to honorable manhood and womanhood.

The two younger sons answered the call to arms in 1861, Harvey, the youngest of the eleven, dying from disease contracted in the service. Albert, the tenth child, entered as a private, serving as Second Lieutenant, First Lieutenant, and Captain of Company C, Fifth Iowa Infantry, and as Captain of Company G, Fifth Iowa Cavalry, being honorably discharged for disability, November 9, 1864. He was in all the marches and battles of his command during his term of service.

After his return to civil life he took an active interest in local and state politics, representing Louisa county in the Twelfth General Assembly, was sheriff of Louisa county from 1876 to 1882 and in 1890 was appointed Revenue Agent by President Harrison—in recognition of his service to the Republican party.

He was an active figure in Iowa public life for thirty-five years, giving the best years of his life to the State.

In April, 1863, he came home from the front on furlough and married the daughter of one of Louisa county's pioneer citizens, Miss Alice Nichols. Of the seven children born to them only one now resides in the State, two dying in infancy and three daughters and a son residing in other states. Captain Ellis and his wife are now residents of Pueblo, Colorado.

Hannah Job Ellis, as well as her cousins, Sarah and Margaret Job Blair are buried in Iowa. Hannah rests in the Friends' burying ground at Pleasant Plain, Jefferson county, and Margaret and Sarah Blair sleep in the cemetery at Kossuth, Des Moines county.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

SUNDRY UNJUST BURTHENS.

The above is the heading of an editorial for the *Annals of Iowa*, prepared by Charles Aldrich, its editor, and the founder of the Historical Department of Iowa. His thought was upon the then recent appropriation for the completion of the Historical Building, a contribution toward housing an institution devoted essentially to administration of the historical, memorial and art interests of the State.

SUNDRY UNJUST BURTHENS.

It has been the fortune of the Historical Department of Iowa to carry certain burthens which should entitle us to a consideration we have never received. We refer to the appropriations made for the erection of the Historical Building. We have constantly, ever since the collections were transferred to the west wing of the new building, been held and considered to be asking, like Oliver Twist, for more. The moneys that have been appropriated for this prevented us from receiving our just share of money for the increase of our Museum, and for the purchase of books, and for other expenses, which we have been unable to meet from the limited amount that has been assigned to the Department. Were the writer to ask for additional funds, the economical senator or representative would say, "Just look at the thousands you are getting for the building!" We have taken occasion sometimes to tell them that while we are glad to see the appropriations for the construction of the edifice, the charging of them against this Department is a sort of starvation and checking of efforts which should be promptly put forth, not only to increase the Museum, but to increase the Department in other directions.

We have always regarded the Museum as the most important adjunct to this Department, aside perhaps from *The Annals*. The Museum needs or should have two or three thousand dollars a year, for the following reason: It is the most visited and most prized and the most valuable exhibit which has been placed before the masses of our people. The State University can make a much more attrac-

tive exhibit, but it is in a way a sort of exclusive affair, devoted largely to the interests of the students. This is all right, and we would not reduce the growth of the State Museum at Iowa City for any consideration. But the thousands of people who come to Des Moines should also be considered in the work of building up a Museum. It is unjust that the only resource for increasing the objects in the Museum is that of solicitation—begging, as Mr. Thwaites of the Wisconsin Historical Society phrases it. All of the historical organizations in the middle west with which we are acquainted are constantly making additions to their collections in this direction. We are not informed whether this is done by solicitation wholly or mostly, but we presume that some money is invested in this direction. We cannot but regard it as unjust to the people living on the farms throughout our State, that our Museum is not constantly replenished with something fresh in the direction of objects of interest. The policy has seemed to be to charge the Historical Department with the appropriations for the completion of the building, and to withhold additions to our resources with which to purchase.

Explanation of the meagerness of funds for the purchase of materials and the performance of the work of the Department itself shows the attitude of legislators at that time. Considered from every view-point except that of the Curator, who bore the responsibility for practical results, it was correct. Mr. Aldrich's thought was only of the flying years with their opportunities, and of the passing of men and materials. Theoretically the State should have provided for herself, in a single act, an appropriate edifice, a complete staff of workers and an ample support fund. Practically, however, only part at that time was possible.

But the burthens with which Mr. Aldrich felt his work was saddled, namely, the carrying upon its account, so to speak, the expenditures for the building, are felt by his successors. Appropriations for the work have ever been attenuated in consequence of those for the building. With the meager funds, it was only the admixture of extraordinary zeal, ingenuity and the very life of the founder, and of a philanthropy on the part of individual sponsors of the work and of the Board of Trustees, that sustained it for many years. To collect and store materials was necessarily the highest purpose during the building operations. But it is equally important at the

present time to make accessible the materials accumulated and accumulating. What was wise or expedient throughout the years of building—the skimping and starving of the soul of the work that its body might be housed, is wisdom no longer. At the present time when demands for building are removed, a reasonable compensation to the administrative account may be expected so that practical results may be multiplied.

If, for instance, each allusion to the subject of the navigation of the rivers of Iowa which is known to exist among our collections, could be placed before an Iowa editor, a proper consideration by him of the subject might reasonably be expected as a matter of mere hours, whereas if the same person now desire to give the subject such consideration, he must first devote perhaps weeks to the discovery of his materials, and thereafter digest them.

Inquiry was recently received as to whether there was published at the proper time a notice of an ordinance authorizing the use of the public streets of the city of Ottumwa by the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad. The publication preceded the construction by months; it may be said years. The inquiry laid upon us not only the duty of having at hand a file of the newspapers reasonably expected to contain the record, but of making search therefor. The information when found, served a material purpose in the determination of substantial interests of one of our largest cities and one of our greatest corporations. Had our early newspapers been indexed, as we hope they will be in the near future, much time and expense might have been saved the applicant for this information. Under present conditions the best we could do was to furnish the bound volumes of newspapers, with office room in which to make the search.

Inquiry is from time to time made as to what is contained in the personal letters and documents in our keeping. Professor Dodd, in his preparation of studies on Jefferson Davis, travelled from Chicago to Des Moines, and searched for some days among the manuscripts of this Department. He read line by line in order to know whether our collections contained anything touching his subject. The identical material had

been searched within two years by different applicants and for different purposes.

Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of the New York Post, in the preparation of his book on John Brown, caused an assistant to visit us, who remained some days examining our John Brown materials in a similar way. Like uses are sought of the museum objects illustrating past life in the State. To groups of valuable objects or documents, the busy public is entitled to as quick and complete access and use as is afforded in any business or record office.

Where a valuable object exists, but is not in our possession, it is our duty to the public to secure and preserve it. Procuring and making useful the materials illustrative of our history are possible only with funds, and these sufficient for the most diligent and effective effort seem now for the first time reasonably to be expected. There is prospect then of securing many additional materials relating to the development of Iowa; the thorough indexing of Department publications, of newspaper and document files now in or that may be added to the collection, at least up to and including the period of the Civil War, and the placing of such index ready to the hand of the busy searcher who may reasonably demand the maximum of results from the minimum expenditure of his time and money; the publication of some of the valuable original manuscripts now in the possession of the Department, making the material more readily available; the acquisition, preservation and display of such specimens as exemplify all animal or plant life within the State; the acquisition and proper treatment of source materials upon Iowa municipal and county as well as state history; the stimulation of and assistance toward enterprise for preserving and marking sites within the State having historic, scenic or scientific value; the circulation of information, material objects and other source materials into all localities within the State, and the further stimulation and assistance toward local historical studies; the entertainment by this institution of patrons, students and scholars, who augment our collections or enhance their value; the collection of art objects within the scope of our work and the stimula-

tion of interest in and the use of these. It is impossible to obtain these objects without adequate funds.

The sundry burthens, then, borne by the administrative element of the Historical Department of Iowa, ought now at the first opportunity to be removed. With our building in advance of that of nearly every other State, and our collections in some respects excelling all the rest, the other step toward success, namely, provision of modern and adequate administrative machinery must next be made. On the whole with a smaller biennial appropriation than heretofore, a work which has the approval of the general public and is deemed useful by the practical patron, can be made the indispensable instrument of benefit to all as the founder intended it to be. It should very soon result in instant and accurate response by the Historical Department to all appeals for historical and archive information concerning Iowa and the Middle West.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND HIS CLIENTS.

The appropriate relations of attorneys-at-law to their clients, to adverse parties, and to the public, is a subject that often perplexes moralists and philosophers. The many phases of the subject are illustrated most interestingly in the career of Abraham Lincoln as a lawyer in Illinois.

Chroniclers relate that even when the technicalities of the law gave to flinty-hearted claimants or litigants a definite advantage he would now and then make tremendous appeals to the sensibilities of jurors and by sheer eloquence sweep them away from their moorings of contract and secure the equity that humanity demands for the orphan or widow or a friend caught unwittingly in the nets of adverse circumstances. His biographers tell us of his frequent refusal to accept a retainer from any one of high or low estate whose case was bottomed on fraud or smacked of trickery. Tradition deals with various instances when he summarily dropped causes in the midst of trial on discovering that he had been grossly misinformed as to essential facts or had been hoodwinked by his client respecting any questionable transaction.

There recently came to the Historical Department for examination an original letter of Mr. Lincoln's,—never before made public, we believe—that strikingly illustrated another phase of his character and conduct as a lawyer. In the forepart of "the fifties" Mr. Lincoln received from Mr. L. M. Hays, one of the pioneers of Sangamon county, Illinois, a promissory note for collection. On proceeding with the matter he found the debtor to be poor and a cripple.

Moreover, the debtor refused to pay the note on the ground that the original drawee (or a prior holder) on his death bed had ordered the note delivered to him or destroyed. Mr. Lincoln apparently did not proceed with the collection rapidly, for his client on September 30, 1852, wrote inquiring as to the progress made and the prospects for returns. Mr. Lincoln's response—a brief note which appears in facsimile on opposite page—is interesting for it displays an attitude not usually accredited to lawyers in pursuit of clients and fees.¹ Mr. Lincoln notified Mr. Hays that he had deliberately neglected to enforce his rights in the premises when he could have secured judgment. Pity for the debtor in distress caused him to agree to a postponement of the hearing.

The debtor's statement that a prior holder or the original creditor had waived or cancelled the obligation was almost a violent assumption when the note was in the hands of third parties and presumably innocent purchasers. Conceding the possibility that the debtor's contention was bona fide, it rested on a parol agreement, the evidence or proof of which, death had destroyed so that third parties could not thereby suffer prejudice.

The incident affords an excellent illustration of the perplexities that ever and anon confront and disturb the practicing lawyer. When an amount in controversy is not large,

¹
L. M. HAYS, ESQ.

Springfield, Oct. 27, 1852.

DEAR SIR: Yours of Sept. 30th just received. At our court, just past, I could have got a judgment against Turley, if I had pressed to the utmost; but I am really sorry for him—*poor* and a *cripple* as he is—He begged time to try to find evidence to prove that the deceased on his death bed, ordered the note to be given up to him or destroyed—I do not suppose he will get any such evidence, but I allowed him until next court to try—

Yours &c

A. LINCOLN.

Springfield, Oct. 27, 1852

L. M. Hayes, Esq.

Dear Sir,

Yours of Sept 30th just received - At our court, just past, I could have got a judgment against Turley, if I had pressed to the utmost; but I am really sorry for him - poor and a cripple as he is - He begged time to try to find witnesses to prove that the deceased was his death-bed, ordered the note to be given up to him or destroyed - I do not suppose he will get any such success, but I allow him till next court to try -

Yours H
A. Lincoln.

The Historical Department of Iowa is indebted to Mrs. E. C. McMillan, of Keokuk, for the loan of the original letter, of which the above is a facsimile.



sympathy is wont to play a large part in its consideration, at least in the attitude of the public toward the matter. When large sums or vast interests are at stake, hard sense and stern logic are rigorously insisted upon, and few gainsay the justice of thus proceeding, although sympathy for the one adversely dealt with may be felt. Mr. Lincoln would appear to have been chargeable with non-feasance—with disregard and neglect of his client's interest because of tenderness of heart; whereas relief was not for him to grant, but was the prerogative or the privilege of his client. The conclusion of the case is not known.

F. I. H.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Thomas Cox, by Harvey Reid: pp XVI, 257. The State Historical Society of Iowa; Iowa City, Iowa, 1909.

The career of Thomas Cox of Jackson county represents the careers of a large proportion of the pioneers of Iowa—not necessarily of the average pioneer but certainly of a considerable number of the first settlers. He was a pathfinder and pathmaker. As a lawmaker and as a surveyor he marked the lines and set the stakes of law and order. He was a big, bluff, buoyant, hale-fellow-well-met; convivial, forceful, reckless, unsystematic, non-persistent, except under the whip and spur of keen public excitement and crowding events. The records of his life are meager and the exhibits of his work not large. Nevertheless he was a factor of decisive influence in the affairs of our territory, and Mr. Reid has given us an interesting and instructive narrative of Colonel Cox's career. This volume is an expansion of Mr. Reid's article in *The Annals of Iowa* (3d series, Vol. VII: 241-269.)

The span and spaces of Cox's life comprehended three states, Kentucky, Illinois and Iowa. He was a soldier in the War of 1812 and again in the Black Hawk War. In the latter he might have achieved official elevation and distinction, but consciousness of his weaknesses made him shrink from responsibility. He served in various capacities—as Justice of the Peace, as Register of the Land Office, as Deputy United States Surveyor. He was a land speculator and town-site manipulator. He was a member of the Legislature of Illinois and also of the Territorial Legislature of Iowa, becoming Speaker of the House of Representatives (1840) and President of the Council (1844). He was one of the founders of Spring-

field, Illinois, and possibly not ineffective in determining the location of the capital at that point, and he was one of the decisive factors in locating the second capital city of Iowa.

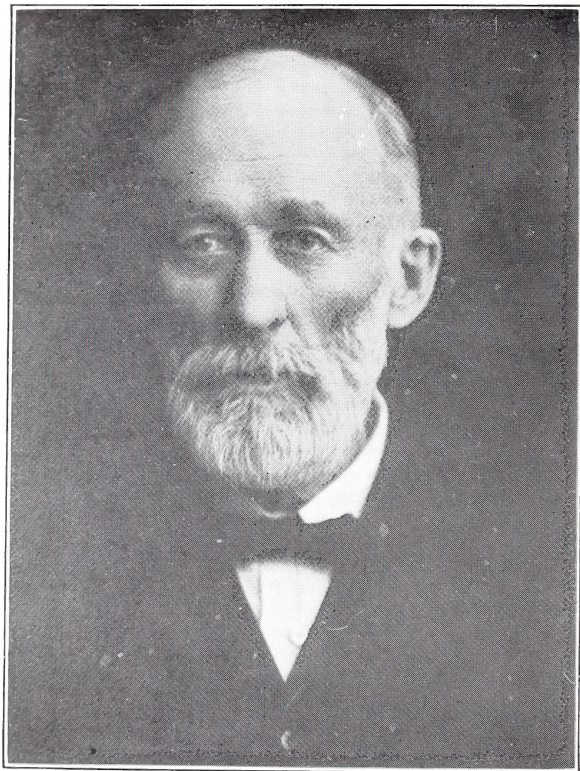
To the majority of his readers the most interesting and valuable portion of Mr. Reid's work is his account of the dispersal of the thieves and outlaws of Bellevue, with whose summary cessation Colonel Cox had not a little to do. In three substantial chapters he tells of the beginnings, progress and culmination of the difficulties between Brown and his pals and Cox and his friends. The situation was dramatic and is here vividly portrayed. In post-prandial discourses and dedicatory addresses and in eulogies one frequently encounters assertions to the effect that lawlessness—crime and lynchings—was conspicuous by its absence in the formative period of Iowa. This account of the "Bellevue War" should effectually abolish such sentimental notions.

Mr. Reid did not have much from which to construct his narrative, but by industrious research and discrimination he has brought together numerous collateral facts which enable him to make a good background whereby the dim outlines of Cox's career and character become definite and indicate substance. Lucidity, force and straightforwardness are noticeable traits of the author's style. In dealing with Cox's faults he exhibits both deftness and delicacy, suggesting them, but refraining from details.

F. I. H.

How We Built the Union Pacific Railway, and Other Railway Papers and Addresses. By Major-Gen. Grenville M. Dodge, Chief Engineer of the Union Pacific Railway. Privately Printed.

As the title indicates, this volume relates mainly to early western railway engineers and engineering. These papers are all in the terse, forceful style of Gen. Dodge, upon engineering and promotion problems and feats, to which the author successfully applied his own great powers. They form an easy and authoritative path through the mazes of published materials on these topics to the sources upon financing and constructing the Union Pacific Railway, and of the considerations and influences determining legislation and other public acts bearing upon this first transcontinental railway. Congress has authorized their publication as a public document. The book is copiously illustrated with photographs and drawings in half-tone.



DR. ELBERT W. CLARK

NOTABLE DEATHS.

DR. ELBERT WARREN CLARK was born in Vermont, February 11, 1842, and was of Scotch-American parentage. He came to Illinois when twelve years old, and acquired his general education in the country district school and in the high school at Kewanee. He graduated from Rush Medical College in February, 1871, and located in Grinnell, where he practiced medicine constantly until he died on February 16, 1910. He is survived by a worthy and faithful companion, also by E. W. Clark, Jr., a merchant in Grinnell. Dr. Clark was not only an excellent physician and surgeon, but a broad-minded philanthropist, an active and generous citizen, a statesman, a Christian gentleman. He was elected five times as a member of the city council of Grinnell. For six years he was president of the school board. He had been a trustee of Grinnell College since 1898, rendering faithful service as a member of the executive committee. He served as a trustee of the Stewart Public Library of the town and was mayor of Grinnell for four years, during which time great improvements in the way of sewers and water works were installed. At the meeting of the State Medical Society in Cedar Rapids in 1907 Dr. Clark presided. He was a lifelong Republican, casting his first ballot for Abraham Lincoln, whom he went a long way to hear deliver a campaign speech; he voted for every Republican candidate for president since that time. His party called him to serve first as a Representative from Poweshiek county in the Thirty-first General Assembly, then elected him in 1906 to the state Senate from the twelfth district. As a law-maker, in his quiet way, he exhibited marked wisdom and diplomacy. He rarely missed a session during the three meetings of the General Assembly which he attended, although professional duties required him to spend all of his Sundays and many mid-week nights at home. Although from time to time this good man had various troublesome ailments, and twice at least in later years sustained serious injuries to his chest, so that he often suffered severely and dangerously with tachycardia, no man used time and opportunity to better advantage than did Dr. Clark. In Germany they have a custom of honoring their scientific men. Throughout the land one may see the statues of medical men alongside of great heroes and military leaders, adorning public places. The life of Dr. Clark was a complete success. The town of Grinnell can do nothing to give character and finish to its park, which lies opposite the home of its founder, and which has been crossed thousands of times by the subject of this sketch, better than to place in it statues of J. B. Grinnell, and of E. W. Clark. (GERSHOM H. HILL, M. D., in Iowa Medical Journal, March 15, 1910.)

HENRY HOFFMAN TRIMBLE was born in Rush county, Indiana, May 7, 1827; he died at Keokuk, Iowa, January 9, 1910. He attended school at Woodsfield, Ohio; Franklin, Indiana; Indiana State University, and at Asbury, now De Pauw University, from which he graduated in 1847. He was a volunteer in the Fifth

Indiana regiment of infantry, and served one year in the war with Mexico. After returning to Indiana he taught school in Shelbyville and studied law in the office of Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks. He removed to Bloomfield, Iowa, and there was admitted to the bar in 1850. The same year, and also in 1852, he was elected county attorney of Davis county. He was a Democrat of the old school, was nominated and elected state senator in 1856. In 1861 he took a leading part in the organization of the Third Iowa Cavalry of which he was made Lieutenant-Colonel. In a desperate charge at Pea Ridge, March 7, 1862, he received a wound in the face, the effects of which obliged him to resign his command. He was elected to the district bench after his return and recovery, serving four years. He was an unsuccessful candidate of the Democratic party for judge of the Supreme Court in 1865, as he was for Congress against Samuel R. Curtis in 1858, and against William Loughridge in 1872. He was a delegate at large to the National Democratic Convention in St. Louis in 1876, when Samuel J. Tilden and Thomas A. Hendricks were nominated for President and Vice-President. He was a delegate at the convention of 1880 which nominated Gen. Winfield S. Hancock, and in 1884 was a delegate at large to the convention which nominated Grover Cleveland. He was unanimously nominated as the Democratic candidate for Governor of Iowa in 1879. He promoted the construction of the railroad which is now the Wabash line from Bloomfield to Ottumwa, and in 1878 became attorney for the Burlington road, serving with peculiar ability for the remainder of his very active life. In 1881 he was made general attorney for the road, and the next year removed to Keokuk, where his residence thereafter remained. He was a famous trial lawyer. Among his achievements are judgments in some of the most famous criminal battles in the history of southeastern Iowa. He was successful in his connection with the noted Andrew J. Davis will case in the courts of Butte, Montana. He was a large landowner, was the president of a number of banking institutions and the promoter of fine stock breeding. He was of spare build, tall, and in his later years apparently frail. In conserving his health, he resolved his habits into an almost mechanical system of outdoor exercise, and thus he considered that he preserved and prolonged both his physical and mental powers much beyond the period when both might have been expected to have broken. He delighted in the open fields and was a champion with dog and gun. He was a member of the Beta Theta Pi in his college days, and of the Masonic Order.

WILLIAM F. BRANNAN was born in Washington, D. C., September 24, 1824; he died at Muscatine, Iowa, February 12, 1910. His parents were John and Mary (McLeod) Brannan, natives of Ireland. He received his early education at McLeod's Academy, continuing there after entering the office of the *Globe* as an apprentice at the age of sixteen. In 1843 he removed to Hagerstown, Maryland, near which place he taught in the public schools and later as a tutor in private families. Here he began the study of law, and in 1846 was admitted to the bar. He became a partner in the *Hagerstown Mail*, editing that paper until his appointment as auditor of the court of chancery in 1853. He removed to Muscatine, Iowa, in 1855, and

entered the practice of the law. In 1858 he was nominated by the Democrats and elected the first county superintendent of schools. He served one term and declined renomination. He was appointed a trustee of the University of Iowa about this time and was one of the earliest and most effective advocates of co-education. In 1868 he was a delegate, and in 1884 a delegate and vice-president, of the Democratic National Convention. He was nominated by his party for Congress in the early seventies, and was barely defeated in his district which was strongly Republican. Upon the unanimous recommendation of the bar of Muscatine, in 1872, Governor Carpenter, a Republican, appointed Judge Brannan, a Democrat, to fill a vacancy on the district bench. At the end of his first term, on his refusal to become a partisan candidate, both parties placed his name on their tickets. He was elected, and the wholesome precedent of elevating the bench above partisanship has since been followed in the seventh judicial district. Judge Brannan resigned and re-entered the practice before the expiration of his term, continuing until 1886 when he was returned to the bench. He was nominated in 1869 and again in 1884 for supreme judge, but both times failed to overcome the great Republican majorities. On the district bench he continued to serve uninterruptedly without opposition until January 1, 1903. He then announced his unwillingness to serve longer because of failing health, whereupon the bar of his district, in a meeting at Davenport by resolution unanimously commended his career as having been at all times conscientious, painstaking, honest, fearless, broad-minded and impartial. Judge Brannan possessed an almost marvellous memory and the faculty of lucid expression of opinion. He never abandoned his interest in newspaper work, volunteered much editorial and news matter to the local press, and contributed a series of articles to Chicago papers upon his memory of events at Washington in the time of Andrew Jackson, of which as a lad, he was a witness.

MARTIN NELSON JOHNSON was born in Racine county, Wis., March 3, 1850; he died at Fargo, N. D., October 21, 1909. When yet in his infancy, he was taken by his father to the family's new home in Winneshiek county, Iowa. In due time young Johnson entered the State University, graduating in 1873. He was for a short time after his graduation instructor in the California Military Academy at Oakland. Returning to Iowa he was admitted to the bar in 1876. He had just been chosen a member of the House of Representatives from his home county. In that body he was made chairman of the committee on the state library. In 1877 he was elected a member of the state Senate, being in that body when the prohibitory amendment to the constitution was adopted for submission to the next General Assembly, and supported that measure. In 1880 he was chairman of the same committee in the Senate. While a senator he secured the adoption of statutory provision under which persons applying for opportunity to teach special subjects are allowed to take examination for such specialty without being required to take a general examination. In 1876 Mr. Johnson was an elector for president and vice-president, casting his vote for Hayes and Wheeler. In 1884 he removed to the territory of Dakota, and there entered the land which was his home to the last. He was

prosecuting attorney for a couple of years, and was president of the body that drafted the constitution for the State of North Dakota. In this convention he resolutely contended for a bicameral legislature, making a strong fight for a legislature with only one house, citing as precedent many other states and countries, including that of his ancestors, Norway. The convention, however, adopted the plan of a legislature with two bodies. When the first Legislature met Mr. Johnson was nominated by the Republican caucus for U. S. Senator, but a combination of disaffected Republicans with the majority party defeated him in the joint convention of the General Assembly. He was chairman of the first Republican convention of the State. In 1890 he was elected to Congress, representing the entire State. He was re-elected four times, serving as a member of the committee on ways and means, and as such participating in framing the tariff law of 1897. He voluntarily retired from Congress in 1889 to become a candidate for United States Senator. Defeated in his candidacy he returned to farming and grain dealing. In 1908 he was again a candidate for United States Senator, and in 1909 was elected by the Legislature a member of that body, taking his seat March 4, 1909.

W. H. F.

LEONARD WOODS PARISH was born in Springfield, Mass., July 4, 1850; he died March 21, 1910, at Marshalltown, from injuries received the same day in a railroad wreck near Green Mountain, Iowa. He was educated in the public schools of New Haven, Conn., and Springfield, Mass., and graduated from Yale in 1872. He began his career as a teacher in the high school of Bradford, Conn., going thence to Glastonbury Academy for two years. He removed to Rock Island, Ill., in 1877, and to Des Moines in 1879, where he served as superintendent of the West Des Moines schools for six years. He served as superintendent of schools at Independence, Iowa, until 1890, when he joined the faculty of the Iowa State Teachers College, then entitled the Iowa State Normal School, at Cedar Falls, Iowa. Here he resided for the rest of his life. He was for five years professor of psychology and didactics. In 1895 he was transferred to the department of political science, and recently was made the head of that department. Throughout his residence in Iowa he was a factor and leading member of the Iowa State Teachers' Association, serving as chairman of the executive committee a portion of the time. He was a curator of the Iowa State Historical Society. He was the author of "Institute Economics" and "Civil Government in Iowa," and a number of other important educational works. His son, Professor John Parish, is assistant editor of the Iowa Journal of History and Politics, and has recently been attached to the faculty of Beloit College.

P. GAD BRYAN was born of Irish parents near West Carlisle, Coshocton county, Ohio, December 11, 1825; he died at Des Moines, Iowa, March 22, 1910. He moved with his parents from Ohio to Georgetown, Illinois, in 1839, and there lived and worked upon a farm. In 1846 he began the study of medicine and graduated from Wabash Medical College in 1848. In the same year he began the

practice of his profession at Darwin, Ill. In December, 1850, he moved to Indianola, Iowa, where he continued the practice of medicine, meantime studying law. He was admitted to the bar in 1852, when he immediately gave up the practice of medicine and began at once the practice of the law, which he continued until January 1, 1900. Although a life-long Democrat, he was in 1850 elected from Warren county, Iowa, to the Legislature of the State and again re-elected to the same position in 1854. In October, 1875, he removed from Indianola to Des Moines, Iowa, and there continued the practice of the law, and for two terms was elected and served as city solicitor of Des Moines. As a lawyer he possessed many qualities of success. He had a keen sense of humor and justice, and maintained unflinchingly, the highest standard of professional integrity, always commanding the confidence and respect of all whom he encountered. He was an easy and pleasant speaker, with an active and well trained mind, both witty and analytical and withal possessed a pleasing and charming personality. Before removing to Des Moines Colonel Bryan was, in a district largely Republican, twice elected district attorney for the judicial district in Iowa, at that time comprising the counties of Warren, Madison, Polk, Adair, Cass, Dallas, Guthrie, Audubon and Greene. This position he resigned in 1861 to enlist in the Civil War. He was elected captain of Company A of the First Iowa Cavalry and was with his regiment in the battles of Milford, Prairie Grove, McGuire's Ford, Van Buren, Ark., and in various engagements in western guerrilla warfare. He was promoted to major of his regiment in 1862, and lieutenant colonel in 1863. He left his regiment in 1863 to become chief of scouts for Mississippi, Louisiana and Arkansas, in which capacity he served to the close of the war. He was prominent in the organization of what was known in Iowa as the "Blue Ribbon Club" and was the first president of that organization. He was also a member of the Octogenarian and the Polk County Old Settlers' Association.

G. W. S.

ADDISON A. STUART was born in the State of Massachusetts, in 1832; he died in Chicago, March 10, 1910. He came to Iowa in childhood. In 1862, he became a member of Company D, 17th Iowa Volunteers, of which he was made first lieutenant. After some months of service he was promoted to the captaincy. Wounded at both Champion Hills and Missionary Ridge, he resigned in February, 1864. On returning to Iowa, he wrote and had published a work entitled, "Iowa Colonels and Regiments." In this book he gave more or less elaborate sketches of ninety-four of the commanding officers of those regiments. His descriptions of battle-scenes are exceptionally vivid.

W. H. F.

HENRY EVARTS GORDON was born at Auburndale, Mass., September 28, 1855; he died at Iowa City, Iowa, September 18, 1909. He was educated at the Newton high school near Boston, and at Amherst, where he took his degree in 1879. From 1880 to 1896 he was principal of Tillotson Academy, Trinidad, Col., going thence to Colorado College to fill the chair of rhetoric and oratory. He remained there until 1900, when he was elected to the chair of public speaking in the University of Iowa. He was a member of the American Association of Speech Arts, of the Alpha Delta Phi and of Phi Beta Kappa.

EDWIN C. McMILLAN was born in Columbiana county, Ohio, June 8, 1839; he died at Keokuk, Iowa, December 9, 1909. He removed to Indiana where he enlisted in the Sixth Indiana Cavalry, gallantly serving for three years, and when discharged was captain of Company F. At the close of the war, Capt. McMillan engaged in the practice of dentistry at Bowling Green, Indiana, from which place he removed to Albion, Marshall county, Iowa. He served as sheriff of Marshall county for a number of years. In 1878 he was appointed warden of the penitentiary at Ft. Madison, serving in that capacity for six years, and again, after an interval for four years. He was a resident of Marshall county the greater part of his life, but for four years had made his home in Keokuk.

DANIEL JOHN PATTON was born in Fayette county, Pa., January 27, 1836; he died near Hampton, Iowa, March 14, 1910. He removed to Franklin county, Iowa, in 1869, locating in what is now Ingham township. Ten years later he purchased a farm in Mott township, and there resided for the greater part of the remainder of his life. He was a leading farmer and stock raiser in his county, a strong force in the moulding of opinion and the up-building of his community in every way. In 1900 he was elected to the lower house of the 28th General Assembly, serving again in the 29th.

EDWARD ENTWISTLE was born March 15, 1815, at Tillsleys Banks, Lancashire, England; he died at Des Moines, Iowa, October 31, 1909. He was apprenticed to the Duke of Bridgewater who had large machine shops at Manchester. It was in these shops that the inventor, Stephenson, built his first locomotive, and a portion of the work on it was done by Mr. Entwistle. When Stephenson took the locomotive for its trial trip, he had Mr. Entwistle attend him as fireman. The "Rocket" drew the first train between Manchester and Liverpool, and for two years Mr. Entwistle as engineer, made two round trips daily. He was transferred on his own request to a coasting steamer owned by the Duke of Bridgewater, and as its engineer remained in that service until he was twenty-two years of age, when he migrated to America. He ran steamboats on the Hudson river, and on the Great Lakes until 1856, when he came to Des Moines, where his home remained the rest of his life. He made a few trips from Des Moines to Keokuk and return during the navigation of the Des Moines river, but for the most part was engaged as a stationary engineer throughout his active years.

CHARLES M. HARL was born in Sandusky, Ohio, November 13, 1856; he died at Council Bluffs, Iowa, March 1, 1910. John W. Harl, the father of Charles M., removed with his family to Council Bluffs in 1858. The father died three years later and an only brother, Ed, was killed in battle at Helena, Ark. Charles was educated in the Council Bluffs public schools, graduating from the high school in 1874. Entering the office of Caleb Baldwin as a law student, he completed his studies and was admitted to the bar in 1876. He became a member of the firm of Smith and Carson, continuing until 1886

when George Carson was elected to the district bench and the firm became Smith and Harl. Two years later Spencer Smith was elected a member of the state railroad commission and retired from the firm. Shortly thereafter the firm became Burke, Harl and Tinley, with the late Finley Burke and Emmet Tinley as associates with Mr. Harl. At the time of his death Mr. Harl was the senior member of the firm of Harl and Tinley. Mr. Harl served from 1882 to 1887 as secretary of the board of education of Council Bluffs. He was a candidate for Congress before the Republican convention of the 9th Iowa district which named Judge J. R. Reed. He served as first vice-president of the league of Republican clubs of Iowa in the presidential campaign of 1888. He was an active and influential member of the Iowa State Bar Association, and its president in 1909. He was one of the trustees of the Broadway Methodist Church of Council Bluffs.

WILLIAM INSCO BUCHANAN was born in Covington, Ohio, September 10, 1853; he died in London, England, October 17, 1909. He was educated in the common schools of his native State and was engrossing clerk of the Indiana House of Representatives in 1874-75. He removed to Sioux City, Iowa, in 1882, and was an organizer and manager of the Corn Palace Exposition at that place; a member of the Iowa Commission of the World's Columbian Exposition; was appointed chief of the Department of Agriculture in 1890 and of the live stock and forestry department of the World's Fair in 1891. He was Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Argentine Republic from 1894-1900. He also served as arbitrator on the special commission to fix the boundary between the Chilean and Argentine governments. As such he established the line between latitudes 23° and 26°, 52' 45" north. He was United States delegate to the second Pan-American conference in Mexico in 1902, and was at the head of the United States delegation at the third conference. He was the first United States minister to the republic of Panama. He served as high commissioner on the part of the United States to settle disputes between the United States and Venezuela, and at the time of his death was serving as an agent of the United States for the future arbitration at The Hague of one of the pending Venezuelan questions. Mr. Buchanan was a Democrat and received his appointment as minister to the Argentine Republic from President Cleveland, but maintained his position and won promotions through succeeding Republican administrations. His residence at the time of his death was Buffalo, N. Y.

GEORGE WILLARD PERKINS was born in Derry, N. H., October 23, 1832; he died at Shenandoah, Iowa, May 1, 1910. He attended the common schools of his native State, removing in 1855 to Weathersfield, Ill., and in 1871 to Fremont county, Iowa, where he acquired land and established his home. He was elected to the state senate in 1890, rendering distinguished service during a four-year term. He was a member of the committees on ways and means and on agriculture. He was appointed railroad commissioner in 1892, and after three years was elected to the same position. During his active service he suffered a stroke of apoplexy from which he never recovered.

HENRY M. BELVEL was born in Guernsey county, Ohio, June 15, 1842; he died in Des Moines, Iowa, Jan. 29, 1910. He attended the common schools of Ohio, removing to Wayne county, Iowa, in 1852. He enlisted August 15, 1862, in Co. F, 34th Iowa Infantry, serving as corporal. He was honorably discharged April 10, 1863. He participated in the siege of Vicksburg, and other engagements in which his regiment took part. In 1868 he entered the newspaper field in Wayne and Decatur counties. He was for a time editor of the *Democrat-Chronicle* of Des Moines, and from November, 1907, to May, 1909, was editor and publisher of the *Grand Army Advocate*. He was secretary of the Iowa State commission created for the purpose of investigating and reporting upon the feasibility of voting machines. He was past commander of Kinsman Post, G. A. R., and during his career held many places in the Iowa Department G. A. R.

JOHN H. LOOBY was born in Newmarket, Ontario, Canada, Nov. 25, 1835; he died in Des Moines, Iowa, Dec. 24, 1909. When twelve years old his father died and he went to live with relatives in Canandaigua, N. Y., where he worked on a farm during the summer, and attended school in the winter. He apprenticed himself for three years to learn the trade of house painting, later going to Rochester to perfect himself in this line of work. In 1856, he removed to Des Moines, Iowa, and began work at his trade. At the first call for volunteers in 1861, he sold out his business and enlisted April 1st, as a private in Company D, Second Iowa Infantry. He was severely wounded at Shiloh, and obliged to leave the service for some weeks. After partial recovery from his wounds, he was commissioned second lieutenant of Company D, 18th Infantry. On account of impaired health he was detailed to detached service, and made acting adjutant of the regiment Sept. 1, 1862, serving until the close of 1863, when he was recommended for promotion to captain. This he declined, having decided to join a colored regiment. He was mustered out of the 18th and commissioned first lieutenant of the 62d U. S. Infantry, and June 3, 1864, was promoted to captain. He was mustered out with his regiment March 31, 1866, at Brownsville, Texas. On May 10th, Congress promoted him to brevet major, as a reward for gallantry, bravery, faithful service and actual worth. After the war he returned to Des Moines and resumed his work as a painter, continuing in this occupation until June 20, 1870. On the death of Adjutant General Baker, Oct. 1, 1876, Mr. Looby was appointed his successor, serving until June 27, 1878. On account of ill health the last years of his life were spent in retirement.

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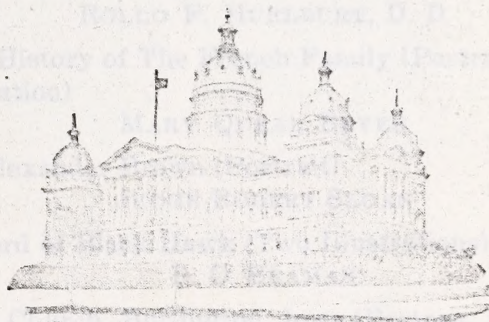
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ANNALS OF IOWA

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Chairmen of Republican State Convention, Des Moines, Iowa, Jan. 18, 1860.

ED. WRIGHT,
Temporary Chairman.

W. W. HAMILTON,
Permanent Chairman.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

VOL. IX, Nos. 6-7. DES MOINES, IOWA, JULY-OCTOBER, 1910. 3D SERIES

THE REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION

DES MOINES, JANUARY 18, 1860.

BY F. I. HERRIOTT,

*Professor of Economics, Political and Social Science,
Drake University.*

At two o'clock, Wednesday afternoon, January 18, 1860, the delegates to the Republican state convention assembled at Sherman's Hall, Third Street and Court Avenue, Des Moines. All contemporary accounts of the convention concur in declaring it the largest in point of numbers held in the State up to that time by the Republican party or by any other party. Both houses of the Legislature had adjourned, as many of its members were accredited delegates. General public interest in the work of the convention was so great that Sherman's Hall was "full to overflowing." For the first time in the history of the Republican party of Iowa its delegates had assembled for the sole purpose of selecting delegates to a national convention of the party.

(a) *The Preliminaries of Organization.*

The convention was called to order by Mr. John A. Kasson, chairman of the state central committee. On behalf of the committee Mr. Kasson nominated for temporary chairman, Mr. Ed Wright of Cedar county—a selection at once fitting and significant. He had been sent to the lower house of the General Assembly in 1856 and soon achieved distinction as a master of the technicalities of parliamentary procedure. Mr. Wright's home was near Springdale, John Brown's rendezvous in eastern Iowa previous to his raid on Harper's Ferry. He was a Quaker or Friend in religious belief. Like most, if not all, Friends, he was an Abolitionist in fact as well as in the-

ory, being a promoter of the Underground Railway.¹ For secretary of the convention *pro tem*, Mr. Geo. A. Hawley, a lawyer of Leon, Decatur county, then quite prominent in the party's councils in Southern Iowa, was nominated. Both nominations were confirmed without opposition.² In these days Mr. Wright would have instructed or entertained or harassed the delegates with a speech, essaying to sound "key-notes" for the ensuing campaign, but the reports indicate nothing of the sort. The work of organization proceeded at once.

In constituting the committees on credentials and on permanent organization, eleven members were named, one from each of the judicial districts of the State. Among the members of the committee on credentials were Col. Alvin Saunders of Mt. Pleasant, and Senator M. L. McPherson of Winterset; and among the committee on permanent organization were Dr. J. C. Walker of Ft. Madison, John Edwards of Chariton, Samuel Merrill of McGregor, and W. P. Hepburn of Marshalltown—delegates who either participated in the convention at Chicago, or who later had distinguished careers in the State.

The committee on credentials found that its task of canvassing the certificates of the delegates or their proxies, even though there were no contesting delegations, was not to be done in a few minutes; and two hours or more were consumed before they completed their work. The convention meanwhile, being indisposed to adjourn, indulged in hilarity and speeches *ex tempore*. Sundry leaders or orators were called upon by their admirers or henchmen—Messrs. Wm. Penn Clarke, James F. Wilson, Jacob Butler, John Edwards, C. C. Nourse, J. B. Grinnell, John A. Kasson, Henry O'Connor and others—some responding, some refusing. One of the speakers and the incidents of his speech were out of the ordinary and illustrate in an interesting fashion some of the phases of the convention.

¹Charles Aldrich in *The Annals of Iowa* (3rd Series) II, 376-386, article on "General Ed Wright."

²*The Daily State Register*, Jan. 19, 1860. In what follows respecting the convention the account of the proceedings in the *Register*, Jan. 19 and 20, is taken unless otherwise stated.

The big chiefs, or those who would venture, had spoken; and intermittent noise and confusion prevailed. There was a moment's lull and some one (the writer suspects the late Charles Aldrich) called, "Johns!" Forthwith a striking figure arose in the fore left corner of the hall and started toward the platform. The convention was silent with astonishment for an instant, and then derisive laughter and shouts burst forth. The prospective speaker was of medium height, solidly built, vigorous of mien and tread, with a fine head firmly set on sturdy shoulders. He had seen sixty winters. Thin grey hair fell in straggling locks on his shoulders and a shaggy, unkempt beard covered his face and throat. His garb consisted of blue "home-made" jeans trousers and blouse that had done yeoman service. The artistic climax of the stranger's habiliments was his headgear. It consisted of a knit cap of blue and white yarn that "ran up to a peak," whence a tassel flared and flirted jauntily with the motion of body and head.

This picturesque figure advanced rapidly to the platform, indifferent to the uproar which his appearance produced, and faced the convention. He was as stalwart as a Sioux. His weatherbeaten features were stern and impassive. His keen grey-blue eyes swept the crowd with a haughty glance. One chronicler, who witnessed the scene, states that his manner strongly suggested "Brown of Ossawatimie." He made no effort to speak, for the shouts increased as the assembly got a full view. He was a veritable backwoodsman and a "sight" indeed. Chairman Wright hammered the table lustily to secure order but in vain. Not knowing the stranger's name and catching the eye of Mr. Charles Aldrich, seated near the edge of the platform, Mr. Wright stepped over to him and asked who "the old chap" was. "Why," came the reply, "that is Father John Johns of Webster county, and if you'll get this infernal mob still enough to hear him, he'll give them a good speech!"

The self-possession, perfect poise and dignity of the stranger, soon brought the delegates back to a proper sense of decorum, and Chairman Wright introduced him. He was a hunter and trapper and withal an itinerant Baptist preacher

of the "Free Will" persuasion, who lived on Skillet creek, near Border Plains, in south central Webster county. He was a Kentuckian by birth and upbringing and an Abolitionist of the militant type—a fact that made his emigration from his native heath expedient, if not imperative. The character and substance of his speech can be but partially indicated. He certainly fulfilled Mr. Aldrich's prediction, as all accounts refer to his effort with decided approval.

He mastered his audience at once. In manner he was serious, almost solemn in delivery. His language was concise, unadorned, pointed. Barbed and nipping words seem to have frequently expressed his thoughts with telling effect. The righteousness of the Republican cause and the party's great opportunity, the iniquities of Slavery and the aggressions of the Slavocrats in Kansas, in the courts and at Washington, the blunders and corruption of "Buck-Hannan's" administration, were the main considerations of his speech. Many of his sharp thrusts elicited rounds of applause.

The impression made by the speaker was somewhat complex and contradictory. Mr. G. H. Jerome, editor of *The Iowa City Republican*, informs his readers that his speech contained some of "the wittiest and quaintest remarks that it has ever been my fortune to hear in any convention. He repeatedly brought down the house."¹ On the other hand Mr. John Mahin writes his readers that the stranger "seemed himself,

¹*The Iowa City Republican*, Jan. 25, 1860. Correspondence dated Des Moines, Jan. 18.

The account of John Johns and his speech is based upon correspondence and interviews of the writer with Hon. Levi S. Coffin of Fort Dodge, Judge C. C. Nourse, and W. S. Moore of Des Moines, Charles Aldrich, late Curator of the Historical Department of Iowa, and Professor D. R. Dungan of Drake University, a nephew of John Johns; also upon the recollections of Charles Aldrich, published in July, 1892, entitled "Recollections of Rev. John Johns of Webster County," *Iowa Historical Record*, VIII, 321-325; and W. S. Moore's "A Notable Convention," *Iowa State Register*, September 4, 1892, p. 10.

The reader may study the features of John Johns in a reproduction of an old "tin type," taken two or three years after the convention, in a group of "Some of Iowa's Delegates-at-Large" to the Chicago Convention, opposite page 186 of Volume VIII of *The Annals*.

however, to be too earnest and solemn in his opposition to slavery to treat things jocularly, and scarcely indulged in a smile while on the stage.¹

The speech of John Johns was the one dramatic episode of the convention. The subsequent action of the delegates indicates conclusively its striking effect. In the various reports of the proceedings of the convention in the press of the State his speech was the one thing especially mentioned.²

Between four and five o'clock the committee on credentials reported. According to the only published list of the counties represented, there were 406 delegates or their proxies present, representing 78 out of the 99 counties of the State. Had all of the counties sent their quota of delegates there would have been 466 present. In view of the modes and conditions of travel and the time of the year the representation was very large. Iowa City was the western terminus of the only railroad of consequence in the State. Steamboats theoretically and occasionally navigated the Des Moines river but transit thereon, especially in the tortuous courses of the upper fifty miles, was exceedingly uncertain. Stage coaches were the main public carriers and the condition of roads in country and town in Iowa in the middle of January in 1860 may easily be imagined. The public interest and personal zeal of partizans that brought so many delegates together at such a time under such conditions must have been very pronounced.

The counties not represented were Adair, Adams, Buena Vista, Calhoun, Cerro Gordo, Cherokee, Clay, Dickinson, Emmet, Harrison, Hancock, Ida, Jones, Montgomery, Monona, Palo Alto, Pocahontas, Sac, Shelby, Union and Winnebago. For the most part the counties were near the borders of the State. Their quota of delegates, however, amounted all told to only 34. Twenty-two of the counties represented failed to send their entire quota, the number thus deficient being 36.

¹*The Daily Muscatine Journal*, Jan. 23, 1860.

²*The Burlington Hawk-Eye*, Jan. 23; *The Iowa City Republican*, Jan. 25; *The Muscatine Journal*, Jan. 23; *The Pella Gazette*, Jan. 25; *The Oskaloosa Herald* quoted in the *Hamilton Freeman*, Feb. 4, 1860.

(b) *The Character of the County Delegations.*

The delegates reported present represented the party and the State excellently both as regards the commonalty and the yeomanry as well as the leaders. Some of the State's best character and largest caliber were found among them—men who had been foremost in public affairs or who then were pressing rapidly to the front and were later to have distinguished careers in the State and the nation. It is so common in popular prints and among academic writers and those who class themselves with the elite, literary and social, to refer contemptuously to ordinary party conclaves, that brief mention of the careers of some of the delegates assembled in Sherman's Hall that afternoon may be worth while. A few delegates reported as present appear not to have attended. It is probable that they were selected by local caucuses or county conventions and were so reported to the committee on credentials, but even if not present their selection indicates the wishes of the local constituency.

A poll of the delegates with respect to their nativity and ages, their states of residence prior to coming to Iowa and years of their residence in the State previous to the convention, their education, general and technical, their occupations and professions, their religious creeds and church preferences, their party affiliations prior to joining the Republican party, their public honors and services before and after the convention, would be both interesting and instructive, but the writer does not possess complete data.

Mr. Wm. Penn Clarke of Johnson county is credited with being one of the secretaries of the Pittsburg convention, February 22, 1856, which has substantial claims as the first Republican national convention. Mr. Andrew J. Stevens of Polk county was selected by that convention as the member of the national committee for Iowa and joined in the call of March 29, addressed "To the People of the United States" urging all "without regard to past political differences or divisions" to send delegates to a convention in Philadelphia

June 17, 1856. Mr. Stevens was the first chairman of the Republican state central committee in Iowa.

Nineteen counties sent 31 delegates who had attended as delegates at Iowa City, February 22, 1856, when the Republican party was organized in Iowa. They were John Shane and J. C. Traer of Benton county, J. A. Chapline, R. I. Thomas and W. W. Hamilton of Dubuque, Wells Spicer and Ed Wright of Cedar, J. W. Sherman of Dallas, Fitz Henry Warren of Des Moines, Jackson Orr of Greene, J. F. Brown of Hardin, S. McFarland of Henry, J. W. Jenkins of Jackson, R. Gaines and J. F. Wilson of Jefferson, E. and R. Clark of Johnson, G. D. Woodin of Keokuk, H. Taylor of Lee, H. C. Angle of Linn, Wm. M. Stone of Marion, Jacob Butler, S. Foster, John Mahin and Henry O'Connor of Muscatine, J. B. Grinnell of Poweshiek, B. F. Gue, J. C. Quinn and A. Sanders of Scott, and J. W. Caldwell and J. W. Norris of Wapello. Mr. J. B. Grinnell is credited with the authorship of the "Address" of the convention to the people of Iowa.¹

Six of the delegates had been chosen by the first state convention in 1856 as delegates or alternates to represent the party at the first national Republican convention at Philadelphia, in June of that year: Messrs. F. H. Warren of Des Moines county and J. W. Caldwell of Wapello as delegates and Messrs. Jacob Butler, Thomas Drummond, J. W. Jenkins and Daniel Anderson, alternates. Three of those named could not attend and Messrs. J. W. Sherman of Dallas county, R. L. B. Clarke of Henry, and A. J. Stevens of Polk exercised their proxies at Philadelphia.

Mr. G. M. Swan of Warren county is credited with the authorship of the call that caused the first meeting in Columbus, Ohio, whence resulted the organization of the Republican party in Ohio,² and Mr. Wm. B. Allison of Dubuque was the secretary of that state convention when it was organized.³

Six of the delegates had been members of the Constitutional Convention of 1857 that had framed the supreme law of

¹List of Delegates compiled by Mr. Louis Pelzer in *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, IV, 521-525.

²*History of Warren County* (1879) p. 502.

³*John Sherman's Recollections*, p. 76.

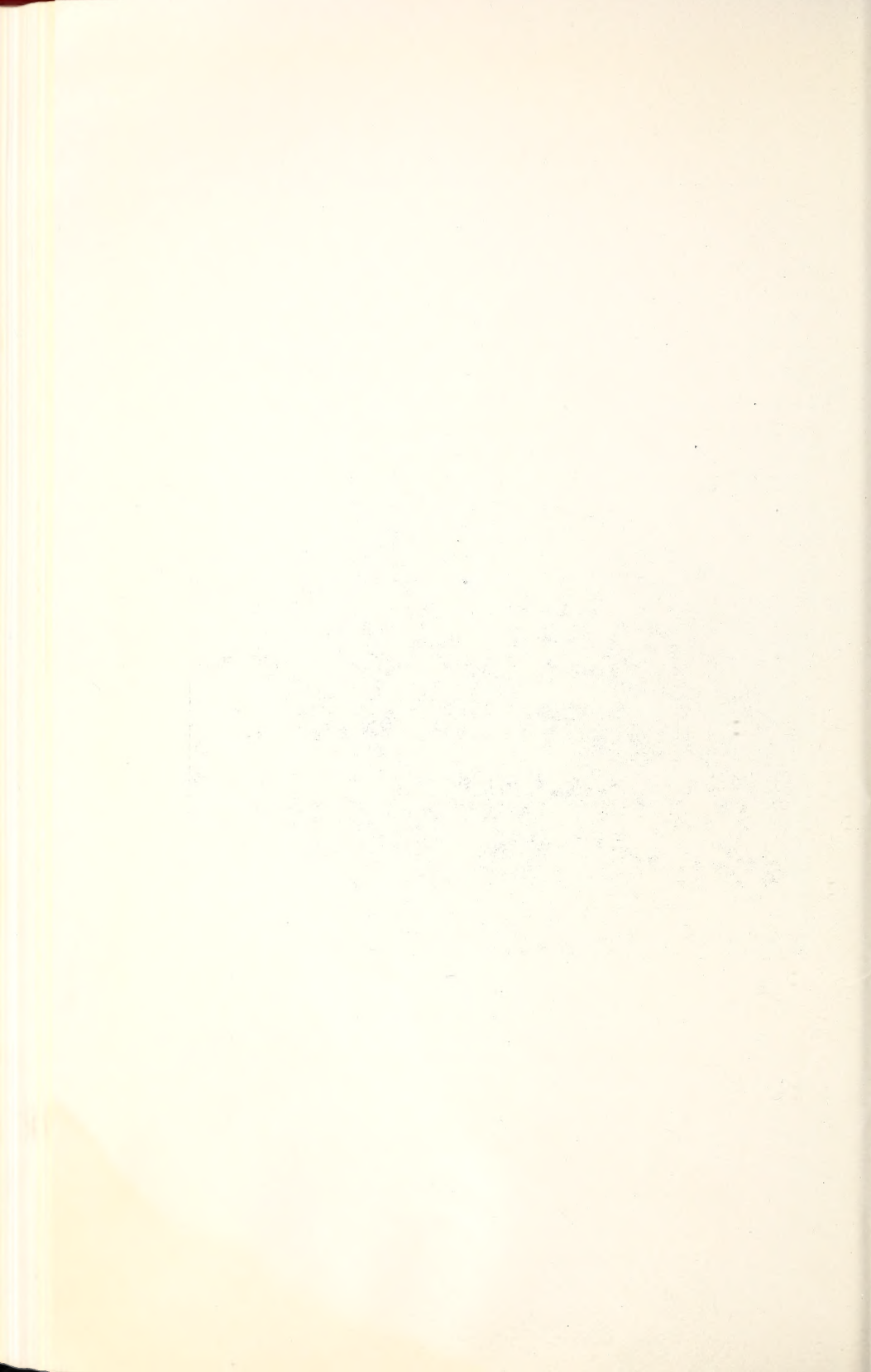
Iowa under which the people have since continued to live. Messrs. Wm. Penn Clarke of Johnson county, R. L. B. Clarke of Henry, John Edwards of Lucas, J. C. Traer of Tama, Wm. A. Warren of Jackson, and James F. Wilson of Jefferson. Two other delegates, Alvin Saunders of Henry and S. Goodrell of Polk county (then of Muscatine county) had been members of the Constitutional Convention of 1846, which framed the first constitution for the State; and Judge Ralph P. Lowe had been a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1844, that first undertook to construct a constitution for the people.

Fifty-six delegates had been, and of the number 47 then were and 32 later became members of the House of Representatives of the General Assembly of Iowa. Thirty-six had been and 22 then were members of the state Senate and 26 thereafter became members of that body. Two delegates, Samuel McFarland of Henry county had been and John Edwards of Lucas then was the speaker of the House of Representatives; and two others, Rush Clark of Johnson and Jacob Butler of Muscatine county were later to become speaker. Messrs. W. W. Hamilton of Dubuque county and Oran Faville had been presidents of the Senate and Nicholas J. Rusch of Scott county then was; and Enoch W. Eastman of Hardin, B. F. Gue of Scott and Frank T. Campbell of Jasper county were thereafter to be elected lieutenant governor of the State, and thereby became presidents of the Senate. Three had had experience in the legislatures of older eastern states; Messrs. Jesse Bowen of Johnson and John Edwards of Lucas in Indiana, and Samuel Merrill of Clayton in the legislature of New Hampshire.

There were a number who had held, were then holding or were destined to hold prominent positions in the state government. Dr. Jesse Bowen of Johnson county was adjutant general of the militia. Mr. M. L. Morris, also of Johnson county, had been, and Mr. George W. Bemis of Buchanan was to become treasurer of state. Messrs. Andrew J. Stevens of Polk, John Pattee of Bremer had held, and Jonathan W. Cattell of Cedar was holding the office of auditor of state. W. A. Warren of Jackson was the candidate of the Whig party in



SHERMAN'S HALL,
Third Street and Court Avenue.
Meeting place of Republican State Convention, Des Moines, Iowa, Jan. 18, 1860.
(Photographed October, 1910.)



1848 for that office. Thomas H. Benton, Jr., of Pottawattamie had been superintendent of public instruction and Mr. Oran Faville afterwards held the office. Mr. Ed Wright, the temporary chairman was later to serve the people as secretary of state and Messrs. George A. Hawley of Decatur, J. W. Jenkins of Jackson, M. L. McPherson of Madison, J. W. Thompson of Scott had been or were later prominent but unsuccessful candidates for the office.

Ralph P. Lowe of Lee had been Governor of Iowa, retiring from that office the week preceding the convention; and Messrs. Samuel Merrill of Clayton, Wm. Larrabee of Fayette and Wm. M. Stone of Marion county, later became Chief Executive of the State. Messrs. J. B. Grinnell, Henry O'Connor, J. B. Weaver and Fitz Henry Warren became prominent candidates for the office.

A number had been, or later became, judges of the district or circuit courts. Thus John H. Gray of Polk county, Ralph P. Lowe of Lee, Samuel Murdock of Clayton, John W. Rankin of Lee, Wm. Smyth of Linn and W. M. Stone of Marion were judges prior to the convention. Messrs. M. B. Burdick of Wineshiek county, D. D. Chase of Hamilton, H. C. Henderson of Marshall, Wm. Loughridge of Mahaska, C. C. Nourse of Polk, Geo. W. Ruddick of Bremer, and John Shane of Benton afterwards became judges.

There were present eight who had been or then were "County Kings," to-wit, the county judges who under the Code of 1851 exercised all the legislative, executive and judicial functions previously exercised by the county commissioners: G. M. Dean of Allamakee, F. B. Doolittle of Delaware, Oran Faville of Mitchell, P. P. Henderson of Warren, Lewis H. Smith of Kossuth, Wells Spicer of Cedar, Wm. Van O'Linda of Plymouth, and J. C. Hagans of Ringgold county.

As the work of the convention was not directly or immediately connected with "local issues" superficially considered, the presence of judges, even of the court of highest resort in the State, was not deemed inappropriate, and among the delegates we find the names of every member of the Supreme Court as then constituted, namely: Caleb Baldwin of Potta-

wattamie county, Ralph P. Lowe of Lee, and L. D. Stockton of Des Moines. George G. Wright of Van Buren had but a few days before left the court and was later to be its Chief Justice. Sundry important officials of that court were also in the convention. Mr. Wm. Penn Clarke of Johnson was reporter of the supreme court from 1855 to 1860. The first attorney general of the state, Mr. D. C. Cloud, of Muscatine county, had been selected by the party convention at Muscatine, but his attendance at Des Moines is not recorded. Two of the delegates in Sherman's Hall afterwards became attorney general, Messrs. John F. McJunkin of Washington and Henry O'Connor of Muscatine.

Two members of the commission to revise the code of the State that submitted its report to the General Assembly in 1860, Messrs. Charles Ben Darwin of Des Moines county, who had been active in securing Abraham Lincoln's consent to speak in Burlington in 1858, and Wm. Smyth of Linn county, were among the delegates.

There were nine state officers in the convention as delegates; three district judges and three district attorneys; two county judges, three clerks of county courts, and one county treasurer — twenty-one all told. This number was not very large considering the fact that there were at the time about five hundred and fifty state and county officers, two-thirds of whom were probably Republicans.

If we include the members of the state central committee as servants of the convention, sixteen delegates had represented or afterwards represented the people of Iowa or other states in the national House of Representatives at Washington, many of them achieving noteworthy distinction in the deliberations and decisions of that body. They were Wm. B. Allison of Dubuque county, T. M. Bowen of Page, Rush Clark of Johnson, W. G. Donnan of Buchanan, John Edwards of Lucas, J. B. Grinnell of Poweshiek, W. P. Hepburn of Marshall, A. W. Hubbard of Woodbury, John A. Kasson of Polk, Wm. Loughridge of Mahaska, Jackson Orr of Greene, Charles Pomeroy of Boone, Wm. Smyth of Linn, James Thorington of Scott, James B. Weaver of Davis and James F. Wilson of Jefferson.

Five of the delegates subsequently entered the Senate of the United States. Judge George G. Wright served from 1871 to 1876 when he refused re-election. Mr. T. M. Bowen, after a noteworthy career in Kansas and Arkansas, went to Colorado whence he was elected to the Senate in 1883 serving until 1889. The other three delegates who reached the Senate were Messrs. Alvin Saunders of Henry, James F. Wilson of Jefferson and W. B. Allison of Dubuque county, of whose careers more will be said. In 1854 Mr. Fitz Henry Warren was the leading candidate of the Whigs for the Senate, but Mr. James Harlan was finally elected. In 1858 Wm. Penn Clarke and Wm. Smyth were prominently mentioned and received votes in the party caucus when Mr. Grimes was selected.

In the executive departments of the national government some of the delegates had had, or later achieved, position and influence. Mr. Fitz Henry Warren had been assistant postmaster general under President Taylor and subsequently was secretary of the national committee of the anti-slavery Whigs in the presidential campaign of 1852. W. H. F. Gurley of Scott county, became President Lincoln's first district attorney in Iowa; ill health and death soon cut off a career of brilliant promise. The careers of Messrs. Henry O'Connor and H. C. Caldwell will require mention subsequently.

Three of the delegates accredited to the convention in Sherman's Hall that afternoon attained to such nation-wide influence that at various times they were urged by admirers in national political parties for presidential honors. Mr. J. B. Weaver of Davis county was twice nominated for the presidency; first, by the National Greenback party in 1880, receiving 350,000 votes, and, again, in 1892 by the People's party, obtaining 1,042,531 votes at the polls and 22 votes, representing five states, in the Electoral College. The mention of Messrs. H. C. Caldwell of Van Buren county and Wm. B. Allison of Dubuque county in this connection will be referred to later.

Within a year and a half after the convention met war drums were calling men to arms in defense of the Union, the existence of which was attacked because of the action they, or

their delegates for them, were to take at Chicago in deciding the national leadership. Nearly one-fifth of the delegates enlisted in the volunteer regiments.

Fifteen delegates became Captains: F. T. Campbell of Jasper county, M. Clark of Jefferson, C. F. Conn of Lee, G. M. Dean of Allamakee, F. M. Kelsey of Jackson, J. P. McEwen of Guthrie, P. G. C. Merrill, of Warren, J. C. Mitchell of Wapello, L. C. Noble of Fayette, Jackson Orr of Greene, J. H. Powers of Chickasaw, P. A. Queal of Story, R. M. Rippey of Greene, J. H. Shutts of Benton and W. P. Ward of Jackson.

Messrs. L. Dewey of Henry, W. G. Donnan of Fayette, W. C. Drake of Wayne, Charles Foster of Scott, H. B. Lynch of Iowa, Henry O'Connor of Muscatine, N. J. Rusch of Scott, John Safely of Linn and Calvin Taylor of Davis became Majors. Messrs. Charles Aldrich of Hamilton and L. C. Noble of Fayette were tendered the rank of Major but for business reasons declined the advance in official rank.

Doctors Wm. McK. Findley of Davis, D. C. Hastings of Buchanan and Amos Witter of Linn county became regimental surgeons.

Eight of the delegates became Lieutenant Colonels—J. W. Caldwell of Wapello, Geo. B. Corkhill of Henry, Thomas Drummond of Benton, J. Ferguson of Marion, W. P. Hepburn of Marshall, Geo. W. Howard of Chickasaw, J. W. Jenkins of Jackson, Samuel McFarland of Henry, and S. C. Van Anda of Delaware county.

Among Iowa's Colonels we find Daniel Anderson of Monroe, A. H. Bereman of Henry, H. C. Caldwell of Van Buren, P. P. Henderson of Warren, Samuel Merrill of Clayton, John Pattee of Bremer, J. W. Rankin of Lee, John Shane of Benton, and Wm. Smyth of Linn. Messrs. R. H. Ballinger of Boone and Henry Ramming of Scott, entered the army in Illinois and became Colonels. Wm. Penn Clarke of Johnson as Paymaster had the rank of Colonel and M. L. McPherson attained the rank by brevet at the close of the war.

For distinguished service, bravery and meritorious conduct, Messrs. T. M. Bowen of Page, Thos. H. Benton, Jr., of Pottawattamie, D. B. Hillis of Davis, Hiram Scofield of Washing-

ton, Franklin A. Stratton of Webster, W. M. Stone of Marion, J. B. Weaver of Davis, and Ed Wright of Cedar county appear on the muster rolls at the close of the army as Brevet Brigadier Generals. Mr. John Edwards of Lucas attained full rank as Brigadier General of volunteers and Mr. Fitz Henry Warren of Des Moines county closed his army service in defense of the Union with the rank of Brevet Major General.

Among the delegates was a group that added special spice and flavor—a group that had been foremost in furthering the extreme anti-slavery views. They were all especially active in connection with Kansas, John Brown and Underground Railways. When the settlement of Kansas was the object of so much contention between the Slavocrats and the “Free state men” in 1856, Wm. Penn Clarke was the member for Iowa of the notable National Kansas Committee. He forwarded many “Liberty men” and Sharpe’s rifles to Tabor. When matters approached their crisis in 1856 a mass meeting was held in Iowa City to aid the emigration of anti-slavery men to Kansas, and a committee was appointed on which were Messrs. Clarke, M. L. Morris and I. N. [G. H. ?] Jerome. One result of the meeting was that Mr. Geo. D. Woodin, then of Johnson, but later of Keokuk county, traveled throughout southern Iowa organizing local committees. Among the local committeemen were Judge Wm. M. Stone of Knoxville, Mr. A. J. Stevens of Des Moines, and Dr. B. S. Noble of Indianola.¹ It was Mr. R. L. B. Clarke of Henry county who led the fight in the Constitutional Convention of 1857 to strike “white” from the constitution and entitle Negroes to enjoy all political privileges, and it was Mr. Henry O’Connor of Muscatine who championed the unpopular measure on the hustings. When John Brown passed through the State the last time, in 1858 with the slaves which he had forcefully assisted in escaping from their masters in Missouri, Rev. Demas Robinson, near Des Moines, Mr. J. B. Grinnell, at Grinnell, and Dr. Jesse Bowen and Mr. W. P. Clarke at Iowa City gave him “aid and

¹*History of Keokuk County* (1880) p. 432-3.

comfort" at risk of the public peace, and their personal safety.¹ When Virginia's sheriff, on Gov. Letcher's requisition, sought Barclay Coppoc, the youth of Springdale who was one of Brown's aids at Harper's Ferry, it was Messrs. Ed Wright of Cedar and B. F. Gue of Scott who gave the alarm at the capitol and Messrs. J. B. Grinnell, J. W. Cattell, auditor of state, Amos Hoag of Winneshiek and David Hunt of Hardin county, who co-operated in sending the post rider to warn the fugitive at the Quaker village in Cedar county.² Among other staunch promoters of the rights of Negroes and supporters of John Brown in the convention were Mr. Coker F. Clarkson of Grundy and Mr. Jacob Butler of Muscatine. It was Mr. Butler who presided at the Congregational Council in Chicago in 1859, when some stout anti-slavery resolutions were adopted. All the foregoing took part in the proceedings in Sherman's Hall.

A number of the delegates had then engaged or later engaged in literary effort of the formal sort to an extent that would entitle them to enrollment among the "literary folk" of the State. Excluding the judges of the supreme court who are book-makers *ex officio*, and editors of weekly or daily newspapers, there were seventeen who have to their credit published writings dealing with matters of historical or technical interest, appearing in the form of articles or brochures, biographies, memoirs, official reports and treatises. Of the legal work of Charles Ben Darwin, especially his report recommending a new code of civil and criminal procedure, a recent commentator says: "He exerted more influence, probably, than any one man of his age and experience upon the practice of the State of Iowa."³ Mr. D. C. Cloud, Iowa's first attorney general, originally designated as one of the delegates from Muscatine county, wrote two stout treatises on the *War Powers of the President* and *Monopolies and the People*. Messrs. C. F. Clarkson, Suel Foster and J. H. Sanders became extensive writers upon farming, horticulture and stockbreeding. Wm. Penn Clarke, and Hawkins Taylor later made sub-

¹*Annals of Iowa* (1st Series) Vol. IV, 667-669, 715-719.

²Gue, *History of Iowa*, II, 17.

³Cole & Ebersole, *The Courts and Legal Profession of Iowa*, 1, 87.

stantial contributions to the historical literature of the State. Articles from the pen of James F. Wilson appeared in our national magazines. The letters of Fitz Henry Warren to *The Springfield (Mass.) Republican* and later to the N. Y. *Daily Tribune* have become historic. It was his celebrated criticisms of the course of the national government in the early days of the Civil War under the caption, "On to Richmond," that precipitated the disaster at Bull Run. In 1855 Mr. H. P. Scholte put forth an interesting brochure on *American Slavery*, containing an acute discussion of that moot question. Mr. J. B. Grinnell has given us a considerable volume of recollections, entitled *Men and Events of Forty Years*. Mr. J. H. Powers wrote *Historical Reminiscences of Chickasaw County*. Mr. Wm. Larrabee is the author of *The Railroad Question*, an energetic discussion of a vexed question. Mr. B. F. Gue, besides extensive contributions to local biography and history, wrote four substantial volumes entitled *The History of Iowa*. L. D. Ingersoll, celebrated in Iowa during the "sixties" as a war correspondent under the *nom de plume* of "Linkensale," wrote three considerable volumes, *Iowa and the Rebellion*, *The Life and Times of Horace Greeley* and *The History of the War Department*. Besides sundry minor contributions of worth, Mr. John A. Kasson wrote a scholarly treatise on *The Evolution of the Constitution of the United States and History of the Monroe Doctrine* which has become one of the standard references on these subjects in all our public and university libraries. Mr. Charles Aldrich, an editorial writer of great force and vivacity, in addition to the authorship of numerous articles re-established and for sixteen years edited *The Annals of Iowa*. His *magnum opus* in the conclusion of his career was the creation of the Historical Department of Iowa and bringing into being the handsome, stately structure on capitol hill which now houses his precious Collections and the increasing historical lore of the State of Iowa.

It is possible, of course, that the Republicans of Iowa have had state conventions whereat a higher average of ability and achievement and a greater number of notables have been in

attendance than was true of the conclave of the party's chiefs and workers at Sherman's Hall on January 18, 1860, but the writer doubts if the fact can be demonstrated.

(c) *Selecting the Delegates to the National Convention.*

For the committee on permanent organization, Mr. Charles Foster of Scott county, reported in favor of the nomination of the following delegates for the offices mentioned. Their recommendations were concurred in. Mr. W. W. Hamilton, of Dubuque, who had won distinction as presiding officer of the state Senate in 1856 and 1858, was made chairman. Pursuant to an amiable custom doubtless not free from artful design, ten delegates were designated as "Vice-Presidents"; among the number being Benedict Hugel of Lee county, Judge A. W. Hubbard of Woodbury, Mr. J. B. Grinnell of Poweshiek, Jackson Orr of Greene, Mr. Jacob Butler of Muscatine, Mr. Francis Mangold of Dubuque, Mr. Amos Hoag of Winneshieik and Mr. Charles Pomeroy of Boone. D. D. Chase of Hamilton, J. G. Davenport of Linn, J. K. Graves of Dubuque, T. R. Oldham of Clarke, Henry Lischer of Scott, and H. P. Scholte of Marion, were made secretaries. In the selection of Messrs. Hugel, Mangold, Lischer and Scholte, one may discern delicate, and as diplomats phrase it, "distinguished consideration," of the foreign vote in the eastern counties. In the exaltation of so many notables of Dubuque one suspects shrewd tactics anent the senatorial election then pending.

The delegates proceeded at once with the business of the convention. On motion of Mr. Hawley of Decatur county, it was provided that the entire vote of a county could be cast by the delegates or delegate present. Senator Drummond of Benton county then introduced a resolution directing that the convention proceed to elect "eight delegates to the national Republican convention, four from the State at large, and two from each congressional district—but one delegate to be elected at a time and by a *viva voce* vote, on a call of the counties, a majority being required to elect." Mr. Brown of Black Hawk moved to amend by striking out eight and in-

serting two from "each judicial district" of which there were eleven in the State, the delegates to be "named by each district." As a substitute Mr. Gue of Scott county moved the adoption of the following:

Resolved, That the convention now proceed to elect two delegates from each judicial district, to be selected by the delegates from each district, and five delegates at large, to be elected by a *viva voce* vote upon call of the counties, one delegate to be elected at a time.

We are told that upon the introduction of Senator Drummond's motion "an animated discussion ensued," lasting for two hours. The enthusiasm of the disputants and the delegates at times "kindled into a blaze." The correspondent of *The Hawk-Eye* tells us that "it was dark when these preliminary matters were settled and the entire afternoon was consumed in boisterous though good-humoured debate in which neither the chairman nor any member could define what the question before the convention was."¹ Mr. Gue's motion was finally modified by an amendment of Senator Drummond's providing for selection of the delegates by a plurality vote.

The convention first took an informal ballot on delegates at large with the following result:

L. C. Noble, 43; T. J. W. Tabor, 20; W. Penn Clarke, 52; J. A. Kasson, 28; Henry O'Connor, 36; N. J. Rusch, 12; J. W. Norris, 31; J. F. Wilson, 22; A. Sa[u]nders, 33; M. L. McPherson, 16; S. Bagg, 5; Thomas Seeley, 10; J. B. Grinnell, 11; Scattering, 18.

The convention thereupon proceeded to a formal ballot. The distribution of the votes among the sundry favorites named on the several ballots is not less interesting than in the informal ballot, and a transcript of the proceedings as published follows:

1—J. W. Norris 4, Thomas Seeley 4, W. Penn Clarke 110, T. J. W. Tabor 52, J. A. Kasson 5, A. Saunders 33, Henry O'Connor 15, L. C. Noble 2, M. L. McPherson 4, J. F. Wilson 31.

On motion W. Penn Clark of Johnson county was unanimously elected a delegate at large.

¹*The Daily Hawk-Eye*, Jan. 23, 1860.

2d formal ballot—L. C. Noble 134, J. W. Norris 27, H. O'Connor 37, J. A. Kasson 39, M. L. McPherson 21, J. F. Wilson 51, A. Saunders 22.

On motion, L. C. Noble of Fayette county, was unanimously elected the second delegate at large.

3rd formal ballot—J. A. Kasson 161, J. W. Rankin 16, H. O'Connor 145, J. W. Norris 4, T. Seeley 4.

On motion, J. A. Kasson of Polk county, was unanimously elected the third delegate at large.

4th ballot—H. O'Connor 161, J. W. Rankin 55, J. F. Wilson 116, M. L. McPherson 6.

On motion, H. O'Connor of Muscatine county, was unanimously elected the 4th delegate at large.

6th [5th?] ballot—C. F. Clarkson 23, J. F. Wilson 148, J. W. Rankin 110, E. Bloomer 17, N. J. Rusch 9.

On motion, J. F. Wilson of Jefferson county, was unanimously elected as the fifth delegate at large.

The selections apparently did not suffice or they perhaps produced some discontent on the part of the friends of several receiving votes but unsuccessful, for immediately, on motion of Dr. Bowen of Johnson county, the following persons were unanimously elected as additional delegates at large:—Judge J. W. Rankin of Lee county, Senator M. L. McPherson of Madison, Mr. C. F. Clarkson of Grundy, and Lt.-Governor N. J. Rusch of Scott, making nine altogether.

The roll of the judicial districts was then called for nominations for delegates to represent the local constituencies. The nominees apparently were all unanimously elected without delay or dispute. It is not indicated whether they had been selected by district caucuses held prior to the assembly of the delegates in Sherman's Hall or by conferences on the floor during the convention. The following are the names of the gentlemen elected in the order of the roll:

The first district selected Mr. Alvin Saunders of Henry and Dr. J. C. Walker of Lee county. For the second, H. Clay Caldwell of Van Buren and Mr. M. Baker of Wapello [Wayne?] county were designated. The third district chose Mr. Benjamin Rector of Fremont and Mr. George A. Hawley of Decatur county. The fourth district nominated Judge A. W. Hubbard of Woodbury and Mr. J. E. Blackford of Kos-

suth county. The fifth selected Messrs. Thomas Seeley of Guthrie and C. C. Nourse of Polk county. For the sixth, Judge W. M. Stone of Marion and Mr. J. B. Grinnell of Poweshiek were nominated. The seventh district nominated Mr. Wm. A. Warren of Jackson and Mr. John W. Thompson of Scott. The nominees of the eighth district were Mr. John Shane of Benton and Judge Wm. Smyth of Linn county; and of the ninth, Messrs. Wm. B. Allison of Dubuque and A. F. Brown of Black Hawk county. The tenth district nominated Judge Reuben Noble of Clayton county and Mr. E. G. Bowdoin of Floyd county. The eleventh district presented the names of Mr. Wm. P. Hepburn of Marshall county and Mr. J. F. Brown of Hardin county.

All of the delegates chosen at Des Moines attended the national convention at Chicago save three—Messrs. J. E. Blackford, H. C. Caldwell and A. W. Hubbard. Their proxies were exercised by Messrs. Jacob Butler, J. W. Caldwell and Herbert M. Hoxie. Mr. R. L. B. Clarke was with the delegates in the Wigwam and took part in their conferences and decisions as an alternate.¹ In what follows the proxies and their principals will not be distinguished. As the years have increased, the distinction of the convention at Chicago has increased and likewise the claims to membership in Iowa's delegation. The writer has come upon the names of four others for whom biographers or eulogists have claimed membership therein; but so far as he can discover without warrant. We may suspect that attendance at the convention as unofficial representatives has been transmuted into official representation.

As soon as the delegates to Chicago were decided upon, Senator Thomas Drummond introduced the following resolution:

Resolved, That the delegation from Iowa are hereby instructed to cast the vote of the State as a unit, and that a majority of the delegates determine the action of the delegation.

The motion was lost. Whether or not there was any debate thereon and by what number of votes the resolution was de-

¹Interview with Judge C. C. Nourse and letter of R. L. B. Clarke to the writer (Mss.).

feated are not recorded. The significance of the resolution, the design of the mover, and the real purport of the action of the convention in refusing thus to control the course of their delegates at the national convention, can only be surmised. The mover was an able and tried tactician in practical politics. He had attended the first national convention of the Republican party at Philadelphia in 1856 as a delegate and he was an influential editor and leader in the party's councils in the State. It is hardly probable that his resolution was unpremeditated, introduced on the spur of the moment on a vagrant impulse. He knew that in national party conventions, as in state or local conventions, a delegation or its leaders are potent when they have their delegates well in hand and can "count on them" and can swing them to the right or to the left at critical junctures in manoeuvres. Divided delegations, like dissevered army corps, are usually impotent. Judge McLean's nomination at Philadelphia in 1856 might have been accomplished with ease had Ohio's delegation been a unit on his behalf instead of split asunder by bitter, obstinate factional differences and preferences. Senator Drummond probably had the avoidance of such inefficiency in mind. Moreover, it is not unlikely that he expected the resolution, if adopted, to operate in favor of the candidacy of Senator Seward. Senator Drummond, as we have seen, entertained radical anti-slavery views, sympathizing frankly with John Brown. He was also a staunch friend and supporter of Senator Harlan, who was a known friend and admirer of the Senator from New York, and then or very soon thereafter becoming an advocate of his nomination at Chicago. The activity of Gov. Seward's friends in all of the northern states, straight west of New York, on behalf of his candidacy and their success in securing instructions for him in all, save Iowa, gives color to the surmise here ventured. It is the recollection of Judge C. C. Nourse that it was the opinion in the lobbies that Gov. Seward was to be the beneficiary of the resolution.¹

¹Letter of Judge C. C. Nourse to the writer (Mss.)

An account of the proceedings in *Der Demokrat*, the German Republican paper of Davenport, gives grounds for thinking that possibly specific instructions for Senator Seward were formally presented and formally rejected. In a brief notice of the convention we find the statement that "ein antrag die delegaten zu instruiren wurde verworfen." This assertion that instructions were defeated is followed by another indicating the self-control of the delegates: "Die stimmung der convention war sehr stark zu gunsten von Wm. H. Seward fur President." Two facts make one skeptical as to the former statement. First, it is the only one to the same effect the writer has discovered in the press reports or in the editorial comments on the proceedings; and we should normally expect a matter of such vital significance in the political contest then approaching its culmination to be generally referred to in contemporary comment. Second, the context suggests some confusion. Just preceding the first sentence quoted is the statement that the convention adopted Senator Drummond's resolution providing for a "plurality" rule in voting. Apparently Senator Drummond's resolution to bind the national delegates by the unit rule was confused with another motion by him amending Mr. Gue's, whereby the convention should elect the delegates to the national convention by a plurality instead of by a majority of the votes cast. On the other hand, the publisher of *Der Demokrat*, Mr. Henry Lischer, and one of its leading writers, Mr. Henry Ramming, were both delegates from Scott county to the convention. One or the other, doubtless penned the account from which the statement above is quoted and we may presume that he wrote advisedly. Whatever may have been the facts we shall see that the rejection of Senator Drummond's resolution providing for the unit rule was subsequently considered as equivalent to refusal to instruct for Senator Seward.¹

The defeat of Senator Drummond's resolution was followed by a motion to adjourn until eight o'clock. As the primary purpose of the convention had been accomplished one feels

¹*Der Demokrat*, Jan. 21, 1860.

curiosity as to the object of reassembling the delegates. The delegates were in the city and other social diversion for such a number may not have been feasible and sociability and speech-making may have been the only matters contemplated. Nevertheless, those familiar with popular assemblages are likely to suspect shrewd designs. Mass meetings, unless controlled by dominant leaders, are the prey of fitful, contradictory and erratic currents. Emotionalism is wont to prevail; sentimentalism rather than sense. Unforeseen events, oftentimes artfully produced, may result in gusts, flurries and sometimes violent outbursts of feeling that drive the delegates pell-mell in some direction. Skillful tacticians at such times easily accomplish purposes otherwise impossible. The convention had made no declaration of principles. It had refused to bind its national delegates by instructions. Public discussion was rife with issues that aroused intense animosity. Partisans of sundry views, ardent advocates of specific courses, energetic friends of candidates, disappointed in obtaining action favorable to their hopes may have had some expectation of success in furthering their cause or candidate "after supper."

Whatever the considerations or designs, the delegates on reassembling transacted but little business; but that little was interesting and significant. Two more delegates at large were added to the nine selected at the afternoon session. They were the Rev. Henry P. Scholte, editor of *The Pella Gazette* and founder of the Holland community at Pella, and Rev. John Johns, the pioneer preacher from Webster county whose speech had so stirred the convention a few hours before. The selection of the former signified again recognition of the strategic importance of the foreign vote in the coming campaign, and the choice of the latter may have indicated an appreciation of the votes in the congregations of the Baptist church or a spontaneous proof of the power of the oratory of the itinerant preacher.

The convention then converted itself into a "mass ratification meeting." Speeches were delivered by Messrs. Henry O'Connor and Jacob Butler of Muscatine, Wm. Penn Clarke of Johnson, Enoch W. Eastman of Hardin, C. C. Nourse and

John A. Kasson of Polk, Geo. May of Marion, James F. Wilson of Jefferson, and Rev. John Johns. "The speeches," Mr. Jerome of Iowa City reported, "were very spicy, full of marrow and the meeting was enthusiastic to a high degree."¹ In the course of his speech at the evening session Mr. Johns, while indicating very clearly his strong personal preference for the nomination of Wm. H. Seward for the presidency by the Republicans at Chicago, is credited with the observation that, in case the Democrats in their national convention at Charleston should nominate Stephen A. Douglas, the Republicans could not do better than to nominate Abraham Lincoln who in popular judgment had worsted the "Little Giant" in their celebrated debate in 1858.

Before one can justly estimate the conduct of the delegates or the significance of their action, the conditions under which the business was transacted must be appreciated. The comments of two eye witnesses, one a participant as a delegate, the other a representative of the opposite political party, are interesting. "R," correspondent of *The Gate City*, penned the following on the night of the convention:

Impartial justice requires the statement that it was the noisiest, most uproarious, confused, good-natured, hardworking and enthusiastic convention ever witnessed in Iowa or any other country on this mundane sphere. It was also, I believe, the largest Republican convention ever held in this State.²

The correspondent of *The Dubuque Herald* after referring with customary partizan irony to the claim of Republicans that their party comprehended "all the decency and intelligence," wrote (Jan. 23):

It was the most disorderly, uproarious and undignified gathering that has lately come to the knowledge of the peaceful denizens of this locality. Still they got through with the business for which they assembled in a manner most satisfactory to everybody but themselves.³

Evidently the delegates gave their feelings full vent and the right of way. Spontaneity of expression rather than docility

¹*The Iowa City Republican*, Jan. 25, 1860.

²*The Daily Gate City*, Jan. 23, 1860. Corr. dated at Des Moines, Jan. 17.

³*The Dubuque Herald*, Feb. 1, 1860. Corr. dated at Des Moines, Jan. 23.

and obedient concurrence in a program, constituted the definitive condition in the determination of the conclusions of the convention. Some considerations will demonstrate this.

(d) *Did a Machine and Wirepullers or Common Sense Control the Convention?*

A distinguished national historian, contrasting the character of the first Republican national convention at Philadelphia and that of the second convention at Chicago, designated the delegates to the first as "liberty-loving enthusiasts and largely volunteers," and those to the second, as mainly "wirepullers" and "machine politicians" chosen by "means of the organization peculiar to a powerful party" who were, he adds, "in political wisdom the pick of the Republicans."¹

One might ask for definitions of terms. Be the merits of the contrast what they may it is well to keep in mind that those unfamiliar with the practical procedure of politics are wont to regard philanthropists and reformers who initiate political and social movements as always animated by purely ethical considerations, as free from malice and thoughts of personal gain, and "politicians" as wirepullers whose ways are devious and dark, whose motives are petty, or sordid or malevolent, who interpret the public welfare in terms of personal profit or party advantage with the same objective in view. Any one who has had but little intimate acquaintance with philanthropists and politicians knows that very prosaic human considerations prompt and energize both species of mankind. The chicanery and hypocrisy of philanthropists are not less extensive nor less vicious than the sordidness of politicians. Moreover, experience is likely to make one conclude that the sentimentalism and stupidities of enthusiasts in politics and government are more to be dreaded than the designs of politicians pulling wires and the public purse strings for personal or party advantage.

The delegates selected by the Republicans of Iowa to represent their interests and wishes at the Chicago convention were,

¹Rhodes *History of the United States*, II, 457.

of course, "politicians." They were politicians in the old Greek sense of citizens. They were politicians in the sense of familiars or workers in the science and art of government. They were politicians in the sense of tacticians adept in the management and manoeuvres of party caucuses and campaigns. Many of them, doubtless all of them, sustained reputations in their bailiwicks for capacity and force, for caution and shrewdness, for patience and persistence in the pursuit and accomplishment of personal or party purposes. They are, nevertheless, individually and in the aggregate, thoroughly representative of the ability and achievement of the yeomanry and of the leadership of the Republican party then in control of the public affairs of the people of Iowa. Moreover the mode of their selection gives no basis for the assumption that the delegates were either "machine" politicians or the appointees of the managers of a "machine" in the disagreeable sense in which the term is used nowadays.

There was in the parlance of the day, a group of party leaders known throughout the State as the "capitol crowd," who no doubt worked to further their interests in the selection of the delegates; but if they had a program or "slate" it was completely smashed and their forces utterly routed. "The old wheel horses in the Republican team," a correspondent of *The Hawk-Eye* informs us, "opposed sending any more than one man to cast one vote" but the delegation selected exceeded four delegates for every vote of Iowa's quota. Senator Grimes in his letter to Governor Kirkwood said he would select "a goodly number to cast the vote of Iowa," but he probably did not think of more than sixteen delegates. The larger the number in a delegation the less the certainty of concert of action. Some of the leaders later indicated publicly their disapproval of the large number. Mr. Jacob Rich of the *Buchanan County Guardian* could "not see the object,"² and Mr. Teesdale ironically observed:—"If the hall [at Chicago] is large enough the delegates will all probably be admitted and exert their influence on the action

¹*The Daily Hawk-Eye*, Jan. 23, 1860.

²*Buchanan County Guardian*, Jan. 26, 1860.

of the body."¹ All of which means that the convention went counter to the wishes of the leaders or of any ring or machine that may have sought to control its action. It is not without significance that the conventions of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, two states whose political complexions were very dubious, likewise sent large delegations to Chicago, the former with seven votes sending 21 delegates and the latter with 27 votes sending 108 delegates.

The distribution of the votes of the convention in the informal and formal ballots for delegates at large affords interesting evidence of the absence of autocratic, domineering leadership so characteristic of a machine as the public now uses the term. On the informal ballot the votes were divided among more than thirteen candidates. The highest vote cast for any one man was only 52 for Mr. Wm. Penn Clarke. Two only of those voted for had attained the position that in these days would insure them the title of a party "boss." They were Mr. John A. Kasson, then chairman of the state central committee, and Mr. Alvin Saunders, who served Senator Harlan so efficiently as his field officer. But both fell below four other candidates in votes received in that informal ballot. The second man in that ballot, Mr. L. C. Noble, was a merchant of West Union, in Fayette county, and on the second formal ballot he was elected, winning over Messrs. Kasson, O'Connor, McPherson, Norris, Saunders and James F. Wilson, all potent leaders of state-wide fame. He was not conspicuous as a state leader. He was then a member of the lower House of the Legislature and for the first time. He was, according to the recollections of old associates, a likable and popular man in Fayette county and in the General Assembly. The votes on all of the ballots for delegates at large demonstrate conclusively that there were neither party bosses in charge of the convention nor dominating favorites among the leaders.

Another highly interesting fact in line with this conclusion was the absence of nearly all of the names of the party chiefs then honored with high official position, either at the state

¹*Daily Iowa State Register*, Jan. 20, 1860.

capitol at Des Moines or at the national capitol at Washington. Senator Grimes had urged Gov. Kirkwood to secure a place on the delegation; but his name was not presented at all. None of the men in what we may designate as the major state offices were voted for and neither Congressman Wm. Vandever nor S. R. Curtis, nor Senators James W. Grimes or James Harlan received votes. Their conspicuous positions doubtless operated to prevent the consideration of their names in the ballotings. As prudent politicians, they would realize that any effort on the part of themselves personally or of their promoters, to secure the honor of going to Chicago when so many were anxious to attend the national convention with official credentials, might irritate and mayhap alienate friends and supporters and have serious adverse results upon their careers afterwards. They or their influential friends unquestionably prevented the use of their names. Senator Harlan's candidacy for reelection to the national Senate was then in the balances and this fact would of itself make him and his friends backward in urging his name as a delegate.

Mr. Teesdale thought that it would be "regarded abroad, as somewhat singular that no member of our Senatorial or Congressional delegation has a place on the delegation."¹ Iowa's course in this, however, was typical of the course of the conventions of most of the states sending delegates to the Chicago convention. That convention was noteworthy for the absence of congressional leaders. New York and Rhode Island alone of the twenty-seven states represented, each sent one of their respective Senators, and Missouri and Pennsylvania each sent one Congressman and Ohio sent two.

Again the rejection of the resolution to bind the delegation by the unit rule and the absence or apparent absence of any motion to instruct the delegation, indicates clearly the democratic and popular character of the convention in Sherman's Hall. Anything suggestive of control of the delegation either as to numbers or as to free expression of the preferences of the delegates or their freedom of decision at Chicago, produced

¹*Ibid*

spirited debate and plump negatives and contrary action by the convention. The effect of the speech of John Johns suggests that spontaneous action rather than a program, controlled the delegates.

The refusal of the convention to bind its delegates by a unit rule and its non-action in the matter of instructions, possess significance in other respects. Describing the conduct of the convention in a letter to his paper, *The Iowa City Republican*, Mr. G. H. Jerome observed: "The mention of the name of W. H. Seward, the first man of the Republic, awoke the echoes of the hall. I think among all the candidates named, Seward is the decided favorite of the people of Iowa."¹ Whether the enthusiasm that made those echoes animated chiefly the non-official onlookers in Sherman's Hall or the delegates, is not indicated; but it is probable that sentiment in favor of Senator Seward prevailed decidedly over that for any other candidate. Under such circumstances the decision of his partisans not to press a resolution of instructions affords us substantial grounds for believing that conservative counsels predominated. In Oregon, Kansas, Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan the friends and promoters of his candidacy pushed and secured specific instructions binding the delegations to vote for him. They sought them in Maine, New Hampshire and Massachusetts; and it was only by careful management and shrewd tactics, especially in Maine² and Massachusetts that Seward's opponents prevented similar resolutions in those states. His admirers and advocates at Des Moines appreciated that his popularity with the major portion of the rank and file of the Republicans was one thing, and his popularity with a belligerent minority and with the independent voters of the opposition was or might be an entirely different matter. When majorities are small and uncertain victories are won in the middle grounds. Iowa's Republicans at Sherman's Hall were controlled by clear-eyed and cool-headed party leaders, and not by reckless, erratic, tempestuous en-

¹*The Iowa City Republican*, Jan. 25, 1860.

²C. S. Hamlin's, *Life and Times of Hannibal Hamlin*, pp. 331-351. Boutwell's *Reminiscences of Sixty Years of Public Life*, I, 253.

thusiasts. Mr. Jerome's own account of the proceedings illustrates this admirably; for in the sentence immediately following the one just quoted anent the popularity of Seward he says, "The delegation, however, goes uninstructed. This is as it should be." And in this policy or procedure the action of Iowa was precisely the action of Indiana and of all the New England states, save the one that had a candidate of its own to commend to the convention at Chicago.

(e) *The Delegation to the National Convention.*

However we may regard the delegates sent by the Republicans of Iowa to the convention at Chicago, whether as patriots or as politicians, an examination of their careers before and after the convention in Sherman's Hall will convince most persons that they represented their constituents excellently, their patriotism and their prejudices no less than their principles and policies.

The delegates were comparatively young men, their average age being 38 years. Their ages ranged from 27 to 60 years. Three were under 30 years. Ten were between 30 and 35; eleven between 35 and 40; eight between 40 and 50; and three between 50 and 60 years.

The nativity of the delegates approximated the nativity of the state's citizenship. Six were natives of New England states. Six were born in New York and two in Pennsylvania. Nine were born in states south of Mason and Dixon's line. Eight were natives of Ohio, one of Indiana, and one of Illinois. Two were born in Ireland, one in Holstein, and one in Holland.

The duration of their residence in Iowa prior to 1860 ranged from three to twenty years. Thirteen delegates had lived in the State an average of only five years. Fourteen had been residents for an average of 13 years and four had lived in Iowa for 23 years. The average duration of the 31 known was twelve years.

As regards their education in the narrow sense of "schooling," one-half of the delegation had but little more than the

usual training afforded in the common schools. They had obtained their education in the give and take of ordinary affairs, behind the plow or at the work bench, in the counting room or behind the counter, at the type-setter's case or in the editorial room, at the bar or on the bench. Nearly half of the delegates had attended academies, then often approximating collegiate institutions in rank or public esteem. Ten delegates had been students at colleges or universities, in most cases being graduates. The major number with collegiate training were natives of northern states, chiefly of New England and the Middle States. Two had been matriculates of European Universities.

In point of scholastic training and attainment, in respect of the mastery of the ancient or classical and the modern languages, and familiarity with the writings of the learned doctors in philosophy and law, Mr. Henry P. Scholte of Marion county, probably could easily claim superior rank. He had his first training at the Athenaeum Illustre of Amsterdam and then became a student and graduate of the University of Leyden. Lt. Governor Rusch of Scott county, was perhaps entitled to second place: he had been educated first at the Gymnasium in Meldorf and thereafter he studied "eine zeit lang" at the University of Kiel until his participation in the agitation for more liberal government in North Germany in 1846-47 made his emigration to the United States highly expedient.¹ Of the native born, Mr. John A. Kasson was *facile princeps*. He was a graduate of the University of Vermont and early attracted public notice as a writer on legal matters, and as an orator. In 1849, Charles Sumner had spoken of an article containing his suggestions for the reform of the legal procedure of Massachusetts in flattering terms² and in

¹Eiboeck, *Die Deutschen von Iowa*, p. 417.

2. The article referred to may be found in *The Monthly Law Reporter* (Boston) June, 1849, v. 12 (n. s. v. 2) pp. 61-80, entitled *Law Reform—Practice*.

Mr. Sumner's commendation is expressed in strong terms. Three sentences from his letter follow: "I admired the vivid style, the facility of practical illustration, and the complete mastery of the subject which it showed. You have done good service to Jurisprudence, and helped discharge the debt which Lord Bacon tells us we owe to our profession, by this able exposition of a vicious system. I trust that our Commonwealth will have the wisdom to adopt your suggestions." Charles Sumner to John A. Kasson, New Bedford, July 12, 1849. The original is in the Aldrich Collections in the Historical Department of Iowa. The letter is reprinted in *extenso* in E. L. Pierce's *Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner*, Vol. III, 43.

1854 when the Chamber of Commerce of St. Louis invited the legislators of Illinois to be their guests at a banquet, Mr. Kasson, although a young man, was asked to serve as the toast-master, so great then was his capacity for polished speech.¹

The delegates were engaged in various occupations; but strict classification is not easy for the reason that business and professional pursuits were not then sharply differentiated, nor did those therein always specialize and confine themselves to one line. Nor was private business much lessened during the occupancy of public office. Mr. Coker F. Clarkson of Grundy county had been an influential editor in Indiana, but in 1860 he was a farmer:—then and thereafter, however, was constantly engaged in editorial work. Mr. Jacob Butler of Muscatine, while a well known lawyer, was then largely interested in the operation of banks, a gas company and in railroad construction. Mr. J. B. Grinnell had been technically educated for the ministry and for many years he had followed that profession, doing so even at that time, but he listed himself as a farmer and wool grower and was constantly engaged in town and railroad building. Mr. Scholte while editing *The Pella Gazette*, was simultaneously acting as a banker, as a lawyer, as a land broker, as a preacher, having been especially educated for the latter profession. Taking those occupations in which they were primarily engaged or in which they were chiefly known, the delegation to Chicago contained one banker, two preachers, four merchants, five farmers and twenty-three lawyers.

The absence of editors from the delegation is noteworthy, particularly in view of the considerable number present in Sherman's Hall, and their normal potency in political matters. Aside from mere chance, two facts may account for their absence. Some of the prominent editors were at that time either occupants of profitable positions in the State or were candidates for them. We have already seen that half a dozen prominent editors were talked of as candidates for public printer. Again the profits of newspapers then depended largely upon the favorable disposition of the allowances of

¹*Memoirs of Gustave Koerner*, I, 612.

state and local budgets in the matter of public printing, namely for the publication of the laws and the "delinquent tax lists." Consequently for editors to push for the honor of going to the national convention as accredited delegates was not prudent. However, Mr. Scholte, Mr. A. F. Brown of Black Hawk, Mr. W. Penn Clarke, of Johnson, Mr. C. F. Clarkson, of Grundy, and Mr. Wm. M. Stone of Marion county, had been editors of considerable experience.

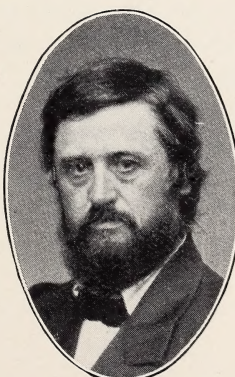
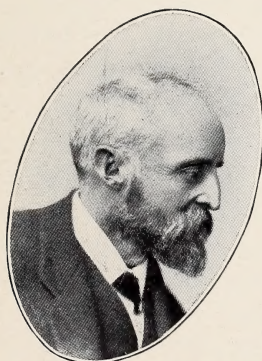
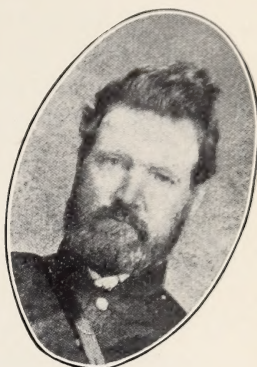
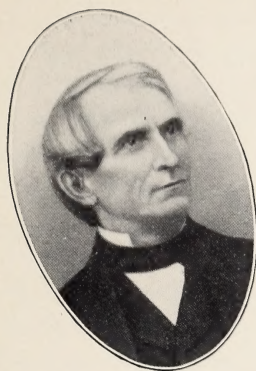
The careers of many of the delegates were then or were to become full of honors and achievement in the public service of the State and of the nation, both in peace and in war. The names of Allison, Caldwell, and Clarkson, of Grinnell, Hepburn and Hoxie, of Hubbard, Kasson and Reuben Noble, of Nourse, O'Connor and Saunders, of Smyth, Stone and Wilson, —these were names to conjure with in Iowa during most of the sixty years just past.

Nearly all of the delegates had made their mark in state affairs before their selection by the convention at Des Moines. Nine had helped to organize the Republican party at Iowa City:—Messrs. J. F. Brown, Jacob Butler, J. W. Caldwell, J. B. Grinnell, C. C. Nourse, Henry O'Connor, John Shane, Wm. M. Stone, and James F. Wilson. Three had taken part in the first national conventions of the party in 1856, Mr. W. Penn Clarke at Pittsburg and Messrs. J. W. Caldwell and R. L. B. Clarke at Philadelphia. Messrs. Reuben Noble, O'Connor and Stone had been the nominees of the Republicans for presidential electors in 1856. Mr. Alvin Saunders had been a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1846; and Messrs. W. Penn Clarke, R. L. B. Clarke, Thomas Seeley, Wm. A. Warren and James F. Wilson had been members of the Constitutional Convention of 1857.

Messrs. A. F. Brown, Hepburn, Nourse and O'Connor and Benjamin Rector had attained local celebrity either as prosecuting or as district attorneys. Mr. Wm. P. Clarke was then reporter for the supreme court. Four of the delegation had occupied the district bench—Judges Hubbard, Rankin, Smyth and Stone. Both Mr. Clarke and Mr. Nourse, though young

SOME OF IOWA'S DELEGATES AND ALTERNATES.

Chicago Convention, May 16-18, 1860



JOS. W. CALDWELL *
Merchant

J. E. BLACKFORD
Farmer
H. CLAY CALDWELL
U. S. Circuit Judge

A. W. HUBBARD
U. S. Representative

R. L. B. CLARK *
Lawyer

JACOB BUTLER *
Lawyer

H. M. HOXIE *
U. S. Marshal

* Alternates

HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT OF IOWA

DES MOINES, IOWA.



My Dear Sir:---

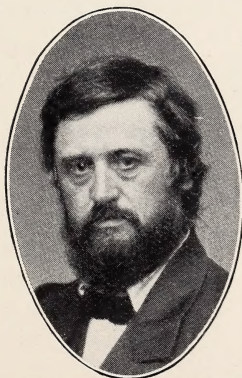
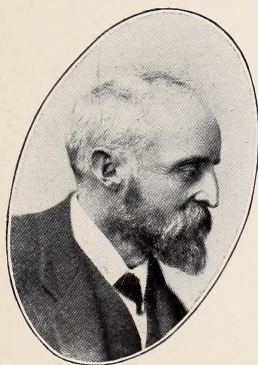
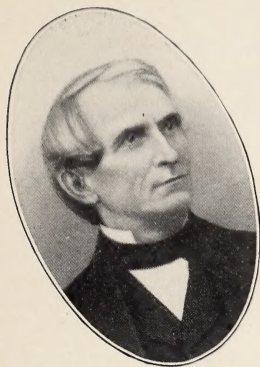
The enclosed slip is to be pasted upon the inscription under the portrait group opposite page #452, of the Annals for July-October, 1810. The inscription is incorrect.

Sincerely yours,

Edw. H. Newell

SOME OF IOWA'S DELEGATES AND ALTERNATES.

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R. L. B. CLARK *
Lawyer



men, had been urged as candidates for the supreme court. Later Messrs. Nourse, Noble and Shane were elected to the district bench and twice Judge Reuben Noble was the nominee of the Democratic party for the supreme court. Judge Wm. Smyth was then a member of the Code Commission. Two of those just mentioned, Messrs. Nourse and O'Connor, became attorney general of Iowa.

Nine of the delegates had had experience in one or both houses of the state Legislature:—L. C. and Reuben Noble, Thompson and Wilson in the lower and Grinnell, McPherson, Rankin, Rusch, Saunders and Wilson in the upper house. Ten were in the Legislature at the time they were chosen:—Blackford, Bowdoin, Caldwell and L. C. Noble in the House and A. F. Brown, McPherson, Rankin, Saunders, Thompson and Wilson in the Senate. Subsequently Messrs. Butler, Kasson and Seeley were elected to the House; Mr. Butler being elected speaker and Mr. Kasson securing the appropriation for the present state capitol. Mr. C. F. Clarkson and Mr. John Shane were elected to the Senate. Mr. Rusch was Lt. Governor at the time and thereby presiding officer of the Senate.

Messrs. Kasson and Seeley were members of a committee appointed by Gov. Lowe to examine into the condition of the public offices of the State and to report: their recommendations presented in 1860 worked a revolution in the methods of accounting. Mr. Wm. Penn Clarke had been nominated for Governor in 1848 by the Abolition party, and he was frequently mentioned for the office later. Judge Stone in 1863 was elected Governor, serving four years; and in 1872 Mr. O'Connor was a leading candidate for the nomination. Messrs. Geo. A. Hawley, M. L. McPherson and John W. Thompson were prominent candidates for the Republican nomination for secretary of state that year, or in 1862.

Nineteen of the thirty-seven delegates and alternates entered the army service during the Civil War, a number attaining high official rank. Messrs. L. C. Noble, Henry O'Connor, Benjamin Rector and N. J. Rusch became Majors;

J. W. Caldwell and W. P. Hepburn Lt. Colonels; H. C. Caldwell, McPherson, Rankin, Shane and Smyth the rank of Colonel; and Wm. M. Stone attained the rank of Bvt. Brigadier General. Majors Rector and Rusch died at the front.

A third of the delegation had noteworthy careers in the service of the national government either in the administrative branches or on the bench or in Congress. In 1864 President Lincoln appointed Col. H. Clay Caldwell Judge of the Federal District Court for Arkansas, a position in which he steadily increased his fame; and in 1890 President Harrison elevated him to the position of U. S. Judge of the Eighth Circuit, his jurisdiction comprising Arkansas, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, Minnesota, North and South Dakota, Wyoming and Colorado.

Mr. O'Connor was appointed solicitor of the State Department at Washington by President Grant and served in that important post continuously under Secretaries Fish, Evarts, Blaine and Frelinghuysen.

Mr. Herbert M. Hoxie became United States Marshal for Iowa under President Lincoln and won great applause for the vigor of his administration. Following the war he entered upon an increasingly successful career in the construction of railroads and in railway administration, being at his death in 1886 the virtual head of the Gould system of roads in the southwest and classed among the foremost railway managers in the country.¹

Mr. Kasson's career in the service of the national administration was notable. He was appointed First Assistant Postmaster-General under President Lincoln. He initiated the first International Postal Commission at Paris in 1863, and represented our government. Later he gained distinction as our Minister to the Courts of Austria and Berlin. He represented our government in the Congo Conference at Berlin and in the Samoan Conference at Washington; and was a member of the Canadian Commission. He closed his career as

¹*Harper's Weekly*, XXX, p. 784 (Dec. 4, 1886).

the negotiator of the Treaties of Reciprocity with sundry countries under the McKinley tariff law.

Seven members of the delegation first selected, entered the lower House of Congress—Messrs. Allison of Dubuque, Grinnell of Poweshiek, Hepburn of Marshall, Hubbard of Woodbury, Kasson of Polk, Smyth of Linn and Wilson of Jefferson county. Three other members came near achieving the same distinction. Mr. R. L. B. Clarke of Henry was the Whig nominee for Congress in 1854 and fell but little short of winning the election. In 1866 Mr. M. L. McPherson of Madison was the strong third in a triangular contest for the Republican nomination in the old Fifth district, the prize going to Gen. G. M. Dodge. In 1866 Judge Noble of Clayton parted company with the Republican party over President Johnson and reconstruction, and was Mr. Allison's opponent in the congressional canvass. Mr. C. F. Clarkson came near receiving a nomination for Congress in 1868.

In the crucial days of the war and following, there were few more influential men in the lower House at Washington than Wm. B. Allison, John A. Kasson and James F. Wilson. "The men from Iowa" were both guides and leaders in congressional debates and party caucuses and potent in moulding public opinion.¹ Mr. Wm. B. Allison had not served his first term before Mr. James G. Blaine, himself then about succeeding Thaddeus Stevens as leader of the House, included the young Iowan among the three most influential leaders of Congress.²

¹Tarbell, *The Tariff in Our Times in The American Magazine*, LXIII, 279. "Messrs. Allison, Wilson and Kasson, members of Congress from Iowa, led in the fight against the outbreak of high protection which immediately followed the war."

²*Ibid.*, p. 474. Miss Tarbell relates the following: Discussing the domination of Thaddeus Stevens and the emancipation of the Republican party from his rule on his death in 1868, Mr. James G. Blaine in response to a question, "Whom have you got for leaders?" is reported to have said: "There are three young men coming forward. Allison will be heard from, so will James A. Garfield," and then he paused. "Who is the third?" "I don't see the third," Blaine replied, gazing into the dome."

The great goal of political ambition then as nowadays was membership in the Senate of the United States. In connection with the senatorial elections in 1858 and '60 the names of Henry O'Connor, Wm. Penn Clarke and Judge Smyth were mentioned and urged in the former and those of Mr. Butler, Mr. Kasson and Judge Reuben Noble in the latter election. Senator Grimes regarded Judge Smyth as his most dangerous competitor in 1858. In the seventies and again in the eighties Mr. Kasson was the candidate of a powerful group of the party but the fates did not decide in his favor. Three of the delegation, however, entered the Senate. Alvin Saunders of Henry county was appointed Governor of the Territory of Nebraska in 1861, serving until 1867, and in 1883 he was sent to the Senate from that State, serving one term. James F. Wilson, after his distinguished career in the House of Representatives, became a Senator of Iowa in 1883, and remained so up to his death in 1895. In 1873 Mr. W. B. Allison entered the Upper Chamber, after eight years in the House of Representatives, serving without interruption for almost thirty-six years, a career without duplicate in that noted body. Among its members he became, Senator Hale of Maine asserts, "an exalted and accepted leader",¹ whose solid achievements won from Senator Lodge of Massachusetts the encomium that "for many years he was the nation's 'best senator,' " becoming like Webster "one of the institutions" of the country.²

Two of the delegates were at various times widely mentioned in public discussion as candidates for the Presidency. The nomination of Judge H. Clay Caldwell by the national Democratic party was strongly urged in 1896 and 1900; some of his decisions respecting the relations of railroads to their laborers and their relations to the public had made him very popular with the masses as well as with the profession; but he refused to allow his friends to promote him.³ At the national Republican convention at Chicago in 1888, Senator Al-

¹*Congressional Record*, Proceedings in the Senate, Feb. 6, 1909.

²*Ibid.*

³*The Annals of Iowa* (3d Series) VIII, 267.

lison's name was formally presented and the late Senator Hoar of Massachusetts informs us that "no other person ever came so near the Presidency of the United States and missed it," the contrary disposition of one notable alone controlling the vote of the New York delegation and thwarting his nomination.¹

(f) *Contemporary Comment on the Conclusions of the Convention.*

The proceedings and conclusions of the convention, as was the case with the call and the preliminaries thereof, elicited comparatively few comments in the party press of the State. Editorial comment is rare. Epistolary or reportorial comment is more frequent. Such papers as *The News* of Boone, *The Hawk-Eye* of Burlington, *The Intelligencer* of Charles City, *The Daily Gazette* of Davenport, *The Gate City* of Keokuk, *The Journal* of Muscatine, *The Courier* of Ottumwa, *The Hamilton Freeman* of Webster City, made no editorial comment. We need not conclude, however, that their respective editors were either ignorant of or indifferent to the work of the convention. The editors of all, save *The Hawk-Eye* and *The Intelligencer*, were delegates and took part in the proceedings. Some of them sent interesting letters back to their readers in which we find what were virtually editorial observations.

Some of the comments upon the boisterous character of the proceedings have been given. Sundry editors pass judgment upon the significance of the proceedings and a few make assertions as to the attitude of the convention and of its national delegates towards national candidates. Altogether they afford us interesting evidence of the contrary and divergent interpretations of the same transactions. Each one saw what his predilections or prejudices inclined him to see. Their expressions are given with but little condensation in what follows.

¹G. F. Hoar, *Autobiography of Seventy Years*, I, 410-413.

In the fore part of 1860 the columns of *The Springfield (Mass.) Republican* contained a number of racy letters from "Our Iowa Correspondent." They were the product of the facile pen of Fitz Henry Warren of Burlington. On his return from the convention at Des Moines, where he was chairman of his county's delegation, he wrote the following, dated at Burlington, Jan. 21.

Our state convention for the election of delegates to Chicago was in convulsive throes last Wednesday. As there were over five hundred candidates for the places you can calculate the number in attendance. The representation first proposed was three hundred and thirty, but there being still some disappointed aspirants, the number was made thirty-three. I can give you one negative item of information only—they are *not* for Bates. When people die in this country, they are buried, and though tenderly remembered, are never disinterred for political or other purposes; in which regard we are far behind the refined tastes of our eastern kinsfolk.

My bowels of compassion are strongly moved for the unfortunate seven who may be selected for the cabinet of the Republican president, if, contrary to my expectations, we are to have one. Let them court the protection of granite battlements, mounted with cannon and culverin, ditched and counterscarped, portholed and portcullised. Never since the northern barbarians overran the vine clad hills and valleys of Italy, has there been such an irruption as there will be into Washington with a change of dynasty. Let the prayers of the Christian Church go up in advance for these predestined victims of the universal "give, give," of famished patriotism. We need not waste our supplications on women in the "perils of child birth" and "sick persons and young children," when manhood and mature age are gasping for breath in the suffocation of an office-seeking mob.¹

Another observer, an Ohioan who happened to be in Des Moines the day of the convention, attended its sessions. He gave *The Cincinnati Gazette* an account of the character of the delegates with a slightly different flavor, observing:

Iowa may be relied upon as one of the firm Republican states. The leading politicians are generally young men of a high order of talent, devoted to principles rather than to men; energetic and en-

¹*The Springfield (Mass.) Republican* (wk.) Feb. 4, 1860. The writer is indebted to Mr. Otha Thomas, a graduate student of law in Yale University for the extract.

thusiastic they will arouse the whole State in the coming canvass, to an extent which will result in a Republican majority of at least five thousand votes.¹

A correspondent of *The Fairfield Ledger*, who signs himself "Vindex" discusses the delegation, its work and the party's prospects in a pointed fashion. As Fairfield was Senator James F. Wilson's home town one is curious whether or not his views are reflected. The letter was penned at Des Moines the day following the convention (Jan. 19.)

The delegation is left uninstructed and will go "perfectly free to regulate their vote in their own way" which I think is entirely proper and right. It cannot be told now who it will be best to select as the representative for the ensuing contest. Whoever he may be I hope he will be a full grown Republican—no weakkneed, limber backed, half and half compromiser. The country and the times demand a thoroughbred Republican and I doubt not that the Chicago convention will meet this demand promptly and with the right kind of a man.

The Republican party has a severe contest before it; but a triumph is certain if the right kind of counsels prevail. Advices flow into this point from all sections of the country and evince a strong and steady growth of Republican sentiment—the truth is that a prudent and firm course at Chicago will bring to our support a host of men who are little suspected of Republican proclivities. I am advised of quite a number of leading and influential Democrats who are waiting for the action of the Republican convention before determining their course in the coming canvass. I know that many of them have, in private, said that they are sick of the Democratic party and its detestable dogmas. They acknowledge that the party is completely sold out to the slave power and insist that they cannot and will not continue to insult their intelligence by trying to apologize for and whitewash the flagrant wrongs perpetrated by their party.²

The conspicuous fact in public debate was Slavery. Yet Abolitionism was the *bete noir* of prudent politicians. The convention indulged in no resolutions respecting the vexed question, but it favored two men who were tainted with strong prejudices favorable to the Negro. This phase of the convention's work is adverted to by *The Indianola Visitor*, whose

¹*The Weekly Iowa Citizen*, Feb. 8, 1860.

²*The Fairfield Ledger*, Jan. 27, 1860.

editor, Mr. J. H. Knox, was a Marylander, with an anti-slavery bent but with an aversion for Abolitionists. Writing from Des Moines he says:

You will see by reference to this list [of delegates] that there is just enough of the Brown sympathizing Republicans in the delegation to give it a strong Abolition odor. Grinnell and Clarke are avowed and undeniable Abolitionists; the former having been a bosom friend of the Harper's Ferry insurrectionist up to the moment of his death and would be today loud in praise of his acts were he not afraid that it might possibly be unpopular to openly eulogize treason. When Brown went through his town with a lot of stolen property Mr. Grinnell harbored him and raised money to aid him on his journey to Canada. W. Penn Clarke is known all over the State as an Abolitionist and is the leader of that wing of the party to which he belongs. He is a man of ability—one who has worked his own passage through life from the position of a tramping journeyman printer to that of a prominent politician and one of the ablest members of the bar in the State. With the aid of Grinnell, Clarke will make the Iowa delegation show the ebony at Chicago. I do not know whom the majority of the delegation are in favor of for President, nor do I think they can consistently decide in favor of any Republican. The call for the national convention is not for a Republican convention but for one composed of delegates from every party opposed to the policy of James Buchanan. Under the call Free Lovers, Garrisonites and Woman's Rights parties, all have a perfect right to send their delegates to the convention and there put forth their candidate for nomination.¹

Similar, but much less sympathetic sentiments were expressed by Mr. Stilson Hutchins, who had then but recently assumed editorial control of the *Iowa State Journal*, the organ of the Democrats at the capital city. Under the caption "'Union Men' of the North" he made (Jan. 21) the following comments on some of the notables honored by the convention:

Wm. Penn Clarke, one of John Brown's Iowa correspondents when that "martyr" was at Harper's Ferry, perfecting his "unwise and censurable scheme," heads the list of delegates to represent the great Republican States rights party at Chicago.

J. B. Grinnell, as pure an Abolitionist as today treads Massachusetts soil—and the man who, in the pulpit of the Congregational

¹The *Indianola Visitor*, Jan. 26, 1860.

church in the town of Grinnell, in Poweshiek county, stood by the side of John Brown, then reeking with the blood of his murdered victims, and appealed to the audience to subscribe liberally to aid him on his way, is a co-delegate.

Jacob Butler, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Convention of which Clarke and Grinnell are the representatives, attended as a delegate a Disunion Abolition Convention at Chicago last summer, and made, of all members, the most infamous disunion speech. These are the representatives of the "conservative" spirit of the country, and the candidates they put in nomination, Webster and Clay Whigs will feel proud to support.

One of the obstreperous facts in the political field in 1860 was the presence of the foreign voter and his belligerent disposition in all matters closely affecting his welfare. Both parties studiously avoided irritating the foreign born; but the latter's experience with Know-Nothingism was still a vivid memory and we see some signs of their sensitiveness respecting their treatment in the comments of the press. The chief fact in the proceedings of the convention as Mr. F. M. Lieback, editor of the *Sioux City Register*, the organ of the Democratic party in the northwest part of the State saw it, was the clash of the elements in respect of slavery and the "foreigners." He thus characterized the proceedings:

There were three different elements in the Convention, viz.: The irrepressible Brown Republicans who favored Seward; the Germans who favored a Michigan gentleman, and the dark lantern party who favored Bates. They had a stormy time, as might be expected.¹

In the columns of *The Pella Gazette* we find some interesting observations upon the makeup of the delegation that indicate how real to the foreign born was the fear of nativistic antagonism and how welcome were definite signs of its abatement. Mr. Scholte observed:

If our readers look over the list of delegates they will perceive that not only the different parts of the State are represented in the delegation, but also that several naturalized citizens are among the delegates. The last feature is certainly a renewed and indubitable proof that there is no proscription of foreign birth. That part of the population of Iowa has a fair proportion in the representation

¹*The Sioux City Register*, Jan. 28, 1860.

of our State in the national convention for the purpose of nominating candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States. We call attention to that particular feature because the Democratic leaders are continually trying to influence foreign born citizens by the unwarranted assertion that the Republican party is under the control of the party generally known as the Know-Nothing or Native American.

We do not object to a native American having more sympathy with the native born—that is natural—and exists among Democrats as well as Republicans; but when that natural sympathy degenerates into exclusion and proscription of citizens of foreign birth it ought to be denounced and resisted. We are therefore well pleased to see the frequent refutation of that slander by the Republican party in the election of foreign born citizens.¹

A few surmises are ventured as to the attitude of the delegation selected for Chicago towards the candidates for the Presidency. Some are direct and positive, some are balanced with alternatives. They indicate the inclinations of the writers as much as they do their cool judgment. The correspondent of *The Vinton Eagle*, presumably Senator Drummond, wrote, under date of Jan. 23:

The "Irrepressibles" are well represented on the delegation, a majority being of that faith. But it makes no difference about that in this State. Iowa is sure to give her vote to the Chicago nominee whoever he may be, and the general impression here is that Cameron will be the man.²

On January 20 a correspondent wrote *The Keosauqua Republican* from Des Moines:

The Convention sent 33 delegates to Chicago to cast 8 votes. Many of the delegates are supposed to be Seward men, though most of them declared themselves not committed and determined to be influenced in their choice only by considerations of public good and availability. No doubt a large portion of the delegation will go for Seward if they believe from the sentiment and lights developed at Chicago that he can be elected. Some of the delegates undoubtedly have a decided preference for some more conservative man, or at least some one who is regarded by the people as a more conservative man.³

¹*The Pella Gazette*, Jan. 25, 1860.

²*The Vinton Eagle*, Jan. 31, 1860.

³*The Keosauqua Republican*, Jan. 27, 1860.

About the same date the correspondent of *The Dubuque Times*, presumably Mr. Frank W. Palmer, penned the following:

Some of the delegates expressed their unalterable determination to cast their votes and use all honorable means within their power to secure the nomination and election of the "man of the hour" whose past career, unclouded and unspotted, shall be deemed a sufficient guarantee of his future action—a *true and unfaltering* exponent of the principles of the Republican party¹

One might conclude that Gov. Seward was in the mind of those delegates with "unalterable determination" but the conclusion is not necessary.

A correspondent of *The Gate City* wrote the following dated at Des Moines, Jan. 21:

The delegates were uninstructed, which was right. All the proposed candidates have friends among them, though we presume no one has a majority. We think Lincoln and Cameron have more friends, very decidedly, than any other two.²

The same sentiment was expressed by the veteran, John Teesdale, in terms that summarize many of his own editorial observations in *The Citizen* during the year preceding:

The delegates go uncommitted; as they should do. No attempt was made to pack the delegation for any aspirant to the Presidency. Seward, Chase, McLean, Bates, Lincoln, Cameron, and other distinguished statesmen, have their friends in the delegation. But when it is fairly ascertained who is the man to bear aloft the Republican banner, and lead the free masses to victory, Iowa will be found ready to declare her preference.³

A dispatch to the *Chicago Press and Tribune*, printed Jan. 21, declared that the delegates from Iowa were in favor of the nomination of Mr. Seward. Later reports contradicted the first advices. An editorial rectifying first comments concluded with the observation "The spirit of the Iowa Republicans was and is, to go for the man who seems likeliest to be elected when the national convention meets, provided al-

¹Reprinted in *The Lyons Weekly Mirror*, Jan. 26, 1860.

²*The Gate City*, Jan. 26, 1860.

³*The Daily Iowa State Register*, Jan. 20, 1860.

ways that he is a staunch Republican with a backbone perfectly straight." This sentiment of *The Press* elicited the following from Mr. Add H. Sanders:

The Press is right. The Iowa delegation will enter the Republican national convention as every other delegation should do, unpledged to any man and thus in a position to calmly make their choice after the claims and strength of the different candidates for nomination are thoroughly investigated, with the sole object before them of the success of the Republican party above and beyond any particular individual's personal elevation. Whoever is nominated of those whose names have been prominently mentioned in connection with the position, our delegation may safely promise the people and the party the electoral vote of Iowa. The people will redeem this promise most gloriously. No State in the Union is more thoroughly impregnated with the spirit of true Republicanism than Iowa.¹

Mr. John Mahin noting the first dispatch or a similar report referred to above wrote *The Muscatine Daily Journal* denying its authenticity and saying:

We judge from conversation with many of the delegates and from the hearty applause which greeted the mention of Mr. Seward's name by the gentlemen who addressed the convention, that he is the first choice of the majority of the Republicans of the State; but the disposition appeared unanimous to acquiesce in the action of the national convention.²

The extract from the *Press and Tribune* quoted above was reprinted in *Der Demokrat* also of Davenport with comment in agreement, concluding with the observation: "... at present the views of the several delegates in regard to the president to be nominated are still widely diverging."³

Another paper of Chicago, the *Journal*, announced that "the delegates . . . it is understood, favor the nomination of Mr. Seward for the Presidency." Commenting on this statement, Mr. Clark Dunham said:

¹*The Davenport Daily Gazette*, Jan. 27, 1860.

²*The Muscatine Daily Journal*, Jan. 23, 1860.

³*Der Democrat*, Jan. 24, 1860. The writer is indebted to Mr. Harry E. Downer and Dr. August P. Richter of Davenport for the citations from *The Daily Gazette* and *Der Demokrat* relative to the reports and comments in *The Press and Tribune* of Chicago.

Our Chicago contemporary has sources of information which are accessible to us. So far as we can learn our delegation is not committed to *any* candidate, the sentiment of the convention was, our representatives shall consult and co-operate with those of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Indiana. We think we may venture to say, that whoever is the strongest in these states will be the one for whom our vote will be thrown.¹

So far as the writer can discover no criticism of the convention because of its action or non-action in the matter of nominations, or in respect of the makeup of the delegation, the alleged or presumed preferences of the delegates for candidates, was made by any Republican editor in Iowa. None created any positive or insistent preferences. Each and all refused to assume and to presume that success at the polls in the coming election was the paramount consideration. The positions of candidates or the claims of their friends or promoters and the demands of this or that state or section for "recognition" were minor matters and negligible.

(g) *Commentary and Conclusion.*

However one may regard the character of the delegates to the Republican state convention that assembled in Sherman's hall on Wednesday afternoon, January 18, 1860; whatever conclusion is tenable as to the *motif* impelling the delegates to the proceedings; and be one's opinion such as it may as to the character or careers of the delegates selected by the convention to represent its wishes and to determine for its members on the proper course at Chicago—several conclusions are justified by the foregoing exhibits.

That a "machine" controlled in the preliminaries of the convention at Des Moines, that is in the caucuses and conventions in the cities and country districts in the selection of county delegates, the managers of the machine picked and sent to Des Moines some of the best ability and finest character to be found in the Republican party in Iowa at the height of its maximum vigor and virtue. Its delegates thoroughly represented not only the vitality of the party, but the general average of Iowa's citizenship.

¹See *Daily Hawk-Eye*, Jan. 25, 1860.

If "politics" controlled in the proceedings of the convention at Des Moines it was the natural and necessary result of the collision of contrary interests in the State whose representatives in the nature of the case sought position and power to protect and further those interests. The conclusion of their proceedings—their negation of instructions or of the unit rule—in the light of the conditions then manifest and in the judgment of those who have studied them in the lights and shades of subsequent events, was the very essence of common sense as well as the very substance of political wisdom.

If the delegates selected by Iowa's Republicans on January 18, 1860, to represent them in the celebrated convention at Chicago were "politicians" and "wire-pullers" they were certainly excellent samples of the species—and a sort that it would be well if their numbers and kind would increase and multiply.

The attitude of the delegates in Sherman's Hall towards national issues and the several candidates then mentioned and urged upon their consideration completely represented the dominant wish of the rank and file of the party throughout the State as it was indicated in their party press during the year preceding. Prejudices relative to sundry moot points that aroused animosity and alienated allies and personal preferences for particular candidates were deliberately checked, in order that there might result an efficient harmony on matters of universal interest among the opposition to the Administration in control at Washington.

Finally the name of Abraham Lincoln of Illinois seems to have been as much in the minds and in the calculations of the delegates and leaders at Des Moines, as were the names of Banks or Bates or Cameron or Chase or Fessenden or McLean or Wade—and possibly—or Seward.

ACROSS THE PLAINS IN 1850.

Journal and Letters of Jerome Dutton, Written During an Overland Journey from Scott County, Iowa, to Sacramento County, California, in the Year Named.¹

INTRODUCTORY.

In the biographical section of "The History of Clinton County, Iowa," published in 1879 by the Western Historical Company of Chicago, appear brief sketches of Jerome Dutton, on page 792, and of Lorenzo D. Dutton and Josiah F. Hill, on page 810. In each of these sketches mention is made of a trip taken across the plains to California in the spring and summer of 1850. The three men named, with others, made this long journey in company, and one, at least, of the party, kept a journal of the expedition.

This journal follows, together with several supplementary letters by Jerome Dutton, the writer of the journal, during, or shortly after the conclusion of the journey. Both the journal and the letters appear herein essentially as they were written. To avoid repetition, portions of the letters have been omitted, and in the furtherance of a connected narrative occasional detail mentioned in the letters and omitted from the journal are herein included in the journal. These changes, however, are few; and otherwise no alterations have been made, except to eliminate some errors of punctuation and orthography, and to add an occasional note that may aid

¹On Dec. 29, 1850, Jerome Dutton sent his journal by mail from Mormon Island, Cal., to Le Roy Dutton in Clinton County, Iowa. Before mailing it he inscribed the subjoined note on the fly leaf:

"You must let no one see my journal. There are so many mistakes in it and I have not had time to rectify them. But I will do it when I get home. This is just enough to keep it fresh in memory. Remember that a good part of it was written after dark with no other light than such as I could make out of buffalo chips.—Jerome."

in identifying some of the persons mentioned. Whenever reference is made to the "History of Clinton County" the volume described at the beginning is the book alluded to.

Before they started on this journey, the three men named entered into a contract with Rudolphus S. Dickinson whereby he was to provide them and their belongings with transportation to California, and with board during the trip. Whether others of the party went under the same terms is not known. For this service Mr. Dickinson was to receive, according to the evidences at hand, \$400 from each individual. He was, however, unable to fully perform his part of the contract. When the party reached the Missouri river it became evident that from thence forward the burdens of the horses and oxen must be lightened, and as the best means of reaching this end, the men in the party made the entire remainder of the journey from the Missouri river to their destination on foot. In the middle fifties when many of the party had returned to Iowa, Mr. Dickinson began suit, with Cook and Dodge, of Davenport, as his attorneys, against Hill and the two Dutton brothers for \$400 each under this contract, but as he had failed to provide them with transportation and as the defendants had performed many services for him, he obtained only a modified judgment.

It is, perhaps, not out of place to mention here that the town of Dixon in Scott county, takes its name, in an abbreviated form, from the leader of this party, who opened the first store in the community, when it was known as Little Walnut Grove. He was also one of the founders of the town of Calamus in Clinton county. On page 633 of the "History of Clinton County" appears the following: "Calamus . . . was platted in 1860 by R. S. Dickinson, who owned the land on the north side of the railroad. He and his son, A. L. Dickinson, built the first store of consequence and opened a large line of merchandise and engaged in grain buying."

Jerome Dutton, with his brother Lorenzo, left California in the early summer of 1854, returning by way of the Isthmus of Panama, thence to New York city and from there by rail to Davenport, Iowa. He was born March 2nd, 1826, in Afton

(then Bainbridge) Chenango county, N. Y., being the fifth son of Charles and Nancy (Pearsall) Dutton. His mother died in 1837, and in the fall of that year he, together with his father and four brothers, Le Roy, Lorenzo Dow, John, and Charles went to Potter county, Penn., where they lived with his mother's brother, Samuel Pearsall, until the following spring. They then went by raft to Madison, Ind., where they lived with another uncle, William Dutton, until December, 1838. The father and his sons, Le Roy, John, Charles and Jerome, then started for Iowa, proceeding down the Ohio and up the Mississippi, but at Alton, Ills., the river became frozen over and the party remained there until the spring of 1839. They then continued up the river to Comanche, where they left the boat and walked out to the home of another uncle, William Pearsall. Here, along the banks of the Wapsipinicon river in the south-east corner of Olive township, Clinton county, the father and his sons, Le Roy, John, Charles and, in 1842 Lorenzo, established what were to be the homes of four of them for the remainder of their lives. Here the brother John died in 1840, the father, Charles Sr., in 1859, Le Roy, Dec. 19th, 1894, Lorenzo D., March 13th, 1895. Charles, who survived all the others, died April 2nd, 1899, at Durant, Iowa, whence he had moved from his farm in Olive township only the year before.

Until his marriage, Jerome Dutton lived, for the most part, with his oldest brother, Le Roy. He was married November 16th, 1856, at Tipton, Cedar county, Iowa, by Judge W. H. Tuthill, to Celinda, a daughter of Francis and Rhoda (Chaplin) Parker. A few months later he took up his abode on his farm on the south bank of the Wapsipinicon in Allen's Grove township, Scott county.

In 1859 he bought the Buena Vista ferry that had, some years previously, been operated by Dr. Amos Witter, and the south landing of which was on the north-east corner of his farm. He operated this ferry until the fall of 1864 when the ferry at this point was discontinued, and he moved to the neighboring town of Dixon. From thence he moved to

Wheatland, in Clinton county, in the fall of 1865. Here, directly after his arrival, he opened an insurance, real estate, collecting and loan office, and also began a large business as an auctioneer. These were his business pursuits for the remainder of his life. He held many minor offices in his home community and was Justice of the Peace for many years. He was Postmaster at Wheatland at the time of his death, which occurred October 4th, 1893.

References to Charles Dutton, Sr., or his sons may be found on pages 352, 363, 364, 365, 392, 792, and 810 "History of Clinton County." C. W. D.

Journal.

Started from home¹ for California March 31st, 1850, and from Allen's Grove [Scott Co.] April 3rd. Stopped over night with Mr. Owens and Bennett in Walnut Grove in company with Daniel Carlisle, Josiah Hill, L. D. Dutton, John Gochenour, Sam, Adam, and John White and the latter's wife, Mr. and Mrs. Powell, Solomon Gee and two Irish boys from Illinois by the name of John and Henry Hart. The second night we stayed at ——— Akerman's, in Posten's Grove. Here we received a visit from Mr. Owen and Andrew and John Posten.²

April 5th we stayed in Tipton at the home of Abraham Lett, a very jovial old fellow. We had a "rake down" there that evening, Adam White presiding as fiddler. Left Tipton April 6th, and after ploughing through sloughs all day we stopped at the house of John Johnston, a distance of five miles from Tipton.

¹The farm of LeRoy Dutton, in Sec. I, Olive township, Clinton county.

²The Mr. Powell mentioned died about a year after his arrival in California. His widow, Elizabeth Powell, married F. E. Rothstein, in March, 1852. Mr. Rothstein went to California by the overland route in 1849, and in the spring of 1857, he and his wife returned to Scott county. In 1861 he moved into Clinton county, and built and operated "Rothstein's Mill,"—a landmark for many years—on the north bank of the Wapsipicon river in Olive township. A sketch of Mr. Rothstein is given on page 813, "History of Clinton County." The "Mr. Owen" last mentioned was John Ervin Owen, whose wife, Diantha, was the eldest sister of Celinda Parker, whom Jerome Dutton subsequently married. Andrew and John Posten were sons of James Posten. James Posten was the earliest settler in the northwest corner of Scott county, and "Posten's Grove" took its name from him.

We left Johnston's Sunday morning April 7th, and crossed the Cedar at Washington's Ferry. We traveled two miles farther and tarried at the house of John Doland. . . .

On the 8th we arrived at our Capitol and camped close by the College. Iowa City is not a very pretty place, the houses are scattering and generally very small. There are several small churches, however, among which are the Congregational, Baptist, Universalist and several others. The State House is a rather good looking building built of unhewn stone. We were advised at Iowa City to take the southern route on account of the scarcity of feed on the northern, but I now believe it would have been better to have taken the northern route, for the hay and corn began to grow very scarce as soon as we left the city, and the northern is a much nearer route.

On the 9th we crossed the Iowa river at the middle ferry, drove 12 miles and stopped at the house of William Fry. Here feed began to grow scarce, and we started in the morning of the 10th before feeding hay simply because we could not get it. We drove four miles and put up at the house of an old bachelor by the name of Lambert. He was a smart looking man and had everything about him much nicer than any other man on the road. In this he is the equal of old man Dickerman. We got corn of him for 40 cents per bushel, and went about five miles off the road and got a ton of hay delivered for \$6.50. We laid up here the 11th, 12th and 13th.

On the 14th we left Lambert's and crossed English river (on a bridge) at Warrensville, and after traveling over a rough and sloughy country a distance of 20 miles stopped at the house of John Houston. William and the Parkers stayed at the same house last spring.¹ We got no feed here except what we hauled with us 20 miles.

All day the 14th the country is about the same; the land high, wet and cold. We stopped near Sigourney, Keokuk Co.

¹William R. Pearsall, Francis Parker, and the latter's son, Francis Jackson Parker. The three, in company had followed this route to California in the spring of 1849. William R. Pearsall was a son of the William Pearsall mentioned in the introduction hereto, and thus a cousin of Jerome Dutton. His wife, Rhoda, was a daughter of Francis Parker, and thus a sister of Jerome Dutton's future wife.

The country begins to look better this morning, the 16th. We drove 11 miles today and laid up at Louis Gregory's, the best man we have met with yet, and lives in the prettiest country we have passed through. He sold us the hay off his stable roof, and it was the cheapest hay we have bought at that. We got corn from a man that lives four miles off the road for 55 cents, delivered.

We laid by again the 17th, 18th and 19th, and to pass away the time Daniel Carlisle bought three chickens and put them up at a distance of 15 rods to be shot at with the rifle held at arms length. I killed one the first shot I made. He also got two turkeys and put them up at 25 rods. Ten shots brought them both down. We have some first-rate marksmen in our crowd.

On the 20th we again set out and after going two miles forded the north branch of Skunk river—a beautiful mill stream. About eight miles from there we ferried the south fork. Here we met five very pretty girls on their way to meeting and they created quite a sensation throughout the company. The country from this fork back a distance of 20 miles is as beautiful a country as ever I saw, and is in Keokuk Co. After crossing the south fork it was quite different, being very hilly and sloughy. We camped that night near Oskaloosa the county seat of Mahaska Co.

On the 21st we drove into Oskaloosa and there heard that a Californian named Hudson had died and been buried there the day before, and the citizens mistrusted that his remains had been dug up. We went one mile beyond town and put up at the house of E. Hale. After we had fed our teams we went back to town to find out the truth of the matter. The citizens opened the grave and found the body missing. Two doctors, E. W. Pierson and G. Singer, with ——— Sampsel as accessory, had hired two men by the names of James Moore and ——— Wallace to dig up the body and bring it to their buggy. The body was found while we were in town. I never in my life felt so much like putting mob law in force as I did when I saw the body. It caused considerable excitement among the Californians as well as the citizens and there

was a crowd around all day. The two men who dug up the body made their escape, but Dr. Pierson and Singer were taken at night with a warrant, but were released under bonds of \$1,000. The suit was just called as we left there on the 22nd.

We ferried the Des Moines at Tuley's [Tool's] ferry (or ford) and stayed all night at Belle Fountain, a little town on the south side. Here we got corn for 75 cents per bushel. The 23rd we stayed at Wolf's Run. The night of the 24th we stayed five miles from any house in a pretty place and killed a large wild turkey. On the 25th we arrived at Chariton Point where we got hay for \$1.00 per hundred and corn for \$1.50 per bushel. This place is 40 miles from the Des Moines.

Here we struck the old Mormon trail and from this on had a first rate road with the exception that it was more crooked than the Wapsipinicon. The 28th we passed through Mount Pisgah, a settlement of Mormons that stopped here in 1846 because they were so poor they could not get any farther. There are about 60 families. All that are able are going on to Salt Lake this season. This settlement is about 60 miles from any other. They have seen hard times here. They have a mill on Grand river which runs through the town, but they are selling out as fast as they can and leaving for the Land of Promise. This place is 125 miles from Council Bluffs. We bought corn here for 25 cents per bushel. This corn the Mormons had brought from the Missouri, a three days' journey, expressly to sell to the Californians.

On the 29th we started for the Nishnabotna, 75 miles from Mount Pisgah, with (we are told) only one settler in the distance. [We find] the Mormons settled along the road all the way where there is timber; but this is scarce. The road is very crooked in consequence of proceeding through a rough part of the country and keeping on the dividing ridge all the way.

We arrived on the Nishnabotna May 3rd. It is a small but very pretty stream and is about 50 miles from St. Francis. There are speckled trout in this stream, and the prairies are

very large all through here. This is on the North Fork, the South Fork being 20 miles distant. There is an old Indian town here of the same name but there is no one here now but about nine families of Mormons. It is a very pretty country and, I think, a healthy one.

May 6th. Today we got within 5 miles of Trader's Point (or St. Francis) and camped in the timber. We stayed in this vicinity until the 16th.

Letter No. 1.

St. Francis, Iowa, May 7th, A. D. 1850.

Dear Brother:—

We started from Allen's Grove April 3rd. (Here follow extracts from his journal already given.) I have mentioned all names so that from time to time as I write you may know who I mean when I say that we are all well, &c. I shall number each letter so that you will know if any miscarry. I should have written before, but after we had got far enough to make it interesting there was no post-office.

We camped today within 5 miles of Trader's Point, and here I am sitting on the wagon tongue writing to you. There is no town nor post-office here by the name of Council Bluffs, but that name is applied to a large tract of country here. The only post-office near here is the Mormon town, Kanesville. I forgot to tell you that in Tipton I traded my new thick boots to Henry Hart for a pair that he got a shoemaker in Illinois to make for him. He had worn them only a few days. They were too large for him so he gave me an even trade, and a good trade it was for me. I also traded my rifle for a U. S. piece that carries a ball of almost half an ounce weight. It is a new rifle at that.

I will now wait until I find out when we start.

May 16th.

Dickinson arrived the 9th and we have joined a company and expect to cross the river tomorrow. On this date we organized a company to be called the "Fear Not." William Clapp is our Captain, R. S. Dickinson, Lieut., Thomas W.

Hinchman, Clerk. I have not room for the By-Laws. The Captain was through last spring and is now taking his family through. We have a good many families in our company. I think it will be very doubtful about L. D. D. writing to Charles. I have spoken to him a dozen times, but we have such a poor chance that it is hard to get at it. I have got me a good revolver in my belt and I feel perfectly safe, although some difficulty with the Indians is apprehended. We have seen along the road nine dead horses and one dead ox. I have neither seen nor heard anything of Scott or James.¹ If they are not short of money I lose my guess. Flour has been \$7 per hundred here until lately. It is now \$5. If you want to know how I feel I can tell you that I would hate awfully to be back there working for \$15 per month. I have been well ever since I started and weigh 179 pounds. I was exposed to, but did not take the measles. Smallpox is prevalent here but the vaccination in my arm worked very well. I have vaccinated several. The grass is just high enough to start on and that is all. It is very dry and dusty and the grass can grow only in the sloughs.

I found my rifle was more bother than profit so I traded it for a patent lever watch, pronounced by good judges to be worth \$25. Kanessville is a small place but the business done here would astonish you. Just at this time five or six auctioneers are holding sales, and property sells well. A great many have come here to buy their outfits. Some sell out and hire their passage through, and some back out because of funds running out. Love to all. I would write more if I had room.

Respects of,

LeRoy Dutton.

Jerome Dutton.

¹William Scott, and James B. and Abner Alger had preceded them along this route but a week or two. William Scott's wife, Harriet M. Pearsall, was a daughter of the Samuel Pearsall mentioned in the Introduction. At this writing (December, 1909) Mr. Scott is living, at an advanced age, in Calamus, Iowa, and of all those mentioned herein, as having made the journey to California, it is believed he is the only survivor. A sketch of Mr. Scott appears on page 813, "History of Clinton County." James B. and Abner Alger were sons of Oliver Alger, who is mentioned in the sketch of Rev. DeWitt C. Curtis on page 809, "History of Clinton County," as being one of the first settlers in Olive township. Abner Alger enlisted in Company A, of the Eighth Iowa Infantry, Aug. 12, 1861. He was captured at the battle of Shiloh and died in St. Louis during the war.

Journal.

We drove (May 16th) within four miles of the ferry and laid over until the 18th. We number 22 wagons, 57 men, 6 women, 9 children, 10 horses and 157 head of cattle. This is rather a larger company than common. We crossed the Missouri at the old Mormon ferry, which is distant 12 miles from Kanesville. Therefore we did not cross until the 18th.

There was a willow shade on the bank at the ferry beneath which a seller of "hot stuff" had set up shop. As this was the last chance, some of our boys soon felt finely. Several companies were on the bank waiting for their turn to cross, and as the last load (I was on board) of our company shoved off from shore some one on the bank proposed three cheers for the departing company, and there went up three deafening "Hurrahs."

There are a few log houses here at the river where the Mormons wintered one season in the Nebraska or Indian Territory and it goes by the name of "Winter Quarters." I mention this for the reason that the distances on this road are all measured from that point. The Mormons measured the distance from there to the Salt Lake by means of a "Roadometre" and therefore all the crooks and turns in the road are measured and this is one reason why it is so far. We drove 6 miles from Winter Quarters and stopped until morning.

On Sunday, the 19th, we drove to the Elkhorn and ferried and corraled around the Liberty Pole put up by the Mormons some years ago. We make a corral in this way: At night we form our wagons in a circle and put the tongue of each wagon up on the hind end of the wagon in front of it. A chain is run from the hind end board of one to the fore end of the next wagon. We leave a place large enough to drive in the cattle and in this way we yard them. Then we stretch a rope across the entrance, and the corral is finished. In this way we often get along with only three watchmen. It is necessary to keep guard all the time, and when we herd the cattle it generally takes five men.

We turn the cattle out at half past 3 in the morning and keep with them night and day. We passed a company that had lost 55 head of cattle by leaving them just before daylight. We passed them in the evening, and although they had been looking for their cattle all day they had not found them. The cattle had taken fright at something and ran away all in one direction and got such a start that their owners could not overtake them.

The country from here on is as level as any land I ever saw. This is the Platte bottoms; very low but the road was good.

We followed up the Platte without any trouble until we came to Looking Glass creek, a stream that enters into the Loup fork. But on the night of the 19th and again the evening of the 22nd we had very heavy thunder showers and consequently when we arrived at the creek on the 23rd we found it very much swollen and the bridge gone. We therefore had to stop and corral at 12 o'clock and proceed to build a bridge 52 feet long. We had it ready to cross on the next morning, having plenty of help from other companies in the same fix. There were many Pawnees along the road from the Elkhorn to this stream, and great beggars they are, too.

After crossing this stream we went about 8 miles and formed a corral on the bank of Beaver river. Here we were again water bound, and built, not a wire but a brush suspension bridge. There was some flood trash collected in the middle of the stream and using this for a pier we felled some willows onto it from each shore. We then cut brush and laid across the willows thick enough so that we could haul our wagons over by hand. Our cattle we swam over to the west bank where we remained over night. There were six other companies corraled there, also, and in all there were 304 men, 24 women, 21 children, 920 head of cattle, 73 horses and 154 wagons.

Sunday, the 25th, we traveled about 6 miles and forded the Loup fork of the Platte at a point 133 3/4 miles from Winter Quarters. We had to raise our wagon boxes 8 inches to clear the water and had to drive very crooked and keep moving

to prevent our wagons from sinking in the quick sand. Several wagons belonging to other companies were stalled and nearly upset in consequence of the sand washing out from under one side faster than the other. But the wagons were quickly got out; otherwise they would have soon been under the water. Their drivers did not follow the road that Capt. Clapp had staked out. They thought their road the best, but they found out their mistake. We have a first rate captain. The Mormons claim him, but I guess he is not much of a Mormon. William Davison crossed right after us and passed us here.

Wild onions were plenty from the Elkhorn here, growing in some places as thick as they could stand. The country from Winter Quarters here is almost destitute of timber. There are some willows and cottonwoods (although but few) along the creeks and the Platte. Such of these trees as there are along the Platte, or Loup fork are mostly on the islands. It is a very flat country, but pretty prairie.

We came past some old Pawnee villages that were destroyed by the Sioux in the fall of 1846. Their main town covered about 20 acres and was walled in with a turf wall. But the Sioux had taken them by surprise in the night and burned their town and massacred a great many of its inhabitants. Their bones lay about in every direction, and there were also a great many buffalo skulls that look as if the buffaloes were killed about the same time as the Indians. I suppose the Pawnees had trespassed upon the Sioux hunting grounds, and that is what the fuss originated from.

The Chief of the Pawnees came out to the road to see us. He was the best looking Indian of his tribe. He had on a silver medal on one side of which was inscribed "Peace & Friendship" showing also a tomahawk and pipe and two hands firmly clasped.

On the other side was a head of James Madison with an inscription reading "A. D. 1803." He was a young man and this medal has doubtless been handed down from chief to chief.

Close by their town that was destroyed was a large piece of breaking that I suppose was done for them by the Government when they were moved there. I saw an old Peacock plough near. But their ground is now deserted and they now live farther down the river and on the opposite side.

May 28th: This day we saw the first prairie dog city. They are much smaller than I expected, being about the size of a large grey prairie ground squirrel. In color they are between a gopher and a prairie grey squirrel. They resemble a dog but very little. They keep up an awful barking as you approach them but never bark until they are right over their holes ready to dive in. When barking their motion is something like a small dog, but their bark does not in the least resemble the bark of a dog. I have seen a tract as large as 200 acres quite thickly covered with their houses, which are, in fact, nothing but a small heap of dirt with a hole in the top. There are in Texas, I am told, a much larger kind which much more resemble the dog.

May 30th: This day a gentleman was kind enough to offer me the use of his horse so that I might go hunting. His offer was most thankfully accepted. I started in the morning and was gone until noon. I saw plenty of antelope, an animal smaller than a deer. They make a noise similar to a young cow, and are generally quite tame. Their meat is excellent. I caught one young antelope. After petting it awhile and wishing that it was at my home back in Iowa I went on and left it. I saw many gray wolves, but no buffalo except dead ones. They were plenty. Whether they died from starvation or were killed by the Indians I do not know, but a great many of them had never been skinned.

Saw plenty of prickly pear for the first time. They resemble a large leaf on the ground. They are covered with stickers about half an inch long. There [are] some that look like a pineapple.

May 31st: This day we drove 28 miles and passed several other companies under way. At night we made use of buffalo

chips for the first time to cook our supper with. I was agreeably disappointed when we got the fire started and found that they burned so much better than I expected. It is not a hard matter to find them, for they are plentiful.

June 1st. This day our company killed its first buffalo, a large cow. She was chased in from the bluffs toward our train and several of us started out with our rifles to meet her, but she was killed by her pursuers before I had a chance to give her a shot.

June 2nd: We had traveled 16 miles today—which was altogether the hottest day we have had up to this time—when the Captain rode along the train and told us to halt and get a drink of water at a good spring that rose a few rods from the road. We stopped, and nearly all of us had gathered at the spring, when a pack horse came running past. He frightened and started the hindmost team and they turned out to pass the next team ahead. At this they, too, took a start and so on until every team in the train was off in a perfect stampede. This made a scattering at the spring, every man running for his team. John White was run over by another team in attempting to stop his own, but came out unhurt. Powell was run over and seriously scared, but not much hurt. Mrs. Dickinson was also run over by four yoke of cattle, and somewhat bruised. I presume the wheels did not strike her, although Dickinson thinks that one passed over her ankle. In consequence of the bruises she is not able to walk. She got out of the wagon with her little boy, but in falling she fell over him and he escaped unhurt. The stampede was a grand as well as an awful sight. It lasted 15 minutes of 4 o'clock when it commenced. The cattle were very tired and warm, and so were we. This was the first good water we had since crossing the Missouri, a distance of 289 miles. We had frequent thunder showers and every creek was black with the mud washed in from a large scope of country. Many a drink of water did I take that I would not have washed in at home. All these circumstances together render the Cold Springs a spot that will long be remembered by the most of us.

June 3rd: This was a day of hard work. We laid over to wash and bake in preparation for crossing a 200 mile strip of country barren, with the exception of one lone tree, of a single stick of timber. We took some wood with us to start the fires, but buffalo chips are the principal part of our fuel, and they are plentiful. There [are] places where they may be gathered, I believe, at the rate of ten bushels to the acre.

While I was walking around here I came across a buffalo skull, and I measured it between the inside corners of the eyes. The distance was 13 1-2 inches. The animal had been killed but a short time. Here also was the grave of a man named Gordon, from Dubuque county, Iowa. He died the first day of May.

June 4th: We left with the intention of going to Fort Laramie before laying up. Nothing of importance transpired until Sunday, the 9th. When Lieut. Dickinson was called on watch this morning he refused to serve, in consequence of his wife being unable to help herself. Some of the company found fault with him and the matter was brought before the company at 12 o'clock. The decision was in Dickinson's favor. Some other difficulties arose, one being that the Captain drove too fast to suit Dickinson and his associates, and they asked the privilege of withdrawing from the company. On the morning of the 10th this privilege was granted by a vote of the company.¹ We arrived at Fort Laramie at 12 o'clock June 13th and laid over until the 15th to recruit our teams and lighten up.

Letter No. 2.

Fort Laramie, June 13th, 1850.

Dear Brother:—

Our company had not got together when I wrote my last. [Here follow extracts from the journal]. We have now arrived at Fort Laramie and I hasten to finish this letter to you, if you can call it by that name. We (that is, Dickinson and his wagons and men) left the Fear Not company three

¹Those who here separated from the "Fear Not" company were R. S. Dickinson, wife and child, Josiah Hill, Daniel Carlisle, L. D. Dutton, Jerome Dutton, and one other who cannot be identified.

days before getting here on account of their hard driving as well as some other bad management. We have kept close to them so far by getting started earlier and driving later than they. If that company keeps on the way they have driven so far one half of their cattle will give out before they get to Salt Lake. The feed has been scarce for several days and heavy, sandy roads and hot weather make it hard on the cattle and no mistake. These companies seldom keep together but a very short time. Our two wagons are alone at present, but we can join a company any time we wish. But for my part I prefer going by ourselves. We can get along much better and there is no danger of Indians for we are close to some company every night. I would think by the number of teams on the south side of the river that when we all get together we cannot be alone any of the way.

We had intended to cross the Platte here, but it could not be forded and the ferry boat was sunk the other day by some Californians who were on a spree. The river here is 108 yards wide, runs very swift and is now high. There have been seven men drowned here, I understand, while ferrying themselves across in wagon boxes, etc.

Today I came across the grave of a man from Van Buren County, Iowa, who was killed by his brother-in-law. There were four of them playing cards and drinking and they got into a quarrel which resulted in the death of one. The man who killed him is at the Fort and is not expected to live. He received a dangerous wound from the man that he killed. The balance of them are in the Fort and in irons and will be taken back. This I do not know to be a fact, but presume it is.

Since I left Winter Quarters I have seen seven dead horses and one left behind because it had accidentally been shot through the fore leg, cutting all the sinews and rendering the leg useless. Also one dead ox and three that were left because they were unable to go any farther. There are plenty of others that will not go much farther. Lorenzo and I drive the Widow Knight cattle, a yoke that Ale Dunn got of Snyder.¹ They stand it well, but I see plainly that we have got

¹Simon Snyder, of Allen Grove township, Scott county.

to drive slower. If we get through with one half of our cattle it will be as well as I expect. The old wagon is better than when we started, but I think it quite likely that we shall leave it before long and put the teams all on one wagon. There are plenty of good wagons burned up between here and Winter Quarters, and good wagons that men offer to give away. But when wood is scarce, they generally burn them. We have passed first rate log chains laying beside the road and half worn clothing, bed clothing, saws and a great many things that would be useful any place but this.

We came here from Winter Quarters in 26 days. We laid up just about two days, which leaves 24 days that we drove to get to Fort Laramie. The distance is 522 miles, and I think that is stiff driving for an ox team. Lorenzo has just come up from the ferry and tells me that he saw Davison, so, you see, we have kept up with the horse teams.

The distance from here to Salt Lake is 509 miles, so, you see, we are more than half way there. I will now tell you the reason that letter writers so seldom mention particulars. It is this: They are so busy that they have no time to write anything that can possibly be dispensed with and write at all, and any man that writes a letter on this road deprives himself of rest of which he is much in need. We generally get up about 2 o'clock in the morning and seldom get to bed before 9 o'clock in the evening, and when we are not eating or yoking cattle every step counts one for California. The country from the Missouri here is almost destitute of timber and what we would call brush in our country is timber here, and nothing but cottonwood and willow at that. So, if you hear anybody talking about a railroad to the Pacific, tell them for me that they are crazy. All of our boys are well except "old Mr. Hill." He has been grievously afflicted, has had the ague, the earache, has been sick at the stomach and at present has sore eyes. He wants me to write to Joseph Alger for him, but you may tell Joe that it is not Cy's fault that he don't get a letter.¹

¹A characteristic story of Josiah Hill, in connection with the lynching of Bennet Warren (an event of much celebrity in western Clinton county in 1857), is given on page 442 "History of Clinton County."

I have heard nothing of William Scott and James B. Alger. I want you should write immediately after receiving this. I want to know how you and Doc Witter get along.¹ If he or Dawson had heard themselves cursed as much as I have for sending people over that new road they would feel very much like fighting. I want that you should take out all the letters that come for me, read them, answer them and put them in my box so that I can see them when I get home. You may think that is a great ways ahead, but I feel as though it must not be such a great while. What goes the hardest with me is the total loss of the company of young ladies. I believe if we had a few along I should be at home.

We came through a Sioux village. They are good looking Indians, and there was one young woman, a chief's daughter, that was really good looking. She had her cheeks painted red and wore, in addition to a red blanket, a buckskin dress flowered off with beads. The Sioux are a wealthy tribe and have many ponies.

This will doubtless be the last letter you will get until I get through. There is no opportunity to send letters, as the mail leaves Salt Lake only twice a year, and therefore it will be better for me to wait until I get there before I write. I presume Lorenzo will not write. Give my love to all and tell Father and Charles I would like to write to them but have not time. Tell Cyrus² he must write me at Sacramento City and let me know all about the young folks in Iowa. Tell Rhoda that I hope to meet her husband³ about the first of September and remember me to Aunt and George.⁴ Lorenzo says to tell you that he is well and doing the best he can to get to California, and that when he arrives there he will write.

I was the cook all the way to Council Bluffs, and since Mrs. Dickinson was hurt I have done nearly all the cooking for seven adults and a boy about 3 years old. There is any amount of quarreling on this road, and a great many are dividing their

¹This refers to Dr. Amos Witter, subsequently a member of the Fifth General Assembly from Scott county.

²Cyrus A. Pearsall, brother of William R. Pearsall.

³William R. Pearsall.

⁴Phoebe Pearsall, mother of W. R. and C. A. Pearsall. George was her youngest son. He enlisted and was killed in service during the rebellion.

teams, and many a person have I seen and heard say that if he was back and knew what he knew then he would never start for California. Among this latter class is Dickinson and lady. That, though, is what no one has heard me say.

But I am getting tired sitting here in the wagon with a board on my lap. Yet I can scarcely stop. I see several words badly spelled, but will not bother myself to rectify the errors. So, no more at present.

Respects of your brother,

LeRoy Dutton, Esq.

Jerome Dutton.

Journal.

June 15th: We left Fort Laramie this morning and followed up the north side of the river to cross the Black Hills. This road has been traveled but very little until now, but as the ferry boat was gone we either had to go up on this side or ferry ourselves on a float, and no timber to build it of. We therefore concluded to keep up the north side, and as there have been but few trains up on this side the feed was good until we got up to where the teams from the other side commenced crossing. The upper Platte ferry is 126 miles from Fort Laramie. The game, antelope and mountain sheep, was plenty.

About 15 miles from Fort Laramie we came to a pretty spring that emerged at the foot of a bluff, and after flowing about eight feet, lost itself in the sand. This was a romantic looking place. There were numerous dry creeks, some of them as much as 20 rods wide, and they looked as though they were large rivers in the spring of the year. I think there must be very heavy rains here by the appearance of the bluffs and dry creeks.

June 23rd: This day we got to Independence Rock on the Sweetwater, and laid by one and a half days. We drove our cattle 1 to 2 miles from the road and found just feed enough to keep them alive. This Rock is 698 1-4 miles from Winter Quarters, and is something of a curiosity. It is 600 yards long and 120 wide, and is composed of hard granite. By dint

of good management I got time to ascend this rock and look at the surrounding country. Back east in the direction we came from can be seen the Atlantic spring, its edges white with saleratus, and to the south-west can be seen mountains with here and there a patch of snow. The beautiful Sweetwater can be seen here to advantage, winding its serpentine course in a south-easterly direction to the Platte, into which it empties. How appropriate, after traveling 700 miles up the Platte (the waters of which resemble the Missouri) and then coming on to this beautiful mountain stream, how appropriate, I say, that it should be called "Sweetwater." At the west could be seen the Devil's Gate, 5 miles distant (but it did not look to be a mile). This is a place where the Sweetwater passes through rocks 400 feet high, and as you stand at the edge of the stream on the south side you can see the rock at the top projecting over your head, and it looks as though you could almost jump across from one side to the other. I attempted to go through from the lower side of the gate to the upper, but found I could not get through the Devil's Gate as easily as I expected, as the only chance to pass through was to wade, or perhaps swim, and I decided to back out and not go through his gate until some future period. What is remarkable about these rocks is that they are placed in solid heaps and the country around them is sandy and without a stone.

We traveled up the Sweetwater 100 miles and crossed it five times. The 28th we crossed it twice in order to avoid clambering over the rocks where they came up close to the river. At the lower ford the water was so deep that it rose into the wagon boxes. So we had to carry some of our things up over the rocks to the second crossing to prevent them from getting wet. The balance we put on deck, and in this way we got across with little trouble.

July 1st: This day we passed Pacific Spring (the first water that runs into the Pacific) and crossed a desert 19 miles without water. The first was the Little Sandy, about 4 miles west of the junction of the Salt Lake road with the Oregon

Trail (which is generally called Subblett's Cut-Off). Here we camped one night.

July 2nd: We traveled forward 12 miles to the Big Sandy and laid over until 5 o'clock on the 3rd. We then started and drove all night and until 4 o'clock of the 4th to cross a desert 50 miles wide, which brought us to the ferry on Green river. Here there was a great many teams on either side. We got across at 6 o'clock by swimming our cattle and paying \$7 for ferrying our wagon. We left our cart here. There were several flags flying and a great many guns were fired in honor of the day. I heard some good fiddling and thought several times of sweet home and the merry ones that, no doubt, at that time were "patting it down" to some old favorite air. Here we began to see a great many sick, and there was one death that night. The thermometer in the morning was 4 degrees below freezing, and at 12 o'clock it was up to 95 in the shade. While we were here Daniel Solis, John Turner and Ainsworth came up and went on, and that is the last we have seen or heard of them. They were well. We laid over here the 5th.

We left on the 6th, drove 12 miles and camped on a small branch of Green river. A man had been buried there that day, and there were two other graves that had been made but a short time.

July 7th: We traveled 15 miles today over a sandy and dusty road. We stopped at noon and took our dinner on top of a hill where there was nothing but wild sage, and dust three inches deep. We accidentally spilled some vinegar on the dust, and it foamed up like so much saleratus. And this is what is blowing into your face day after day (and some nights) as regular as the day comes. At night we camped in a very pretty place. Plenty of snow close by us. A funeral ceremony was just concluded as we arrived there.

July 8th: This day we traveled over some very steep mountains and camped over night at Hams Fork. Here the forage began to be more plenty and we came upon the first good grass we had found from a point 25 miles below the upper

Platte ferry without leaving the road from 1 to 5 miles. There were some half-breed Indians here with some very fine horses. We tried to buy one, but their lowest price was \$100 for a horse that had been broken to ride.

July 9th: We arrived at the foot of a mountain and in sight of Bear river after traveling a rough and rocky road over some very steep hills.

July 10th: Today we overtook a company from Missouri, under Captain John E. Develby, with which we had traveled several days in Iowa. I had formed an attachment for some of them, and when we came up they were yet gathered around the grave of a companion whom they had just buried. He was sick but six hours with what is supposed to be the cholera. Directly after leaving them we came to four rushing creeks that all ran down between the points of two mountains that were not more than a quarter of a mile apart. The creeks were all deep and difficult to cross. After crossing the last we had to turn and go down it close to the foot of the mountain, and over large, rough rocks that would jar a wagon to pieces unless it was well put together. There are plenty of dead cattle around, and the smell is strong enough to almost take your breath away. We also passed four new made graves today, and at night camped beside a beautiful little spring creek that ran down from the mountains over riffles close by our tent and made sweet music for us to sleep by.

The 10th, 11th and 12th we continued to keep down the Bear river with very good roads, as a general thing, and grass enough for the whole emigration.

July 13th: Today we came to the Soda, or Copperas springs. The first two were on the bank of a creek close to the river. The water gurgles up with a snapping noise and the first taste resembles soda, but the after taste is more like iron and very disagreeable. A little lower down and directly on the bank of the river is what is called the Steamboat spring. Through a hole in the rock about 18 inches in circumference it gushes up to a height, sometimes, of two feet. It makes

considerable noise and foams something like soda. Like the other springs, it is of very unpleasant taste and smell.

We arrived today at a point where the road forks. One fork, the Oregon road, goes past Fort Hall; the other, Hedgepeth's Cut-Off, is the road we took.

We left Bear river about 2 o'clock, and as we had to go about 15 miles with no water along the road we took in enough to last us until 9 o'clock the next day. We drove about 8 miles and stopped over night. Although there was plenty of good grass there was nothing to make a fire with. Therefore we had to eat a cold lunch for supper and go on in the morning before breakfast, which made it 11 o'clock when we ate. It being Sunday (July 14th) we laid over the balance of the day. There were some half-breed Indians here who had established themselves to trade with the emigrants and buy up broken down cattle at small prices.

We resumed our journey on the 15th and passed four graves all made this month. Above one of them was a headboard with the man's name on it, below which was written a message requesting that if his friends saw it they would please inform his family, as his company had gone on and left him there while yet alive. His name was Dennis, and he was from St. Louis. Another was the grave of a man named W. H. Williams. He had been shot by another member of his company by the name of Hunter, and died a few hours later.

July 16th: We traveled until noon today and then laid by in consequence of sickness. Josiah Hill and Mrs. Dickinson were taken sick. Hill got better and was able to go on, but Mrs. D. was too sick for us to proceed:

July 18th: Today we resumed our journey and traveled most of the day through deep ravines, a little ascending until about 6 o'clock. Then we came to where we descended into a valley. The descent was lengthy, steep and dangerous. Here we had a strip of country 15 miles without water. We had to leave the road three-quarters of a mile to the left. This [road?] was discovered this year and formerly it was 20 miles [to water.] The last water was a big spring, and there were

two tracks, one leading to the right, and the other crossing the creek a half mile below the spring. After crossing the road bore southwest down the creek at a short distance from it. (This is what is generally called Hedgepeth's Cut-Off.)

July 19th: This day we traveled until 10 o'clock through ravines down a creek until we came to where the stream sank in the sand. From here it was 12 miles to water. After climbing a steep bluff (close to the creek) we had a good road, which descended gradually until we arrived at water, three creeks close together.

July 22d: We crossed Raft river near its head where it was quite a small creek. After crossing, the Fort Hall road came into ours. In the forenoon we could see the dust arising from the Salt Lake road.

July 23d: We came to the Salt Lake road, distant between 20 and 25 miles from Raft river.

July 24th: We passed over some rough road and stopped on Goose creek, where we heard that Captain Clapp's Fear Not company were 5 miles behind us. They went past Salt Lake, and had three days the start of us.

July 25th: This morning we resumed our journey up Goose creek, and before leaving it followed it 18 miles from where we first came to it. Here we came to a deep ravine, with a rough and somewhat crooked road for a quarter of a mile at the entrance. After leaving the head of the creek it is 12 miles to water, and very little grass. We camped four miles from the last mentioned water.

July 26th: At about 10 o'clock this morning we came to the Thousand Spring Valley. No grass. For a few miles after entering this valley we followed down it, seeing numerous springs, or wells along the road. They are from three to seven feet deep, some of them cold and good, others warm and laden with alkali. We camped at the lower end of the valley.

July 27th: Though the road was good the grass was poorer than we had along back. We left two big springs today at 5 o'clock, and had to cross a barren district of 9 miles without

water. The Fear Not company caught up with us today and at night we camped close together.

July 28th: We drove about 12 miles and found the road good, with the exception that it was very dusty and included some short, steep pitches that we had to go down. We came to several of the natural wells, some of which contain fish. They are dangerous in consequence of careless horses and cattle falling into them. The country here is rolling, the ravines wide, and grass good in the valleys. Fuel is scarce. Some sage and grease weed.

29th: Arrived at Mary's or Humbolt river. Grass and road good. July 30th, 31st: Kept down Mary's river, with good grass but bad and unclean water. Road good, with the exception of the dust which is from one to four inches deep. Sloughs are plentiful along the river and so mirey that in some places it bothers us to get our cattle on the best grass. We laid up this afternoon.

August 1st: Forded the river 4 times in that number of miles. First three deep; had to raise our wagon boxes 4 to 8 inches to keep our provisions dry. The fords were good; keep well down the middle of the stream in all of them. There was a road that kept down the river on the west side, but it was over mountains and we preferred keeping on the bottom, as the grass was good and road much better than on the west side. We passed two little creeks today and camped on the mountains. No grass nor water. From these creeks it is 8 miles to water and this, I think, not safe to depend on. It was springs, and they ran but a short distance before they sank in the sand. It was 15 miles from the creeks to the river and over rough road, and dusty.

2d: Crossed the river again and came down on the east side. Along here there is a road on both sides. The most of the emigration came the east side. Very dusty either side; barren saleratus land; nothing but greaseweed and wild sage. Good grass close to the river, but very sloughy and bad getting to it. Water bad and getting worse.

3d and 4th: About the same all day. Left an ox today. He swam the river where there was no ford and we left him there.

5th: Today we drove until 12 o'clock, and then joined the Wapello company, Capt. McDaniel [or McDaniels]. Nine wagons in the company when we joined. They were from Iowa, and we had seen them all along the road from the Platte. They went by Salt Lake, and we came in ahead of them. The reason we joined them was this: The Indians were troublesome and we concluded it was not safe to leave our cattle unguarded, and it was too hard for so few of us to guard them. We laid by until 4 o'clock and then drove until 10 o'clock at night over a very rough and rocky road; some places rocks square up and down from 2 to 3 feet.

6th, 7th, 8th and 9th: Still continue down Mary's river, on the south-east side, until the 9th. We then crossed over by ferrying in our wagon boxes and swimming the cattle. Grass hard to be got at because of the many sloughs. We had to build bridges of willow brush to get our cattle across them onto the grass.

10th, 11th and 12th: Travel down Mary's river with grass very scarce, or, in fact, what you may call none, over a complete desert with this exception: We occasionally touched the river for water. We traveled considerably nights. Dusty road, and many dry ruts. We swam our cattle across the river often and some of us swim over after them, and find nothing but willows for them to browse on at that. Great numbers of dead cattle and horses line the road from the crossing place to the Sink.

August 13th: We arrived at the place for making hay this morning. Had to wade in the water and mud (from ankle deep to 2 feet), cut our hay, bind it up some, and "back" it out. Others draw it out with light cattle and wagons, with great difficulty. Grass good, but the ground is so mirey that it is a miserable place to recruit cattle. There was a trading establishment here, kept up by the Mormons.

They sell beef at from 15 to 20 cents per pound, and kill cattle that the emigrants leave. Flour is \$1.50 per pound, sugar \$1.00 per pound, whiskey 50 cents for a little less than a gill. They would not let you drink what you wanted for that. Water bad here. By wading half a mile you can get as good as there is in the river. The wells are brackish.

14th: Laid up to cure our hay until the morning of the 15th. We then moved on down past the Sink and camped on the south-east of the slough. Plenty of stock water here, but none fit for other use.

16th: We started at three o'clock this morning to cross the desert, 40 miles without wood, water or grass. The road was good for the first 25 miles. Here the road commenced being very heavy and sandy. There was plenty of water to be had at the commencement of the sandy road for \$1.00 per gallon. This water they haul 15 miles from Carson river; this is the first water after crossing the desert. There were sights to be seen in crossing this desert. After the first 5 miles you could not get out of sight of dead cattle or horses. Any number of wagons. At one spot I could stand and count 25 in sight. Two-thirds of the emigrants had to leave their wagons and plunder on the last part of this desert and drive their cattle on and grass them and then go back for their wagons. One-half of our company had this to do; the other got through at daylight the morning of the 17th. We were among the forward teams.

There was a large Rag Town on the river where we first came to it and several victualing tents. Their prices were high, viz., 10 cents per pint for coffee, if with sugar, 15 cents; 25 cents per pint for rice soup, 50 cents for a sour pie about the size of your hand, 25 cents for a small biscuit, 50 cents a dram for whiskey, 75 cents ditto for brandy, beef, good for 50 cents per pound, flour \$1.25 per pound. There was no grass nearer than 6 miles from here, but you could get hay for 25 cents per bundle that could be spanned with both hands. It would take a dozen of them to make a feed for a yoke of cattle. We drove 6 miles up Carson's river today and laid by on the 18th.

The 19th we again set out up the river, the road sandy and in many places rough and rocky. Grass tolerably good.

20th, 21st, 22d and until 2 o'clock the 23d we traveled up Carson river. Trading posts plenty for the last 60 miles. They all ask about the same prices as the one where we first touched the river. Passed Warm Springs on the 23d; the water so warm that you could hold your hand in it but for a short time. We arrived at the foot of the Canyon at 2 o'clock the 24th and laid by until morning. The 25th we drove through the Canyon,¹ a distance of 6 miles over as rough and rocky a road as a wagon could pass over. We, however, got along very well. Upset only once, and that did no particular damage. A branch of the Carson river ran through the Canyon. There were mountains on either side, the tops of which nearly touched the clouds. There was some good (pine) timber here, the first we saw that you could call timber after leaving Winter Quarters.

26th: We left the head of the canyon this morning, and crossed the first of the Sierra Nevada mountains. At the foot of this mountain was an iron safe that some emigrant had started with, but when he got here and looked up this mountain I expect he came to the conclusion that he had hauled it far enough, and I think it a wise conclusion. The ascent was steep, rocky and about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile in length. There were four dead horses in this distance, and we traveled only 6 miles this day.

27th: We crossed the second mountain, or summit of the Sierra Nevada. The road was such as would be considered impassable by anybody but a Californian—rough, rocky and steep, and in addition to this there was snow that we had to go over for half a mile. The snow just at the right of the road was from 10 to 20 feet deep. It was two miles from the foot of the mountain to the summit; very steep in places. When we were on the summit we could look down and see plenty of snow 100 feet below us. There was plenty of the best water I ever drank.

¹An asterisk here refers to a note written on a fly leaf of the journal. This note reads: "Canon, This is a Spanish word, pronounced Canyon."

28th, 29th & 30th: Traveled these days over rough road and on a dividing ridge. Water scarce and grass more so, and dust ankle deep. Trading posts are plenty.

31st: No feed today. We had to cut down oak trees for our cattle to browse on.

September 1st: Today we arrived at Weaver, the first town that we came to in California. Here we stopped and bought tools and went to mining on Methenis creek, 4 miles south of Weaver. (Here we came across James and Abner Alger.) Our tools cost us \$35. We mined here but a few days. Lorenzo started off to look for a better place and went to the Mormon Island, and here he found William R. Pearsall, mining. He stayed part of a day with him and then came back to the creek and we sold everything except what we could carry and moved to the Island where we arrived on the 11th at 12 o'clock.

[End of the Journal.]

Letter No. 3 is missing. Letter No. 4 follows:

Mormon Island, California, Sept. the 27th, A. D. 1850.

[This letter opens with extracts from the journal from the entry for July 1st to July 14th.]

Dear Brother:—

I find out that my journal will occupy too much space to admit of my writing it in this letter. I will therefore find out what the postage will cost me and if not too much I will write my next in the back part of it and send it to you. We arrived at Weaver, a little town close by the first diggings, on the first day of September. Here Dickinson considered his part of the contract fulfilled. We therefore stopped here, and as a man cannot live idle in California we bought us a full set of mining tools—that is, a pick, shovel, pan, blower, dipper and rocker, for which we paid \$35, and as Hill and Daniel Carlisle were out of funds and wanted to go in with us, we all started together for Methenis creek, 4 miles south of Weaver. Judge of our surprise and joy when, walking down the creek and passing the miners, we came to a hole

and found James Alger sitting on the bank and Abner in the hole—the first we had seen or heard of them after leaving home. They told us that Scott came in with them, but started back on the road the next day with another man. Whether he was going to prospecting or not they did not know. I have left a letter for him at Weaver, but have not heard from him yet. I guess that he and the boys did not agree very well. James and Abner wanted a partner, so we got rid of Uncle Hill. Carlisle and I stayed and dug and Lorenzo went off on a scout to look for better diggings. He went to Mormon Island, and there he found William. He was interested in a dam across the south fork of the American river. He told Lorenzo if we would come down he would buy us a share in the dam. Lorenzo told him we would do so, and came back to where Daniel and I were at work. We sold all of our duds except what we could carry and came down here.

We arrived here on the 11th. William had bought the share for \$700, and let us have it at the same. There are 10 shares in the dam. It therefore takes one of us to work the share and the other works for the company at \$5 per-day and boards himself. In this way we have been at work up to this time. We paid \$30 for our share when we came and we have taken out enough, with our work included, to pay for one-half of our share. If the water did not bother so much we could have had the debt paid and money to spare now, but the water has been so high that we have not been able to work in the bed of the river but a few days. We have had several rains since we arrived here. Some think the rainy season has already commenced, and some think it will stay off until the middle of November. If it has commenced we cannot do anything more this year. If it stays off a month or so we shall do well, I think, without a doubt. William owns 1 3-4 shares in the dam. He thinks we will have a month or two of good weather yet, and from appearances it bids fair at present. Daniel Carlisle came down here and worked by the day for the company until the river raised. They did not want him longer, and he started this morning for Deep Creek dry diggings, 65 miles from here. If you get an opportunity let his

wife know that he is well. He is a fine boy and I wish that he was at home, and I guess if he had the money he would go. William will come home this fall or winter. If the weather continues good for a month or two I am in hopes that I will be able to send you a little by him. The gold on Methenis Creek is coarse; that that is taken out of the river here is fine. But you have doubtless seen some of this, as William sent 40 ounces to his wife some time ago. I found a piece on Methenis creek that was worth a dollar.

While we were there we made a little more than enough to pay our way. James, Abner and Josiah have gone to Dry Creek, about 30 miles south of here. Where Dickinson will stop I do not know. His family was in Weaver when we left, and he was out on a trip to find a place where something could be made without work. He is as lazy a man as is now living. There was not a person that came through with him but that hates him now above ground. Along on Hedgepeth's Cut-Off he got an opportunity to sell some flour for 50 cents per pound. That looked so large to him that he sold 50 pounds and thought he would have enough to last through. But it gave out by the time we got to Carson river, and flour was \$1.50 per pound here (and was sold) by Californians that had come out here and started a trading post. It almost killed him to pay that, and he would have been glad to have kept us on half rations if we would have submitted. But we told him he could have his choice; buy us food or we would leave him and buy for ourselves. He concluded to buy, and soon run out of money and had to pawn his watch for the last we got at Leek Springs.¹

I traded my watch for a pony on the road and in a few days sold the pony for \$30 in cash, so Lorenzo and I had about \$5 when we got here. Everything is high here. Flour is worth 16 cents per pound, onions \$1 per pound, potatoes 20 cents per pound, pork 25, beef from 25 to 40 cents, green corn 12 1-2 per ear. You can get most anything you want here if you have plenty of money. We have had a jar of preserves for

¹The ill feeling evinced here and in other places between various members of the party was only temporary. After their return to Iowa friendly relations were soon re-established.

which we paid \$3—2 quarts, and put up in China—a bottle of pickles, 1 quart, \$1.25, put up in Philadelphia and composed of cucumbers, cabbage, onions, muskmelon and small ears of corn, etc.

You want to know what I think of California, no doubt. I am not sorry I came, but at the same time I would not come again in the same way for a clean five thousand. There is something indescribable about the journey here—that, I am well satisfied is, of all journeys, the most tiresome—and I would say to you all: Stay at home if you know when you are well off. A great many are leaving here and going home without trying their luck. (Kirtley is at Sacramento City, and is going in a short time.¹) Mining here is a perfect lottery. Some do well, but many work hard and get hardly enough to live on, and the miners here are like the farmers in Iowa; by far the poorest class there is here. The man that has money to start with can do better at anything else than mining. A tavern does well, and there are plenty of them. A grocery and gambling house makes money, and the Justice of the Peace in this town sits at his table with a pile of money before him and deals Monte for the bystanders to bet on. The cattle buyers are another class that makes money. Fat cattle sell from \$120 to \$200 per yoke, and from \$50 to \$75 is all that an emigrant can get for them when he first comes in. If he puts them on a ranch it will cost \$4 per month and run his own risk of having them stolen, and that is something of a risk in this country.

We got through with four yoke of cattle, but he (Dickinson) bought one on Mary's river. The black steers that Snyder used to own stood the trip well. The Widow Knight's cattle did well until we got about half way through Hedgepeth's Cut-Off. Here the near one took sick, and we had to leave him. This I hated to do, for I thought more of him than any ox in the team. The off ox was very near worn out, so we drove him loose until we came to Mary's river. He was very dry and jumped down the bank and swam across, and

¹J. W. Kirby, the man referred to, is mentioned on page 540, "History of Clinton County," as one of the earliest settlers of DeWitt township, having settled there in 1836.

we went on and left him there. The near ox that he got of Bennett gave out, and he sold him for \$8 to a trader on Bear river, and this was all the cattle (oxen) he lost. But his cow gave out on Green river. Cattle can stand more hardship than I thought, for there were several days that I did not expect anything else but that we would have to throw our duds away and foot it through. But as good luck would have it we got through with all our clothes, and well.

I lost, from the time I left Kanessville until I got here, 20 pounds. William is well and is decidedly fat and weighs 165 pounds. The company that left Allen's Grove with us stayed in Clapp's company and went past Salt Lake. At the junction of the Salt Lake road they had three days the start of us, but we were about seven miles ahead of them when the Salt Lake road came into ours, and they all got through about the same time that we did, and are somewhere about Hangtown.

A newspaper sells for one dollar here, so you may judge it is very little reading I do. Hay sells for 15 cents per pound; 40 cents per pound for horse feed. There is a good chance for cutting hay here in the spring, but everything is dead and dry now.

Now, remember this: I have been very punctual in writing to you but I have sent to the city for letters but cannot hear anything from you—and you at home and nothing to do but write Sunday. Be sure and write direct to Sacramento City. The reason I have not written before is this: I wanted to get stationery, and after I got here there was no use, for the mail only leaves San Francisco the 1st and 15th of the month, and I was not here in time to send this month. Tell Charles and Father that I don't know as Lorenzo will ever write to them. I have been trying to get him to ever since we came, but cannot. Give my respects to all and a kiss to Wilmet.¹

LeRoy Dutton.

Jerome Dutton.

N. B: Tell C. A. Pearsall to write to me.²

¹His nephew, eldest son of Charles.

²As indicated in this letter, he forwarded his journal by mail to his brother Le Roy Dec. 29th, 1850. The journal had taken up about a third only of the little volume in which it was written, and on some of its unused pages he wrote Letter No. 5. The gold dollar mentioned below is now in the possession of his nephew, H. G. Dutton, a son of Charles Dutton.

Letter No. 5.¹

Natoma, Dec. 28th, 1850.

Dear Brother:—

Sitting by your fireside these long winter evenings with nothing to busy yourself one would think you would write (to your far distant brother) often. Ever since I have been here I have sent to the city every opportunity for letters, but have been disappointed, until last Monday I went to the city and received your No. 1. Many a night have I laid down on the ground with my head to the fire to try to write something that would interest you, but, after all, have received but one letter yet, and I had almost come to the conclusion to write no more.

But the fact of it is I do not have time to write. While we were mining I worked every day, except Sunday, until the 20th of November. We had some rain about this time and the river rose and we had to suspend operations for this year. Lorenzo and the writer had, after working all this time and earning about \$50 by working nights for the company, about \$2.40 between us. That is what we had left after paying for our share in the company. We still own our share and I expect we will work it another year.

If William had gone home I should have sent you \$100, but he concluded to stay, and we all went in together and bought a trading house here and keep a provision and grocery store. We bought two teams. William and myself drive the teams and Lorenzo tends the store. We are 27 miles from the city. We have 5 cents per pound for hauling here. The difficulty is that we cannot get as much hauling as we can do, and when we have to lay idle the teams are a great expense. You may judge for yourself: We pay 8 cents per pound for barley at the city and from 6 to 20 cents per pound for hay. We get it for 6 cents in the city, but at Hangtown, a distance of 50 miles, we have to pay 20 and for hauling to Hangtown

¹Written on a fly leaf of the Journal: "Natoma (this is the Spanish for Mormon Island). I have sealed a gold dollar in the fore part of this book. I want you to give that to father. It is the first I ever saw.—Jerome."

we get from 8 to 10 cents per pound. Business of all kinds is over done here. There are too many stores, too many teams, too many taverns for any of them to make their pile right quick, but I am in hopes that business will be more brisk in the spring. At any rate I think we will do very well. We gave \$600 apiece for our teams, that is, \$1,200 for eight mules and harness and two wagons.

Lorenzo is well; William is also well. I have been well ever since we quit mining. Before that time I was in the water more or less every day, and was quite unwell. Was troubled with the rheumatism so that I could not rest nights, but since we have commenced business I have had good health, and have got fat once more and weigh 182 1-2.

I will now say a few words in relation to the country. We have very pretty weather at present, clear, sunshiny days, cool, frosty nights. The winter is very light so far. Last year at this time the roads were almost impassable in consequence of the heavy rains converting the soil into an ocean of mud.

The country from here to the city is a very pretty country. It is tolerably level, and is nearly all what we would call oak openings, being thinly covered with short, scrubby oaks. The soil I think but little of, being red gravel, and sandy in places. Among the birds of this country is the magpie, a most beautiful bird—and in walking through the timber you frequently see the much famed mistletoe bough growing out of a tree of oak without being grafted; different boughs and different leaves and always green. Among the animals here is the Kiota, a small prairie wolf, the Tarantula, of the spider species, as large as your hand, covered with short hairs and said to be very poisonous. The next, a scorpion, is built similar to a crawfish. They have a stinger in their tail; they grasp their prey in their claws and then throw their tail forward and sting, and are very poisonous.

There are several tavern keepers here who are sowing barley on the road, and a good many are going into it quite ex-

tensively, but I have my doubts about their raising much of a crop without irrigating the ground.

Now, one word in relation to emigrating here. Say to all of my friends: Stay at home. Tell my enemies to come. I would not want a worse punishment inflicted on any person on earth than to have to come here across the plains, and indeed is the worst place to spoil a young man in the world. In Sacramento City there are no less than four long gambling houses that have four musicians hired to play every night. In one they have four singers, two women and two men that sing at intervals every night. In addition to this you can sit down to a gaming table beside a lady and do your betting and you know this is a temptation hard to resist. I have seen women take their seat at a Monte table and bet their ounce on a single card as cool as I would pay two bits for a card of ginger bread.

Tell friend George Atherton by all means to stay where he is, but if he will come, come by water. If I had time I would write how a man should rig himself to come, as I am confident that if I had it to do over I could come more comfortably.

R. S. Dickinson is in the city keeping tavern. Scott have not seen nor heard from. I wish you would let me know where he is, if he has written home. James, Abner and Josiah are still on Methenis creek. We got a letter from James. They were well. Josiah had killed two black tailed deer.

Stewart, poor fellow, was unfortunate. If you see him give him my respects. Tell him he must write to me. I wrote to him at the Bluffs, but have received no answer. I was glad to hear that Cyrus and Richard are coming out and I wish them good luck in their undertakings.

But I am so confused that I can scarcely write, writing in our store on the head of a barrel. Some are talking about coming around the Horn, some are playing cards, and one has just "hollered," "High, Jack, Game," and all this on Sunday! This is the busiest day of the week. Let me know how you manage my affairs, that note of Rogers, for instance

Lorenzo says he will write before long. He did not like William Wicks manouvering very well. Let me know if there were any letters came for me, and who lives on the Wicks place. If you could make a good trade—my farm for the Buena Vista place (Buena Vista Ferry) do so. There was a man offered me \$500 for my place and he had never seen it, but had been through the country and knows what it is. But I think more of my place than when I was there.

But I will draw to a close, and will try to write oftener. Then I shall not have to write so long.

Give my respects to all.

LEROY DUTTON.

JEROME DUTTON.

End.

WILLIAM FLETCHER KING.¹

BY ROLLO F. HURLBURT, D. D.,

Pastor First Methodist Episcopal Church, Iowa City, Iowa.

When Charles II of England visited the Westminster school under the headship of the famous Richard Busby, the great Master did not take off his hat in the presence of his monarch, lest to remove it before his scholars might lower their opinion of the rank and dignity of the teacher's high calling. Whereupon the King frankly confessed that the teacher there out-ranked the King.

In the realm of Brain Power and Heart Power, the real King of the 17th century in English History was not Charles the Second, but Richard Busby. For the greatest masters in English Literature and the most illustrious men in Church and in State of that period, were trained in Westminster school under the remarkable tutelage of Richard Busby.

The class-room of the Teacher continues to be the commanding source of greatest power and of widest influence. It has well been said that institutions are but the lengthened shadows of the men who originate them. The visible and tangible results that have come from the consecrated life of him in whose honor we are assembled to-night, show how large a place he has made for himself in the educational history of the State of Iowa.

William Fletcher King came to Iowa in 1862, and began his educational work in that year in this State as the Professor of Ancient Languages in Cornell College. In 1863 he

¹An address delivered in the Art Gallery of the Historical Department of Iowa, on the installation of a portrait of Dr. King, by Ralph Clarkson, June 16, 1910.

was made the Acting President of the institution. And in the following year, 1864, he was elected to the Presidency of Cornell College, continuing in this office for a period of 44 years, until his resignation in 1908.

It is the present good fortune of the institution, of which he so long held the honored headship, to have him still connected with it as President Emeritus and as a member of the Board of Trustees, in which positions the college still continues to have the benefit of his wise planning and helpful counsel.

It was said of the beneficent reign of the Emperor Augustus, that he found Rome built of brick, but that he left it built of marble. Such figure of speech is suggestive of the transformation wrought in Cornell College during Dr. King's administration.

A half century ago Iowa's natural resources were largely undeveloped and yielded but little of the later remarkable richness of her varied products. Much of the best farming land of the State was still the undisturbed, virgin prairie soil. Its pioneer people had great wealth of heart but little wealth of purse. The schools of those days shared in the general poverty of the times. Sacrifices in christian giving were no doubt greater then than they are now. But even gifts that were fully commensurate with the ability of the donors, could accomplish but little in the way of establishing and maintaining schools and colleges.

All this in the local environment of the times shows some of the peculiar difficulties that faced this pioneer College President in Iowa. When we compare what Cornell College was in 1863 with what it was at the close of Dr. King's administration in 1908, we may learn something of the remarkable growth of the institution under his guiding hand. The College catalogue of 1863 shows a total enrollment of only 266, forty names appearing in the list of college students, while 53 were in the primary department, leaving 173 preparatory students.

The faculty consisted of the President, two professors, two lady teachers, one music teacher, and two teachers in the primary department, which was maintained for the benefit of the small children living in Mount Vernon.

In 1908 Cornell's student enrollment was as follows: Graduate students, 6; College, 402; Academy and special, 347; total, 755.

The faculty in 1908 numbered 39, of whom 22 were regular professors.

In 1863 there were two buildings. In 1908 there were seven. In the former year the campus was fifteen acres in extent. In the latter year it was sixty acres in extent.

In 1863 the assets of the College outside of buildings and grounds were less than \$50,000. In 1908 they were over \$500,000.

In 1863 there was a total in the Alumni of 21. In 1908 the quinquennial catalogue listed 1,244 graduates in the regular courses. Of all these graduates over 1,200 have their diplomas signed by President King. His name is also signed to many diplomas issued by the schools of music, art and oratory.

In 1863 there was but one in the graduating class. In 1908 there were 59.

But the mere comparison of statistics by no means reveals all the facts. Buildings were erected, and extensive additions were made to apparatus, museum and library. Methods of instruction were greatly improved and facilities to students were multiplied, while the expenses were kept at the same time within reasonable limits.

In raising the money for the erection of buildings, in deciding upon plans, in letting contracts, and in seeing that they were carried out, he has shown great business and executive ability. He has been unceasingly industrious and those who have known his unresting activity can fully appreciate that dictum of another great College President, Dr. Francis Wayland of Brown, that "nothing can stand against days' works." He has been a master of details, a good judge of human na-

ture, rarely making a mistake in deciding upon one's ability or aptitude for the performance of any duty or line of work.

He has shown through all the years of his administration a great talent for securing harmony and co-operation, and through the exercise of a sound judgment has avoided difficulties, which many other men would not have foreseen.

He has evinced the utmost devotion to the college, giving undivided attention to its interests. He has shown carefulness and great wisdom in the selection of teachers; prudence and caution in financial management; the faculty of commanding the support of successful and sagacious business men, who have done much for the college; a cultivated taste, which is indicated by the appearance of the buildings and grounds; a continual insistence upon high intellectual and moral standards, and a determination to make the school such that all coming within its influence would be earnest and enthusiastic in its support.

He has shown himself to be a master of style in literary composition. His Baccalaureate sermons and public addresses have been models of concise expression and luminous statement. It is to be hoped that these will eventually be gathered into a volume and published.

His early life was on a farm where he had a rigid training in habits of work and self-denial. Graduating from the Ohio Wesleyan University under the Presidency of Dr. Edward Thompson, afterward a Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, he often spoke of the great inspiration which that man's noble life and splendid example had been to him. He thus began his life's work with a strong body as well as with a well-trained mind.

Although Dr. King was thoroughly devoted to the continuous advancement of the institution which he served, he nevertheless found time for many other and varied interests and engagements. Throughout his long career as an Iowa educator, he was a recognized leader in the councils of the State Teachers' Association, and served as its President in

1885. He was for many years a member of the Educational Council of the National Educational Association. He was appointed by President Benjamin Harrison as one of the Iowa State Commissioners at the World's Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893.

He served as delegate from the Upper Iowa Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church to the General Conferences of 1876, 1888, 1896, 1904 and 1908. In the General Conference of 1896, which met in Cleveland, Ohio, he was chosen as the chairman of the committee on Education, one of the most important committees in the greatest deliberative and legislative body of Methodism.

Dr. King has given not only the service of his life to the college, with which he has been so long associated, but he has given his means as well. He gave fifty thousand dollars to endow the Lucy King Professorship in memory of an only child of unusual beauty and promise, whose early translation filled many hearts with sorrow. At the Semi-Centennial celebration of the College in June, 1904, he gave, in memory of his sainted wife, one hundred thousand dollars to endow one hundred free scholarships in the College, one for every county in Iowa and two for Kossuth county, the largest county in the State.

The College has thus grown and prospered, because it has been nurtured by his prayers, and given the love and devotion of his heart.

This address would not be complete without reference to his religious life.

As a student under him in college and afterwards as his pastor, I came to know him well. A number of years ago when I was his pastor, he came home once from one of his long hard trips for the College not only completely exhausted, but ill. When I called upon him, he was in an unusually tender mood, and reminiscent. He said that he believed profoundly in that teaching of Horace Bushnell that every man's life is a plan of God; that Abraham was girded for a par-

ticular work and mission, in what was termed his call; that Joseph in Egypt distinguished the girding of God's hand; that Moses and Samuel were even called by name; that the humblest and commonest have a place and a work assigned them in the same manner; that God has a definite life-plan for every human person, girding him, visibly or invisibly, for some exact thing, which it will be the true significance and glory of his life to have accomplished.

He spoke of his love for the College, and his strong desire to see his cherished plans for it fulfilled, before he should be called away.

He continued: "I have been very near death several times in my life, and I have been so remarkably preserved in every instance, that I have made up my mind that I am not to be taken away until God's plan has been fulfilled in my life. When I was a very young child, my father was chopping down a large hickory tree near the cabin where we lived. As the tree began to fall, he saw me step out from behind another tree right into the path of the falling tree. He tried to rush in to get me out, but found that he could not except at the risk of his own life. After the tree had fallen he began to search for me, fully expecting to find me dead. He found me in the large fork of the tree pressed down to the ground under a lot of small branches and twigs, badly scratched, benumbed and unconscious, but not vitally injured.

"A few months afterward my father and mother, and I with them, were crossing the Potomac River, somewhere between Washington and Cumberland, in a carriage, in the twilight of the evening. Father thought he knew the ford. But since he had been there changes had occurred. The carriage got fast. The horse floundered there in the middle of the river for a long time. The water overflowed the carriage, mother holding on to me, with the expectation that we would all be drowned. After a long struggle the horse got his footing and pulled the carriage out. When father got to the other side he found at the hotel that he had gotten into some cribs of the

new bridge, that had just been started, and the wonder to everybody was that the horse ever got us through alive.

“One vacation when I was home from college, I was helping my father stack some hay. We saw a small cloud hanging over one of the hills of our farm. As I was handing him a forkful of hay I saw a flash of lightning come down from the cloud and divide into two forks, one fork going to a sugar-tree on a hill one-third of a mile away, and the other coming to us. I saw it playing on the tines of the pitch fork I was holding very perceptibly, which was the last thing of which I was conscious. It knocked us all down, father on the stack of hay, I on the wagon and the horses on the ground. When we regained consciousness and looked over to the sugar-tree on the hill, we saw that the tree was on fire.

“During another summer vacation I started out one evening to ride a colt, that was supposed to be gentle. Before I had ridden far, he became suddenly unmanageable. He threw me over his head, and then with one foot hanging in the stirrup he left the road and dragged me in an unconscious condition through the edge of a forest over logs and rocks and through the brush. After running for a quarter of a mile through the edge of the wood, he returned to the road, where in some way my foot was released from the stirrup. I was very severely injured, and confined to the house for six weeks. My parents and the neighbors all marveled at my escape from death.

“When coming home from California at one time and on a night train a band of highwaymen took out two rails of the road within a few rods of Cape Horn, one of the most dangerous precipices on the line. The train was derailed, but did not leave the ties. Thus awakened we found that the robbers were trying to get control of the engineer and fireman and rob the train. For some unaccountable reason they became frightened and ran off into the woods without accomplishing their purpose, and leaving behind them thirty-nine packages of giant powder and dynamite and other equipments.

"I was once ship-wrecked in the Mediterranean, the vessel being guided by a pilot and captain, who were unfamiliar with the coast. When within sight of Athens, and at about eight o'clock in the evening, we ran aground near the shore with such force that the vessel was almost wrenched in pieces. We were all taken on board another vessel and brought into the port of Piraeus. While standing on the Acropolis in Athens a week afterward I saw the wreck of the vessel from which we had been rescued.

"Do you wonder," he said in a subdued tone, "that I should feel that God has thus repeatedly delivered me from death, because he must have some plans in my life that have not yet been worked out for the good of the world?"

Dr. King has placed in the Library Building of Cornell College several beautiful gifts of statuary in bronze and in marble. These silent monitors will continue to speak of him who placed them there, and will teach their lessons in art through coming years. But far outlasting bronze and marble will be the lesson of his own consecrated and self-sacrificing life.

As Daniel Webster once said: "If we work upon marble, it will perish. If we work upon brass, time will efface it. If we rear temples, they will crumble into dust. But if we work upon immortal minds, if we imbue them with principles—with the just fear of God and our fellow men—we engrave on those tablets something which will brighten to all eternity."

The Historical Department of Iowa, in whose archives are preserved the permanent records of our State history, is one of the most important institutions in the commonwealth of Iowa. And it seems particularly appropriate that, as far as possible, these Iowa historical records should be illustrated by the portraits of her most distinguished citizens. Here have already been gathered the portraits of more than one hundred of Iowa's illustrious men and women: famous soldiers, conspicuous statesmen, eminent publicists, noted judges, well-known ministers, leading philanthropists, and celebrated educators.

It is eminently fitting that there should be added to this number the portrait of one who has been a citizen of prominence, and an educator in the forefront of his profession in this State now for a period of forty-eight years.

Walter Scott, in one of his greatest novels, has described Old Mortality as going through the cemeteries of Scotland and chiseling anew upon the tombstones those names, which the passage of time and the flight of the years had well-nigh obliterated. The good old man was asked to explain why he was so desirous of having these worthies of the past commemorated. He replied that he wished to see the heroes of yesterday march forward side by side with the youth of to-day.

So this gallery of portraits in this State Historical Building will ever keep green the many noble qualities of character possessed by those whom it calls to remembrance, and will ever teach and will perpetually illustrate the lessons of patriotism, devotion and self-sacrifice.

In the name of Cornell College, and in the name of the multitude of the warm personal friends of William Fletcher King to be found throughout the world, I present to the State of Iowa this portrait as a true and most excellent likeness of one of her noblest and worthiest men.



MARY QUEAL BEYER.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE FRENCH FAMILY.¹

BY MARY QUEAL BEYER.

There are two kinds of people in every family, those who are interested in the genealogy of the family and those who are not. I belong to the former class. I have searched diligently for facts which might add to those already in my possession in regard to the French family, to which I belong, and in a measure have been successful. Some of my information has come down to me as a heritage from past generations, by tradition, from newspaper accounts, and some I have gathered from old letters which are indeed links in a chain binding us to the past. I have been through the cemeteries of the east, stood by the graves of my ancestors and visited the houses they occupied, feeling that I was on sacred ground. I have searched the histories of Cambridge, Billerica and Dunstable, Mass., for knowledge of this family, and I hope what I have compiled will be of value and help to others. None of us wish to be forgotten, and it is right we should ever hold in remembrance those who have gone before. It behooves those of us who are here, and those who are to come after, to do our best, and thus make our part of history what it should be.

First Generation.

Thomas French, the elder, of Weathersfield, County Essex, England, died 1599. In his will mentions wife Bridget, three children, and grandson, John, son of Thomas, and gives to poor of Halstead, Essex; of West Wrating, Cambridge, Snettisham, Norfolk; Little Birdfield and Arkesden, Essex.

¹All quotations, unless otherwise indicated, are from Fox, "History of the Old Township of Dunstable."

- I. Thomas, m. Anne.
- II. Mary, m. John Collin.
- III. Elizabeth, m. John Meade.

Second Generation.

Thomas² French, (*Thomas*¹) of Halstead, County Essex, died Jan. 27, 1613, leaving wife, Anne, six sons and several daughters.

- I. Thomas, m. a Miss Wood.
- II. John.
- III. Edward.
- IV. Robert.
- V. William.
- VI. Francis, and several daughters.

Third Generation.

Thomas³ French, (*Thomas*,² *Thomas*¹) of Halstead, County Essex, married a daughter of Wood.

- I. William, b. Mar. 15, 1603, m. Elizabeth.
- II. Francis, bap. June 29, 1606.
- III. Jerrymya, bap. Nov. 21, 1607.

Fourth Generation.

His son, Lieut. William⁴ French (*Thomas*,³ *Thomas*,² *Thomas*¹) came from England in the ship "Defence" commanded by Thomas Bostacke of London, in October, 1635. With him were many who were afterwards inhabitants of Cambridge, among them being Harlakenden and Shepard. Harlakenden was a prominent man in Cambridge. John Shepard became their pastor. Among the reasons which swayed him to come to New England, Mr. Shepard in his Autobiography gives the following:

Divers people in Old England of my dear friends desired me to go to New England there to live together, and I saw divers families of my Christian friends who were resolved thither to go with me. Accordingly in the beginning of the winter 1634 we started. (They embarked at Harwick.) We were driven back by stress of weather and the voyage was abandoned. But about August 10, 1635, we

again embarked in the ship "Defence" and so the Lord after many sad storms and wearisome days and many longings to see the shore brought us to the sight of it upon October 2, 1635, and upon Oct. 3, we landed at Boston.

Rev. Hooker's company (who had preceded them) were removing to Hartford, and they occupied their lands and houses, which Mr. Shepard bought. William French was born in Halstead, Essex county, England, March 15, 1603. He married Elizabeth about 1623. She died March 31, 1668. The children of William and Elizabeth French were:

I. Francis, born in England about 1624. Came with his father in the "Defence;" removed to Milford, Conn. about 1650, and four years later was one of the first settlers in Derby, Conn. He married April 10, 1661, Lydia Bonnell, of Milford, and died Feb. 14, 1681. His widow died April 1, 1708. They had nine children.

II. Elizabeth, born in England, 1629, married Robert Ellis of Dedham.

III. Mary, born in England, 1633, baptized in England between two and three years of age, at her father's joyning. Married Nathaniel Dunker.

IV. John, born in England, 1635. Married first, June 21, 1659, Abigail Coggan, daughter of Henry of Barnstable; she died April 5, 1662, and he married second, July 3, 1663, Hannah Burrage, daughter of John of Charlestown; she died July 7, 1667, and he married third, January 14, 1668, Mary Rogers, daughter of John; she died June 16, 1677, and he married fourth, Jan. 16, 1677-8 (?), Mary, probably daughter of Francis Littlefield of Woburn, and widow of John Kittredge of Billerica; she died in 1719. He died October, 1712. He was a corporal in the militia; wounded by the Indians in assault at Quaboag in 1675. He was often in the town's service. He was the father of nine children; the oldest, Hannah, born in Billerica, Jan. 20, 1644, married Aug. 3, 1685, to John Kittredge, and had five children, being the progenitor of a long line of medical men through her sons John and Jacob. Simeon, the grandson of John, was the father of eight sons, all physicians.

V. Sarah, b. 1638; d. young.

VI. Jacob, born at Cambridge, March 16, 1640; lived in Billerica on the "east road" near his brother John's. His house was one of the "garrisons" of 1675, and was probably the same venerable brick-lined building which was occupied by James Fletcher in 1875, a cut of which is given in Hazen's "History of Billerica." He was a sergeant in the militia. He married first, Sept. 20, 1665, Mary Champney, daughter of Richard Champney, ruling elder of Cambridge Church. She died April 1, 1681, and he married second, July 30, 1685, Mary Convers of Woburn, who died June 18, 1686, and he married third, Mary ———, who was drowned June 9, 1709. He married fourth, Ruth ———, who died Nov. 6, 1730. He died May 20, 1713. He was the father of ten children.

VII. Hannah, born April 12, 1641; died June 20, 1642.

VIII. Hannah, second, born Feb. 16, 1644; married John Brackett, Sept. 6, 1661; had nine children; died May 9, 1674.

IX. Samuel, born Dec. 3, 1645; died July 15, 1646.

X. Samuel, second, born about 1648, married Sarah Cummings. The date of his death or that of his wife is not known.

XI. Mary, second, born April 3, 1670; married Nathaniel Dunklin.

XII. Sarah, second, born Oct. 29, 1671; married Joseph Crosby of Billerica, May 6, 1691. Had twelve children.

XIII. Abigail, born April 14, 1673; died April 13, 1674.

XIV. Hannah, third, born Jan. 25, 1676; married John Childs of Watertown.

Four of the children were born in England. He had ten children by his first wife.

May 6, 1669, he married Mary, daughter of Thomas Lathrop and widow of John Stearns of Billerica, and by her had four children. He died Nov. 20, 1681, aged 78 years.

He was a tailor by trade and was lieutenant in the militia and afterwards made captain. He settled in Cambridge and resided on the westerly side of Dunster Street, about midway

between Harvard Square and Mount Auburn Street, which estate he bought in 1639 and sold to William Barrett, June 10, 1656.

About 1653 he moved to Billerica. He was chosen to sit in the Deacon's seat in 1659; commissioner to establish the country rates the same year; one of the first selectmen, 1660, and served nine years; committee to examine children and servants in reading, religion and catechism in 1661. He was one of the original proprietors and earliest settlers of Billerica, and was the first deputy or representative of that town in general court at Boston in 1660. Evidence of his activity in the cause of Indian instruction is found in a letter written by him to his "godly friend" in England, published in London in the famous tract, "Strength out of weakness," and afterwards re-published in the Massachusetts Historical Society Collections¹ in which he gives a detailed account of the testimony of an Indian convert. The tract was "printed by M. Simons for John Blague and Samuel Howes and to be sold at their shop in Pope's Head Alley" in 1652. He writes to his "godly friend:"

The best news I can write from New England is, the Lord is indeed converting the Indians and for the refreshment of your heart and the hearts of all godly with you I have sent you the relation of one Indian of two years' profession that I took from his own mouth by an interpreter because he cannot speak or understand one word of English.

Part of his will copied from the original at Cambridge is as follows:

Estate to be divided to ye widdow one third part of ye whole, and to ye three children, ye remainder $\frac{2}{3}$ eqqueally.

The widow $\frac{1}{3}$ part.....	60£-14-10
Mary ffrench	40£-10-0
Sarah	40£-10-0
Hannah	40£-10-0

182£-04-10

¹3d Ser., Vol. IV, pp. 149-196.

Mary ye eldest daughter of the homestead 22 A of upland, lowland and swamp land, with half ye dwelling house and half ye barn (the east end of both.) Also lands 80£ 20s. and debts amounting to 40£-10 (witness.)

MARY CROSBY,
MARY DUNKLIN,
HANNAH CHILD X (her mark).

Part of deed—Know ye that I, Wm. French of Cambridge in the Co. of Middlesex in New England, Taylor, ffor and in consideration of fifty pounds sterling (etc.) . . . my now mansion house scittuated in Cambridge before named.

1656 William French—and a seale.

Elizabeth " her X mark and a seale annexed.

Deed was acknowledged by Wm. French and Elizabeth his wife xth of 4th mo. 1656. (He writes his name Lt. Wm. ffrench.)

He also made a deed of land sold in Billerica to John Parker, in which he speaks of Elizabeth, his beloved wife.

Fifth Generation.

Samuel⁵ French (*William*,⁴ *Thomas*,³ *Thomas*,² *Thomas*¹), the tenth child of William and Elizabeth French was born in Cambridge, Mass., about 1648. He removed to Billerica and thence to Dunstable. He married Sarah, daughter of John Cummings, Sen., Dec. 24, 1682. She was born Jan. 27, 1661. The following are the children of Samuel and Sarah (Cummings) French:

I. Sarah, b. Feb. 7, 1684.

II. Samuel, b. Sept. 10, 1685; d. Nov. 4, 1727.

III. Joseph, b. March 10, 1687.

IV. John, b. May 6, 1691.

V. Ebenezer, b. April 7, 1693; killed by Indians Sept. 5, 1724, at Naticook Brook, N. H. Had a son Ebenezer, born Oct. 27, 1723.

VI. Richard, b. April 8, 1695.

VII. Alice, b. Nov. 20, 1698.

VIII. Jonathan, b. Feb. 1, 1704.

Samuel moved with his father to Billerica and thence to Dunstable, being one of the pioneers of that town. His name appears as one of the members of the church in that place on the occasion of the building of a new church. From the "History of Dunstable" we learn that "Deacon French who came from Billerica to Dunstable and built the house still standing close to the state line, was probably the first inn-keeper of the town and at the town-meeting held May 23, 1732, among other bills, the following appears, and by vote of the meeting was allowed and ordered paid to the heirs:

The town of Dunstable, Dr. to Samuel French, dee'd.

1725 to dining the selectmen and meals....£0- 8-0

1726 in dining the selectmen, 6 and meals.. 0- 6-0

for Rhum and Cyder had for selectmen at

Wm. Frenchs 0-12-6

Going about to take the invoice 4 days -16-0

Total£ 2- 2-6

The first church of Dunstable was composed of seven members, one of them being Samuel French, who is mentioned as head of family, and contributed to "wood rate" (salary of preacher) £17-2-2, and 19 cords of wood. Samuel French, who helped form garrisons, was one of the soldiers stationed at Queens Garrisons for protection against Indian attacks, for Dunstable, being an outlying frontier in the wilderness, was peculiarly exposed to the Indians, the Wamesit Indians being on the east, and the Pennacooks on the north. Most of the inhabitants left the town and went to Concord, Billerica and Boston. In 1684 a new meeting house was built and the church reorganized, consisting of six men, one of them Samuel French. Samuel's son John was the father of Ebenezer French of Revolutionary memory.

During King William's war in 1689, an attack on Dunstable was intended, but was averted by information given by two friendly Indians, and companies were sent in defense of the town. On the evening of Sept. 2, 1691, the Indians suddenly appeared and murdered five inhabitants of Dun-

stable and on the 28th, two more. In April, 1697, the celebrated heroine, Mrs. Hannah Dustin, on her way to Boston from Contocook, N. H., where she had, with Mary Neff and a boy, taken the scalps of ten Indians, passed through the town in a canoe. She was the woman who was taken captive at Haverhill, Mass., and escaped by killing her captors at the mouth of the Contocook River in Concord, N. H. This was considered one of the most remarkable and heroic exploits on record.

In point of population, Dunstable was at this time the smallest town in the province, and but for the indomitable perseverance and courage of Maj. Jonathan Tyng, Lieut. Samuel French and three others, must have been again abandoned.

Another garrison was established for the defense of Dunstable and manned Dec. 25, 1702, by a company of soldiers one of whom was Samuel French. On the night of the 3d of July, 1706, a party of 270 Mohawk Indians suddenly assaulted a garrison house in which Capt. Pearson of Rowley and 20 of his troopers, who had been ranging the woods, were posted. The company was taken by surprise, for the door had been left open and no watch appointed. Mr. and Mrs. Cummings had gone out to milk; Mrs. Cummings was shot dead, and her husband shot through the arm but escaped to the woods. After a bloody fight they retreated. This was the garrison house of John Cummings where Samuel French and his family were garrisoned. The few families lived in garrison houses; that is, houses surrounded with palisades, or a wall of stone or timber rising to the roof. Through this wall there was a gate made of plank and secured with iron bolts. Port holes were made in various places, and the underbrush was cleared away from the vicinity of the garrison in order that the approach of the enemy might be seen. Those were terrible times, but peace was at length insured by the treaty of Utrecht, April 11, 1713, the doors of the garrisons of Dunstable were thrown open and general prosperity began. Hostilities were again resumed in 1724—during which time Lieut. Ebenezer French, son of Samuel French, was killed by the Indians. Eight of the dead were buried in one grave, among them Ebenezer French.



John French house, Dunstable, Mass. Built about 1720.

Their gravestone, which still stands, is marked "*Memento Mori*. Here lies the body of Mr. Thomas Lund who departed this life Sept. 5, 1724, in the 42d year of his age. This man with seven more that lies in this grave was slew all in a day by the Indians."

In the adventures of the French War in 1775, in which John Stark commenced his career in connection with the men of Dunstable, the names of Lovewell, Blanchard, French, etc., are prominent.

There are five Frenches mentioned in the battle of Bunker Hill, Eleazer, who had an arm shot off, picked it up and bore it as a trophy from the field; and Samuel, Jonathan, William and Jonas, brothers of another family, did good service on that eventful day. The former discharged his gun with deliberate aim sixteen times. He was a shoemaker by trade, served through the war and died at Dunstable at an advanced age. Lieut. Ebenezer French, son of Samuel,³ was also at Bunker Hill. His bullet moulds which are of brass and will form 24 bullets of different sizes at one casting, the camp kettle and musket, are in the possession of Wm. L. French of Dunstable.

The house at Dunstable, built by John French, son of Samuel French, contained about five rooms. Only the frame of the original structure remains, having been reroofed and patched up with old boards. This house was built on land deeded to John French by his father, Samuel French.

We find interesting accounts of some customs of Dunstable at that time. Dancing at weddings was forbidden. In 1666 William Walker was imprisoned a month "for courting a maid without the leave of her parents." In 1675 "there is manifest pride appearing in our streets" and also "superstitious ribbands used to tie up and decorate the hair." These things were forbidden under severe penalties; the men were forbidden to "keep Christmas" because it was a "Popish custom."

Samuel French died about 1729 or 1730.

Sixth Generation.

Joseph⁶ French (*Samuel*,⁵ *William*,⁴ *Thomas*,³ *Thomas*,² *Thomas*¹), third son of Samuel and Sarah (Cummings) French, was born in Dunstable, March 10, 1687. He married Elizabeth, daughter of John Cummings, Jr. She was born March 10, 1687. Their children were:

- I. (Capt.) Joseph, b. July 28, 1713; d. April 21, 1776.
- II. Elizabeth, b. 1715.
- III. Sampson, b. July 28, 1717.
- IV. Josiah, b. Feb. 24, 1723; d. Jan. 28, 1742.
- V. Thomas, b. June 29, 1724.
- VI. Benjamin, b. July 6, 1726.
- VII. Samuel, b. July 14, 1728; d. Jan. 11, 1730.
- VIII. Samuel 2d, b. Aug. 10, 1730.

Tradition speaks of two other sons, David and Ebenezer, the latter of whom, according to the tradition, kept a tavern in the valley of the Merrimac, and while trading with the Indians for furs, upon refusing them more rum when they had already drunk freely, was murdered by them.

It was Elizabeth (Cummings) French's grandmother, Hannah (Kingsley) Cummings, who was killed by the Indians July 3, 1706. She was known as "Goody" Cummings.

Col. Joseph French's house was eight rods north of the state line after the change in the boundary lines. He owned a large tract of land consisting of 500 or more acres.

May 20, 1725, the following petition was addressed to the Governor and Council of Massachusetts:

The Petition of the Selectmen of Dunstable Humbly Sheweth: That whereas your Honors hath found it necessary to order Col. Tyng and his men into the woods, on the sad occasion of Capt. Lovewell's defeat, we are extremely exposed and weak, by reason of so many of our fighting men being cut off last summer, and so many killed now in the Province's service. We would beg leave to represent to your Honors our case as very sad and distressing having so many soldiers drawn out, and our inhabitants reduced to so small a number by the war. Several families have removed, and more are under such discouragement, not daring to carry on their planting or any other business, that they fully design it. We hope your

Honors will take our deplorable circumstances into your compassionate consideration, and order such measures to be taken for our defence and support, until our men return, as you in your wisdom shall think fit. And your Petitioners, as in duty bound will, ever pray.

SAMUEL FRENCH,	} Selectmen.
JOSEPH SNOW,	
JOSEPH FRENCH,	
JOHN LOVEWELL,	
JOHN FRENCH,	
JOHN CUMMINGS,	
JOHN CUMMINGS, JR.	
NATH'L CUMMINGS,	
JONATHAN CUMMINGS,	
JONATHAN COMBS.	

John Lovewell also sent in a petition at the same time for help to defend his garrison or he must leave it to the enemy. The petitions were granted. A guard of twenty-five soldiers was posted in town. Companies of scouts scoured the villages the whole summer and autumn, but no enemy appeared. With Joseph, a Mohawk, as a guide, and Nessa Gawney for an interpreter, they ranged as far as Pennacook, but except killing a moose and a bear between Dunstable and Pennacook, they found nothing.

Joseph French was on March 31, 1719, chosen to make coffins "where there be need for the year ensuing." Friendly Indians still lived here and this singular vote may have referred to them, as we find a charge made by him not long after "for Jacob Indians coffin 7s."

The selectmen and other persons in the employment of the town at this period charged 5s per day for their services.

Joseph French died intestate, leaving a large estate to be divided among his children.

Seventh Generation.

"January 16, 1717, voted in Dunstable that Henry Farwell and Sarg't. Cummings are to endeavor to get a minister as soon as they can, and see after Mr. Weld's place (the old parsonage) to buy it if it be to be had. Also Joseph French was to entertain the minister." French lived at the first house on the main road northerly of the state line.

This is where Sampson⁷ French, (*Joseph*,⁶ *Samuel*,⁵ *William*,⁴ *Thomas*,³ *Thomas*,² *Thomas*¹), was born July 28, 1717. I have found but little pertaining to his history. He married and had five sons, Sampson French, Jr., being born Sept. 15, 1742. His other sons were David, Jonathan, Aaron and Daniel. His wife died in 1743 and he remarried.

In 1768 he moved with his family to Southwick, Mass., and died there in 1785, aged 68 years.

Eighth Generation.

Sampson⁸ French, Jr., (*Sampson*,⁷ *Joseph*,⁶ *Samuel*,⁵ *William*,⁴ *Thomas*,³ *Thomas*,² *Thomas*¹), was born in Dunstable, Mass., Sept. 15, 1742. He married Lusannah Root, who was born in September, 1752. I copy from a letter received from my cousin's wife, Mrs. Seward French, of Binghamton, N. Y., the following:

"We have recently visited the graves of Seward's great-great-grandfather, Samson French, and his wife, who are buried at Wilcox cemetery. Her name is spelt 'Lusannah' on the stone, a very plain 'L', instead of Susannah as we had all supposed." Upon receipt of this letter I looked at "A Catalogue of the Descendants of Samson and Lusannah French" and found that the name I had always read as Susannah was indeed Lusannah. I also made another discovery, that the name Sampson in this record was spelled Samson. I knew that the spelling of the name had been changed, but supposed it had been changed in the next generation when my grandfather was named Samson.

They had a numerous family—thirteen children, eight of whom grew to manhood and womanhood. Their children were:

- I. Josiah, b. Dec. 22, 1768.
- II. Thomas, b. Feb. 13, 1773.
- III. Clement, b. Sept. 20, 1783; m. Elizabeth Hawks.
- IV. Sarah, b. Nov. 15; m. Nathaniel Lee.
- V. Submit, m. Phineas Tuttle.
- VI. Clarisa, m. Harry Merchant.

VII. Charlotte, m. Ezra Williams; d. in Washington D. C., about 1853, in the 59th year of her age.

VIII. Lucy, m. Michael Tuttle.

Sampson moved from Massachusetts to Broome county, New York, and settled on a farm in Chenango, now known as Glen Castle, which is about six miles north of Binghamton. He was a man fond of hunting and fishing; was tall, with a fair skin and light hair: a man of more than ordinary ability, with a hot temper, and sometimes expressed his feelings with more vigor than elegance.

When he was a boy he was bound out, and not liking his place, enlisted in the army as a soldier in the "Old French War", when sixteen years of age, serving in two campaigns. During a portion of the time he was engaged under General Amherst in reducing the walls of Louisburg. The later portion of his time as a soldier he was engaged in boating on the Mohawk, carrying supplies to the soldiers at Fort Stanwix. At the end of about four years he returned to his home in Dunstable. I had searched the record of the soldiers of the Revolution for a direct line to myself, and found over three hundred by the name of French who had been in the war of the Revolution, but none that I could claim as my direct ancestor. I wrote to S. H. French, Amsterdam, N. Y., who is a great-grandson of Sampson, Jr., asking him for information concerning the early history. I copy from his reply:

You ask about the military history of our mutual ancestor, born 1742. In 1776 he was about 34 years old, his son Thomas about three years old, and his son Clement not yet born. Sampson was the only one who could have taken part in the Revolution, and he did not for the reason he was at heart a Tory. He did not take up either side actively but said he thought the war a mistake and King George's government good enough. My father told me he was drafted twice and each time furnished a substitute, which he could have done as he had considerable property. Some one ought to have punched this particular Sampson in those days, but he was six feet tall and had a red-hot temper, so he escaped. But there is something to be said for our Sampson. As we look at it now, a man to be patriotic in 1776 must be willing to help destroy the regular government. In 1861 it was considered patriotic to support and defend the regular govern-

ment. My own experience leads me to think that serving in the army as a soldier intensifies and renders more permanent a man's attachment to and respect for, a regular government. Now our Sampson enlisted in the British army under Gen. Amherst and served in the war between England and France before the Revolution. Perhaps this experience helped color his later opinions.

Lusannah French, wife of Samson French, Jr., died in 1829, aged 77 years. Samson had her buried on the farm, and requested to be buried beside her. He died in 1833 aged 91 years. They were married when Lusannah was fifteen years old, she having been born in September, 1752, hence was ten years younger than her husband. When the farm was sold, the remains of Samson and Lusannah were taken up and buried in the Wilcox burying-ground near Castle Creek, Broome county, New York, about four miles from the Samson French farm.

Binghamton was incorporated as a village April 2, 1813, made a town April 3, 1855, and a city April 9, 1867. It was here that the Frenches and others in that locality in the earlier days, got their mail and went to "meeting." Some things pertaining to the early history of the county may be of interest here.

So far as can be determined by records and traditions, the first white man to appear in this part of the country was Conrad Weiser, an Indian interpreter. He was on his way from the lower settlements to attend a council of the great and powerful Iroquois, or Five Nations, at Onondaga, and passed up the Susquehanna its entire length from Chesapeake Bay on foot. What a journey it must have been, alone through the untrodden wilderness of giant forest in the midst of winter, beside the lonely river. It is recorded that he reached Tioga (now Athens), March 29, 1737. The first school in this valley was taught in 1778 by Col. William Ross.

The first saw mill in Broome county was built in 1788 on Castle Creek, by a son of Samson French. The first grist mill was built on Fitch's Creek in Kirkwood in 1790.

Going to mill meant something to the early settlers of this county, for it was no light undertaking. These journeys were

for many years the chief business that took them away from home.

At Tioga Point (now Athens, Pa.), were Shepherd's mills, a distance of forty miles from the site of Binghamton. The only other mills within reach were at Wattles Ferry, seventy miles up the Susquehanna. Both these mills were visited by pioneers of this section, and jaunts were made, occupying from a week to a fortnight, the grain being transported in canoes on the river. In these early days much of the corn was pounded (after the manner of the Indians), by means of a mortar made by hollowing out the top of a stump and with a heavy pestle attached to a spring pole over the mortar. Thus was corn converted into Indian meal and samp. It was sometimes boiled whole and eaten with milk and maple sugar.

With the growth of population of this locality, came increased demands for milling facilities, and the construction of "Old Rock Bottom" dam, furnished excellent water power, and a number of mills were built.

The first store was opened in Binghamton in 1801. The goods were brought overland from Catskill on the Hudson at a cost of \$3.00 per hundred pounds.

As early as 1806 a turnpike was built along the Susquehanna River from Otsego county to Chenango Forks (now Binghamton.) The road was constructed four rods wide with toll gates every ten miles. The rates of toll were:

For a score of sheep or hogs.....	8c
For a score of cattle, horses or mules.....	4c
Horse and rider	4c
Horse led or driven	4c
Sulky, chair or chaise, one horse.....	12½c
Cart, one horse.....	6¼c
Chariot, coach, coachee or phaeton.....	20c
Stage or other four-wheel carriage, two horses, mules or oxen	12½c
Each additional mule, horse or ox.....	3c
Cart, two horses	12½c
Sleigh or sled, two horses.....	6¼c

From 1835 to 1845 the average expenses per year for superintendence of the poor affairs of Broome county were \$166.09. Not many poor in those days. In 1846 groceries sold in Binghamton about as follows:

Wheat flour, $2\frac{1}{2}c$ per pound.

Corn meal, $1c$.

Codfish, a first article, $3\frac{3}{4}c$.

Saleratus, $6c$.

Brown sugar, 7 to $10c$.

Molasses, 3 shillings to 3 shillings and five cents per gal.

Whiskey, 19 and $20c$ per gal.

In 1846 the salary of the district attorney of Broome county was fixed by the legislature at \$250. The same official now gets \$1,250.00.

Ninth Generation.

Thomas⁹ French, (*Samson*,⁸ *Jr.*, *Sampson*,⁷ *Joseph*,⁶ *Samuel*,⁵ *William*,⁴ *Thomas*,³ *Thomas*,² *Thomas*¹), son of Samson and Lusannah, was born in Southwick, Mass., Feb. 3, 1773; he married Polly Hiseock, by whom he had four sons and four daughters, as follows:

- I. Maryetta, m. David Stever.
- II. Samson, m. Elizabeth Seaward.
- III. Nancy, m. Philo Ferris.
- IV. Polly, m. Marcena McIntyre.
- V. Hiram, m. Amanda Waterman.
- VI. Thomas, m. Polly Temple.
- VII. Chaney, m. Catherine Bishop.
- VIII. Harriet, m. Edwin Lee.

I do not know how many of the children were born in Southwick, but know that Chaney was born in Tyringham, Mass., and Harriet in Decatur, Otsego county, N. Y.

Thomas French was brought up a farmer, but subsequently learned the cloth dressing business, which he pursued many years in Otsego county, and from there, about the year 1826, he moved to Glen Castle, Broome county. Here

he purchased a farm of nearly two hundred acres, pretty well covered with timber, and reconstructed a grist mill and saw mill which was situated on Castle Creek which ran through the farm. He also added cloth dressing and dyeing to the establishment.

When Thomas first moved to Glen Castle he lived in what is known as the "old mill house" which was built in 1810, and is still standing, occupied by Mr. George Johnson.

In 1830 Thomas built a house south of the mill house, and when completed moved to his new home which faced the west. "It has had some things about it changed, remodeled inside, a room or two having been added, but the place still remains the same. You go into a large room which was formerly the kitchen, from which the fireplace has been removed. There is the pantry with its old-fashioned latches, the narrow little hall which leads to upstairs," etc. I remember spending a night in this house in 1856 and my great-grandfather (Thomas French) holding me on his knee, and of a short clay pipe which he was smoking.

Thomas was quite successful in business and acquired quite a fortune for those days. One piece of his property had a fine grove of trees on it, and it is said that certain persons wanted to hold a camp-meeting in this grove, but were afraid he would refuse, as it was well known he did not believe in camp-meetings or anything of that sort. Finally gaining courage to ask, they were surprised to receive a ready assent, providing they would not cut living trees. He afterward gave the site on which to build the Methodist church in Glen Castle and attended services there. His wife, Polly, died in 1839, after an illness lasting six years. In 1843 he married a second wife, Mary, widow of Reed Brockway of Lisle, N. Y., with whom he lived seventeen years. He died August 21, 1861, aged 88 years, and is buried by the side of Polly, his first wife, in Glen Castle cemetery, where many of the French family are buried.

Tenth Generation.

Samson¹⁰ French (*Thomas,⁹ Samson,⁸ Jr., Sampson,⁷ Joseph,⁶ Samuel,⁵ William,⁴ Thomas,³ Thomas,² Thomas¹*), oldest son of Thomas and Polly (Hiscock) French, was born in Southwick, Mass., Jan. 19, 1796. When fourteen years of age, he removed with his parents from Tyringham, Mass., to Decatur, Otsego county, N. Y., where he worked on the farm with his father and also learned the business of dyeing and fulling cloth. He was married March 3, 1818, to Elizabeth Seaward, who was born in Decatur, Feb. 7, 1798. They began house-keeping in Cherry Valley (where the Indian massacre occurred in April, 1780), and lived there for two years. Then they moved to Decatur, living there three years, going thence to Glen Castle, Broome county, where they lived until 1826, when they returned to Decatur, Otsego county, and Samson's father, Thomas, moved to Glen Castle. The children of Samson and Elizabeth French were:

I. James Thomas, b. Cherry Valley, Jan. 29, 1819; m. Calphurna Treat in Decatur; d. April 19, 1867.

II. Lucy Oletha French, b. Decatur, Feb. 16, 1821; m. Rev. Atchison Queal of Worcester, N. Y., Apr. 9, 1845; d. Des Moines, Iowa, March 15, 1885.

III. Stephen Henry French, b. Decatur, Dec. 30, 1822; d. Apr. 18, 1823.

IV. A son, b. Chenango, Apr. 21, 1825; d. Oct. 18, 1825.

V. John Seaward French, b. Chenango, Oct. 19; m. Susan Barfoot of Peoria, Ill.; d. at Wayne, Neb., Dec. 23, 1904.

VI. Mary French, b. Decatur, Dec. 6, 1829; m. in Morrow Co., Ohio, to Dr. N. M. Smith; d. Jan. 28, 1908.

VII. Oscar L. R. French, b. Decatur, May 7, 1832; m. Mary Clevenger of Morrow Co., Ohio, Nov. 15, 1855; she died Feb. 17, 1856. He married second, Cidney Ellen Keech of Westchester, Pa., and d. in Johnsville, Ohio, March 26, 1896.

VIII. Martin, b. Decatur, June 29, 1837; m. 1877, Belle Chamberlain of Ames, Iowa, and d. Aug. 1, 1900, at Ames Iowa.

IX. Marvin, b. Decatur, June 29, 1837; d. Aug. 16, 1839.

X. Alva C. French b. Decatur, Apr. 15, 1839; m. Lydia Elder of Morrow Co., Ohio.

XI. Calvin Day French, b. Decatur, May 8, 1842; m. Libbie Jones of Clarksville, N. Y.

Samson bought a farm on the Decatur road between the villages of Worcester and Decatur, where he operated a fulling mill and dyeing establishment in addition to farming. The house is still standing on the farm where Samson lived, and where seven of his children were born. No changes have been made in this building, but new siding and a slate roof replace those originally used. My mother, Lucy French, was married in this house, April 9, 1845. As the sons of Samson and Elizabeth grew up, they were taught industry and frugality, working on the farm summers and in winter attending school in the "French" schoolhouse which is still in use and is of much historic interest.

It is a matter of record that on the 5th of February, 1842, there was a big rain which so raised the streams as to take away the bridges and mill dams. The stream which comes from Decatur (now known as Decatur creek) "took away all the bridges thereon, a part of Samson French's mill dam and many other dams and some out buildings were washed away."

In 1841 (James) Thomas French went to Cattaraugus county. He taught school during the winter and in the spring of 1842 went to Ohio. "He was in Cincinnati and other points on the Ohio river but his health was not good, prospects were poor and money scarce." He returned to Decatur, Aug. 11, 1842. It proved that he was the advance guard of the French family, for not long after his return the Ohio "bee was buzzing" in my grandfather's "bunnet." Some of the relatives of my grandmother moved to Ohio, and glowing accounts were sent back from time to time about the riches of the country; land was cheap and most of it was heavily timbered. Finally in 1847, my grandfather, with all his family excepting Thomas and Lucy (my mother), moved

to Ohio. Thomas having married and his wife having no curiosity to see the west, much less to live there, and my mother having married a Methodist preacher and he feeling that his work was in that part of the moral heritage they two remained in York state.

Grandfather bought a farm in Washington township, Morrow county, about a mile north of Smith's Mills, at which place they received their mail for a number of years. The improvements on this farm consisted of a log cabin with one room and a shed kitchen, a small barn and an orchard of about a dozen apple trees, planted by a man who was known as Johnny Appleseed, he having earned this title on account of his going through the country in an early day planting apple seeds.

Smith's Mills consisted of a saw mill and grist mill operated by the Smith brothers, the post-office being in the grist mill. There was also a blacksmith shop owned by Harvey Wood "a good blacksmith." Mt. Gilead, the county seat, was about six miles from the home of my grandfather. Two miles northeast of their home was West Point, where there was a store and one or two houses. The first summer they were in Ohio my aunt, Mary French, was sent to this place with a basket of eggs which she was to exchange for sugar. She went on horseback, her father giving her explicit directions to follow as she had never been to the place. After riding for a long time and not seeing the town, she overtook a man walking, and asked him if he could tell her how much farther she must go to reach West Point. Imagine her surprise when she found she had passed through the place nearly two miles back and had not recognized it as "the town."

My grandfather was a lover of good horses and I have heard him say "the grass never grows under my horses' feet for I drive fast in winter to get out of the cold and in summer to make a breeze."

In 1854 he planned a frame house, but after getting the logs to the mill and having the lumber ready, he found that forty acres adjoining his land could be purchased, so he sold his lumber and secured the land for about \$600. In 1856

this forty acres was purchased by my father for \$1,000. On account of failing health, he was obliged to leave the ministry, and had removed with his family to Ohio, where he died, July 6, 1859.

Samson French being a good farmer, cleared his land and fenced it with rails made from the hickory and oak trees which grew on the farm, all of this being accomplished by the help of his sons. The house which he planned was not built until 1857, and the following is the article of agreement between my grandfather and the "carpenter and joiner."

An Article of Agreement between Samson French of Morrow Co., State of Ohio, and Adam Sell of Morrow Co., State of Ohio, for the building of a house by said Sell for said French, made this 27th day of Feb., 1857. Samson French agrees to furnish all the building material, shingles, a foundation ready to lay the timbers upon, to board the workmen while laboring in construction of said house, also furnish all panel doors and the window sash. Adam Sell agrees to do the carpenter and joiner work of the house, to be 34 feet long and 24 feet wide double sealed, partitioned below as follows: A sitting room in the northeast corner, a bedroom in the southwest corner, a recess for a bed at the southwest side of the sitting room, a clothes press directly south of bed recess accessible from the southwest corner bedroom. A kitchen in the northwest corner and south of the kitchen a bedroom, buttry and stairway. The cellar accessible from the buttry also by a door near the southwest corner of the house from the outside, the cellar doors to be batten doors. The upper part or chamber to be partitioned into four rooms. The doors above are to be batten doors, there is to be one east, one west, and one north outside door. There is to be four north, four east, (two above and two below) two or three south and three west (two above and one below) windows. Said Sell is to hang all the doors, fit all the window sash, make all the batten doors inside stairways, case the bed recess, fire place, put on the mop boards, chair railings, etc. In short to finish the carpenter and joiner work of the house in a substantial workmanlike manner by the tenth day of Oct., 1857. For which Samson French agrees to pay Adam Sell \$135.00, one-half to be paid when the work is done, the other half in two months from that time. We hereby bind ourselves to fulfill our parts of the above agreement respectively by the signature of our names.

SAMSON FRENCH

Dated Feb. 27, 1857.

ADAM S. SELL.¹

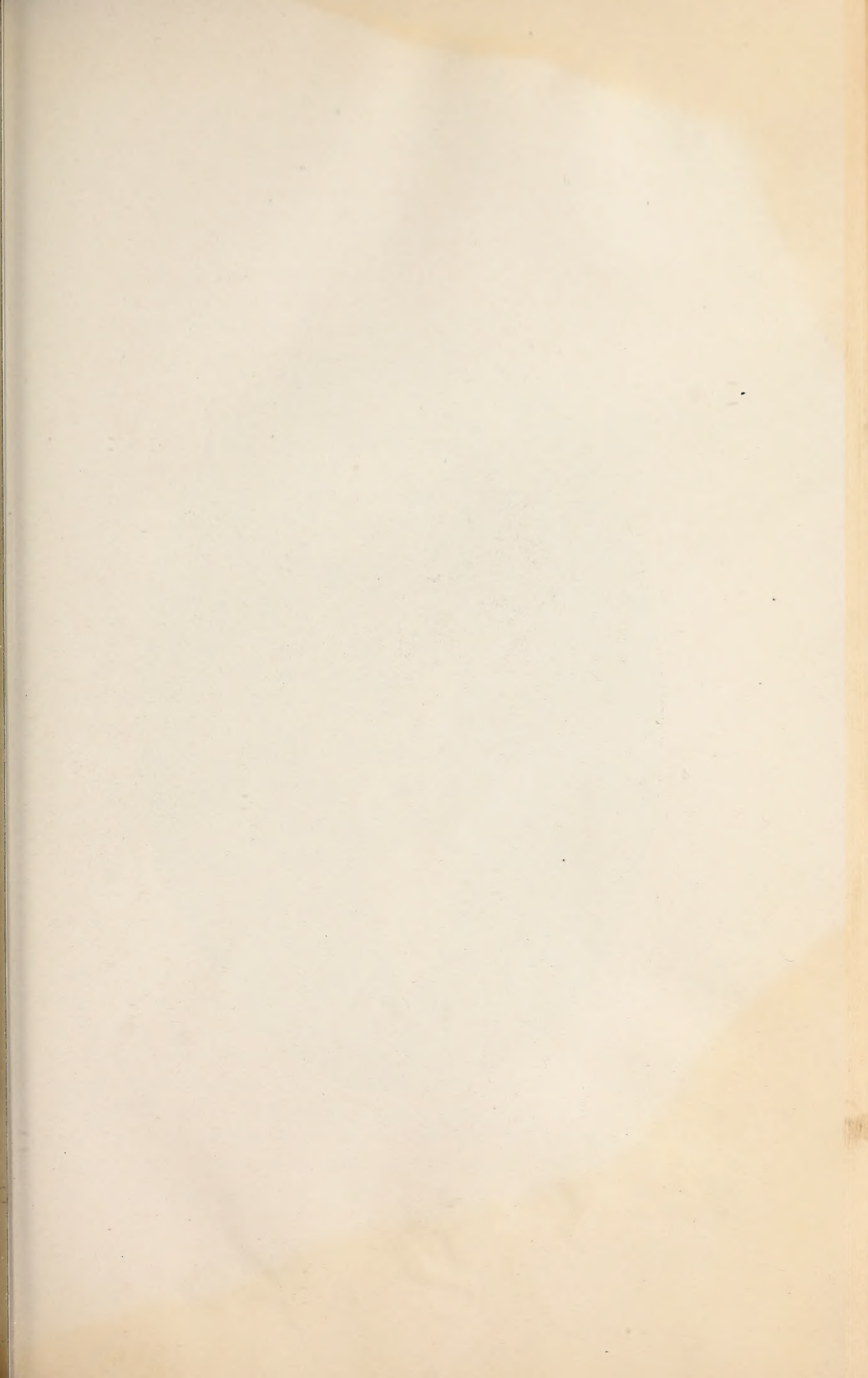
¹Adam Sell enlisted in the civil war and died in Libby Prison.

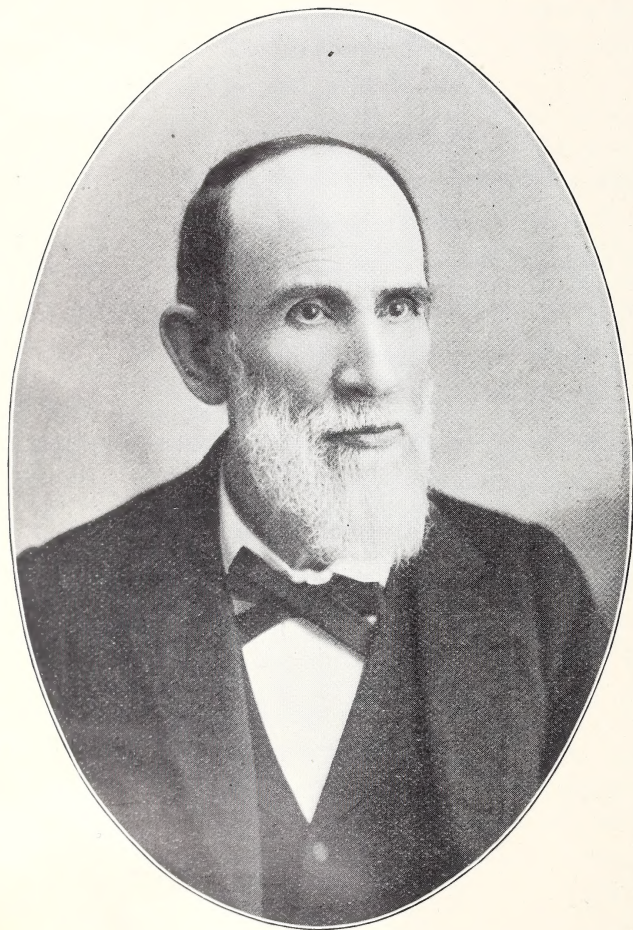
The house was not built exactly as the above plan. There were two bed rooms opening from the "sitting room" instead of a "bed recess and clothes press," and there were three rooms upstairs instead of four, the front room having a recess and clothes press at the north and one at the south side of the room. They built a wood house across the west side of the house which was afterwards finished as kitchen and bedroom.

On April 11, 1861, occurred the death of my grandfather, Samson French, and on August 24th following, that of my grandmother, Elizabeth French. Of their immediate family but two remain, Alva C. French living at St. James, Ohio, and Calvin D. French, living in Binghamton, N. Y. Of the French family living in Iowa at the present time, are Dr. L. H. French,¹ who came from Glen Castle, N. Y., more than half a century ago, and who now lives at 318 East Sixth St., Davenport, Iowa. His daughter, Mrs. Nellie French Whittaker, living at 140 College Ave., Davenport, is a member of the Iowa Society of Colonial Dames. Mrs. Helen French Alderman, daughter of Chauncey French of Glen Castle, N. Y., and cousin of L. H. French, resides in Anamosa, Iowa, where she has lived since 1862. Judson Alderman, her husband, who is still living, came from Castle Creek, N. Y.

Bayard T. French, son of Oscar L. R. and Cidney Ellen French, a member of the firm of John H. Queal and Co., lumbermen, is living at Hawarden, Iowa, and his brother, Samson D. French, who is one of the auditors of the same lumber company, lives at Algona, Iowa. Mrs. Belle French, widow of Martin French, is living in Ames, Iowa, and Katherine French Kresinger, daughter of Calvin and Libbie French, at No. 816 Buchanan Street, Des Moines, Iowa. I am the daughter of Lucy French Queal, and live at 1027 Des Moines Street, Des Moines, Iowa.

¹Died Sept. 19, 1910.





JUDGE ROBERT SLOAN.

JUDGE ALEXANDER BROWN.

By Judge Robert Sloan.

When I came to Keosauqua on the first day of April, 1860, to study law under Hon. George G. Wright, the resident membership of the bar of Van Buren county consisted of the firms of Wright & Baldwin; Knapp, Caldwell & Wright; Smith & Goodfellow; Webster & Miller, and Ford & Brown.

Hon. Henry Clay Caldwell, who retired some years ago as United States Circuit Judge and Chief Justice of the Court of Appeals for the Eighth Judicial District, is the sole survivor of the bar as it then existed. Hon. George G. Wright had declined re-election to the Supreme Court of the State, and had entered the practice on the first day of January, 1860, with Charles Baldwin. Sometime during that summer Judge Stockton died, leaving a vacancy in the Supreme Court, and at the solicitation of Governor Kirkwood, Judge Wright accepted the appointment to fill the vacancy and was duly elected thereto at the October election that year. He never re-entered the practice at Keosauqua, but after serving nearly two years on the Supreme Bench, and a term in the United States Senate, re-entered the practice at Des Moines. George F. Wright removed to Council Bluffs during the year 1868, where he remained in practice the remainder of his life. William Webster removed to Nevada in 1864, where he continued actively in the practice until his death. Rufus L. Miller entered the United States service in the summer of 1861 as battalion adjutant of the Third Iowa Cavalry, but later became adjutant of the Seventh Iowa Volunteer Cavalry, and served until the close of the war. He then entered the practice at Quincy, Ill., where he died while marshal of a Fourth of July procession some years ago. Goodfellow also enlisted in the

Civil War, serving until its close. Later he engaged in the mercantile business as a traveling solicitor of a jewelry house. Henry Ford removed to Magnolia, Iowa. He served one term as district attorney, and three terms as District Judge in the Sioux City District. The last years of his life were spent in Seattle. Hon. Joseph C. Knapp, Hon. Charles Baldwin and Hon. Joseph F. Smith, remained in Van Buren county until their deaths. . .

Early in 1860 the firm of Ford & Brown had determined to remove to Magnolia, in Harrison county, of this State, and engage in the practice. Judge Brown had gone there in March, and Ford followed in the course of a couple of months. They remained until the summer of 1861 when Judge Brown returned to Keosauqua to enlist in Company E, of the Fifteenth Iowa Volunteer Infantry, which was being recruited there. It was during that time that we became acquainted and our friendship began which continued during life. The regiment some time during the summer and fall of that year was quartered at Keokuk, and remained there until just prior to the battle of Shiloh, when it was ordered to report to Gen. Grant. It arrived by steamboat on the morning of the day of that historic battle, and many of the men were for the first time furnished arms. They were ordered into line of battle as early as ten o'clock and were engaged therein during the day, losing very heavily in killed and wounded. The regiment did splendid service in this engagement, and deserves great praise for unflinching courage under an ordeal that might well have dismayed veteran troops.

Judge Brown a short time prior thereto had been made sergeant major of the regiment, and while engaged in the discharge of his duties was severely wounded in the hip. On this account he was invalided, granted leave of absence and came home. He remained until he was sufficiently recovered to return to his regiment, a short time before the battle of Corinth, in which he was wounded in the arm and shoulder on the first day of the battle. This wound was so severe that it resulted in his discharge from the service some time later,

when he went to Burlington as Chief Clerk under Robert B. Rutledge, Provost Marshal of that Congressional District. He continued in this position until the close of the war.

He was variously engaged from that time until January 1, 1868, when he became County Judge, then a court of probate jurisdiction. This jurisdiction was removed by the creation of the Circuit Court, and the County Judge became county auditor, which latter office he held for three consecutive terms. He was not only a popular officer, but unusually efficient, and perfectly fearless in the discharge of the duties of his office. No man ever questioned his integrity. He mastered the duties of his office and performed them skillfully, carefully and accurately. While he was an ardent republican, he was never a partisan in office. Everyone, without regard to political affiliations or social position, power or wealth, who had business with him as an officer, was given prompt and courteous treatment, and furnished with all available information. He was in every respect an ideal officer, and won for himself the friendship, esteem and confidence of the people throughout the county, which he retained while life lasted.

During the years in which he served as a public officer, he became widely acquainted throughout the county, and this, in connection with the high character for integrity and efficiency which he had already attained, rendered him a valuable addition to the bar, when he re-entered the practice as a member of the firm of Work & Brown. This firm at once came to the front at the bar of Van Buren county, and had to be reckoned with at all times in the legal conflicts of that day. The Judge disliked trial work, but his partner was never happier than when the conflict began, except perhaps when the result was satisfactory in every respect.

In the fall of 1881, the firm became Sloan, Work & Brown, and so continued for some years. Sometime in 1883, W. A. Work removed to Ottumwa and engaged for a number of years in the practice under the firm name. For a short time after the retirement of Mr. Work, the firm of Sloan & Brown, and Sloan, Brown & Sloan, were in practice in Keosauqua.

About the spring of 1893, Judge Brown retired from the firm and opened an office of his own, continuing in the practice until his death. During this time he was four years county attorney, discharging the duties of the office very efficiently, and with real regard to the public welfare.

He served in the state Senate during the session of 1881 and '82, securing the passage of the statute that enabled Van Buren and other counties to bridge the Des Moines river. He won the confidence and respect of his associates in the Senate, and the legislation secured by him was of great value to the State.

During my association with him in the practice, we became intimate friends. He was in no sense of the word spectacular and never sensational, but when it came to solidity of judgment, firmness of purpose and untiring effort, he had few superiors. He was a wise counselor, not only because of his ability as a jurist—he looked beyond the mere legal propositions involved—saw the difficulties in the way, and the dangers of defeat. He gave advice not merely as a lawyer, but as a friend, and it was rare indeed, that his client engaged in litigation unprepared for the final result, whatever it might be. When consulted in a cause without merit, he readily discovered it, and would quietly yet clearly advise that there was no case. In our long association together, at no time did I ever have the slightest reason to question his integrity. Indeed his character therein was so firmly founded that temptation secured no consideration whatever, and was turned aside as something only to be remembered as putting him upon guard against the person who was guilty of endeavoring to lead him astray.

It was a rare thing for him to discuss religious questions, but when he did he gave rare insight into the faith by which his life was guided, his conduct governed, and on which his character was founded. That he was at all times free from doubt in relation to Christianity is not correct, but those who knew him best will realize how peculiarly appropriate to him are these words of Tennyson:

"Perplexed in faith, but pure in deeds,
At last he beat his music out.
There lives more faith in honest doubt
Believe me, than in half the creeds.

He fought his doubts and gather'd strength,
He would not make his judgment blind,
He faced the spectres of the mind
And laid them: Thus he came at length

To find a stronger faith his own;
And Power was with him in the night,
Which makes the darkness and the light
And dwells not in the light alone."

Nothing can so comfort his good wife, who survives him, as the consciousness that their parting is only for a little while, and that they will surely be reunited in that home where sorrow and death do not enter. We do well to commemorate his life and character, and will do even better to emulate it. It is not necessary for me to speak of his relations to the bar, but I believe I can say without contradiction that he had the friendship and affection of all, and his death is sincerely mourned.

It is doubtful if the Judge was ever free from suffering from the wound which he received at the battle of Corinth, but who among us ever heard him complain? In my judgment this had much to do with his dislike for trial work, which almost always resulted in a severe headache. That he would have become a good trial lawyer, had he remained in the practice from the time he was first admitted to the bar in 1859, I have every reason to believe. He had the qualities of mind that eminently fit men for that work, and he only needed practice and development. He was a fine office lawyer and was exceedingly helpful in the preparation of cases.

He spent practically his entire life in Van Buren county, and was always interested in public enterprises undertaken for its betterment. Words, mere words, will add nothing to the esteem in which he was held by all. The Grand Army of the Republic who laid him to rest with the solemn ceremonies of their order, fully recognize his merit as a soldier, the courage and devotion with which he served his country, and the suffering which it entailed upon him ever after. One by one, those brave men are answering the final roll call. The generations

to come will never realize, and never be able to pay the debt of gratitude which they owe to these defenders of the Union. Their full reward must come from Him who controls the destinies of Nations.

DEATH OF COLONEL REDFIELD.

From the collection of papers of Mr. Joseph M. Griffith, recently presented to the Historical Department by his grandson, Simon Casady, Jr., is the following, copied in the hand writing of Col. Griffith:

Headquarters of the 39th Iowa Infantry,
Rome, Ga., Oct. 10, 1864.

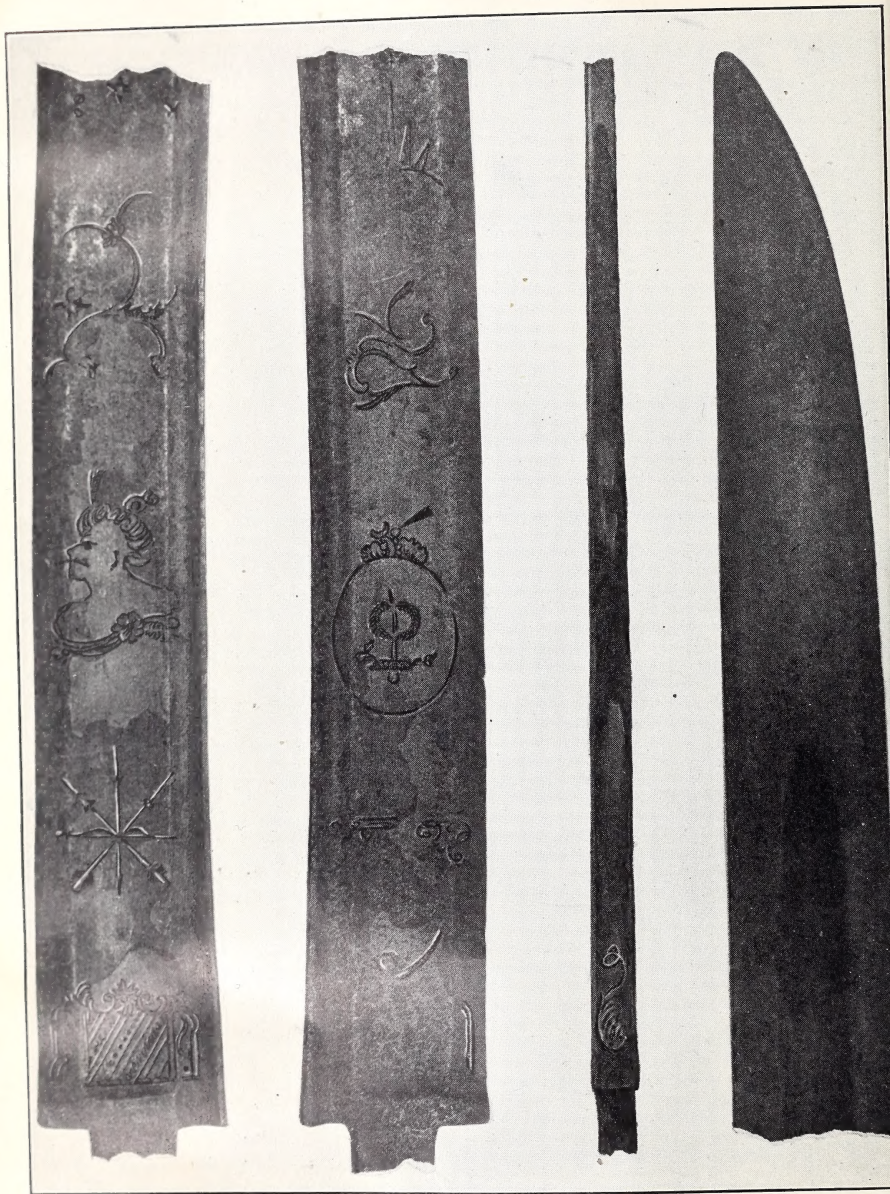
Israel Redfield, Esq.,
Redfield, Iowa.

Dear Sir:—

It is my painful duty to inform you and through you the family of our late Lieut. Col. James Redfield of his death on the field of battle at Alatoona, on the 5th inst. All communication with the North, excepting by telegraph, has been cut off; hence this delay.

Colonel James Redfield left Rome, Ga., on the evening of the 4th inst. in command of his regiment. He was in excellent health and cheerful spirits. The object of the expedition was to guard supplies at Alatoona from the enemy. No one anticipated a battle, but on the evening of the 5th they were attacked by a large force of the enemy and were engaged all day. The 39th was in the front, and under their gallant leader performed deeds of *valor unequalled* in the history of this campaign. The results will show you their determined and desperate fighting. There was in the engagement two hundred and eighty rank and file of our regiment; of these, ten were commissioned officers, five of whom were killed outright, two wounded and captured, and only three left. The total loss to the regiment was 163, nearly two-thirds of the whole. Col. Redfield had orders to hold his position at every hazard, and as it was a very exposed one and was charged by the enemy massed in column, the officers were necessarily exposed to a murderous fire. The Colonel was passing along the lines, cheering and animating the men to fight to the last, when he was hit by a musket ball. It passed through his heart, and he fell *facing the enemy*, without a groan or a struggle. His expression of countenance was natural and as when sleeping.

The fall of their gallant and loved leader only inspired the boys with new deadly determination, and they fought the enemy then in a hand-to-hand encounter. Their bodies lay side by side, and we have the satisfaction of knowing that no *traitor* touched his person after he fell. The railroad was cut by the enemy and the command had to remain for two days. Every exertion was made to bring the remains to this place, but it was found to be necessary to inter them in Coatesville, where they will rest until communication with the North is opened, when the command will have the sad pleasure of forwarding them to such place as the family may direct.



The Black Hawk Sword.

THE SWORD OF BLACK HAWK.

BY D. C. BEAMAN.

From 1861 to 1874 I lived at Independent (now Selma) on the Des Moines river, in Van Buren county, Iowa, two miles below the farm of James H. Jordan, and one mile below the town of Iowaville, where was fought the last battle between the Sacs and Foxes and the Iowas, in which the latter were practically exterminated.

Mr. Jordan was Indian post trader at Iowaville in 1833 and subsequent years, when Black Hawk had quit fighting and had built a lodge on Jordan's farm, where he died and was buried. I often conversed with Mr. Jordan about the incidents of Black Hawk's later life. These were written up by me in 1873 for the Old Settlers Memorial, a journal then published by Thomas Gregg at Keokuk.

It was generally known, notwithstanding the final destruction of Black Hawk's skeleton in a fire in Burlington, Iowa, and the destruction or loss of the medals and swords given him by others, that the sword given to him by General Jackson was not found with Black Hawk's remains, but it has not been generally known since then what became of the sword.

For some years I have been trying to locate it, but without success until last October I learned it was in the possession of Arthur Hinkle, Jordan's grandson, at Selma, and he consented to its deposit with the Historical Department of Iowa.

From Mr. Jordan's statements to me and information by others, the following I believe is its true history.

In April, 1833, Black Hawk was taken as a prisoner to Washington, and presented to President Jackson, who so impressed him with the futility of further warfare, that he

promised to be good. He was then given this sword by Jackson. Others gave him some jewelry for his wife—all in token of the new formed friendship.

He returned to Iowa and lived on Mr. Jordan's farm near Iowaville until his death, September 15, 1838. The day before his death he gave this sword to Mr. Jordan.

During the 50's it came into the possession of the Eureka Masonic Lodge in Iowaville by purchase from a resident of that vicinity, and the tyler of the lodge used it as his official arm. Where it had been since 1838, and how it got out of Jordan's immediate possession, I have not been able to ascertain. Jordan learned of it, however, and immediately recognized it as the Jackson sword, but made no effort to get it, and it remained there until the lodge became defunct.

Hon. Robert Sloan, now of Keosauqua, was secretary of the lodge, and kept the sword and took it with him to Keosauqua, where he turned it over to the Masonic Lodge at that place. It remained there until 1871 or 1872, when the lodge building was burned, and the scabbard and hilt of the sword were destroyed or lost in the ruins, and nothing now remains of it but the fire-scarred blade, which is shown by the accompanying illustration.

Mr. Hinkle obtained it from the lodge in 1889.

In Mr. Hinkle's possession is the account book of Mr. Jordan, his grandfather, kept by him in Iowaville in 1833, and years following, and in which are entered many accounts against the Indians, then on their reservation near Iowaville.

On the first page appears an account against the Indian Chief Keokuk, of date October 1st, 1833. Some of it is not very legible. One item is for a "strowd" (proper spelling stroud) which perhaps everybody may not know is a coarse blanket used by the Indians. The breech clouts, tomahawks and powder horns need no definition.

It seems that Keokuk also purchased at one time 45 handkerchiefs at 75c each. Just what the old fellow needed of so many handkerchiefs is not apparent, as it was generally supposed that he did not have that many wives.

To the		ministry 100%	
1883	1	Red Green Blanket	45
1883	1	Pale Blue ditto	2.00
1883	1	White "	6.
1883	1	Flakey Ewe "	9.
1883	1	Drizzle	5.
1883	2	Black Glows	45
1883	2	Tom Hawks	1.75
1883	1	Paradey Horns	1.50
1883	1	Green Blanket	7.00
1883	1	Comstock	7.25
1883	14	Grey Calico	31
1883	1	Drizzle	5.00
1883	1	Sally Leggings	1.50
1883	1	Black Blanket	1.50
1883	1	Drizzle	5.00

K. L.		
20	hundreds at 45	1950
19	hundreds at 45	1325
2	Small Blackish	600
1	Large Red Carpet Binding	50
1	Small Green Carpet	9250
1	Silk Linen Carpet	100
1	Red	100
1	White Carpet	500
1	Buffalo Skin	500
1	Powder Horn	200
1	Gallons Whiskey	200
2	Bott of Rye	400
1	Buffalo Skin	500
1	Blanket for Sake with	500

It will also be noticed that whiskey was then only \$1.00 a gallon, but that was before the days of the Civil War revenue tax.

The last item in the account is a blanket for Jake West, who was a half-breed famous among other things for having a hand almost as large as that of Divine Providence, and feet which would crowd each other in the narrow way. A portion of his history I wrote up some years ago in *The Keosauqua Republican*. This half-breed's name was really Chequest, and a creek near Iowaville was named after him, but his name became corrupted to Jake West.

The second page shows a purchase in 1835 by a bunch of Indians, but the items are not given. Its principal feature of interest is the names of the Indians, among which again appears that of Keokuk.

There are a good many pages of the account book showing purchases by many other Indians, whose names are given, but they do not seem of sufficient interest to justify their reproduction.

I had hoped to find in the book an account against Black Hawk, but was unable to do so. He must have been a cash customer.

Denver, Colo., June 7, 1910.

A CORRECTION.

Fortunately no draft [during the civil war] was required in Floyd county nor in Iowa. (*Annals of Iowa*, 3d ser. V. 9, No. 5, p. 331.)

From the History of Floyd County, Interstate Publishing Co., Chicago, 1882, we quote:

E. A. Teeling, of Charles City, was appointed Provost Marshal for this district to conduct the conscription. On the 20th of October, 1864, twenty-six names were turned out for Floyd county by the wheel of chance at Decorah, the first thirteen of which * * * were of those who had either to go to war or hire a substitute.

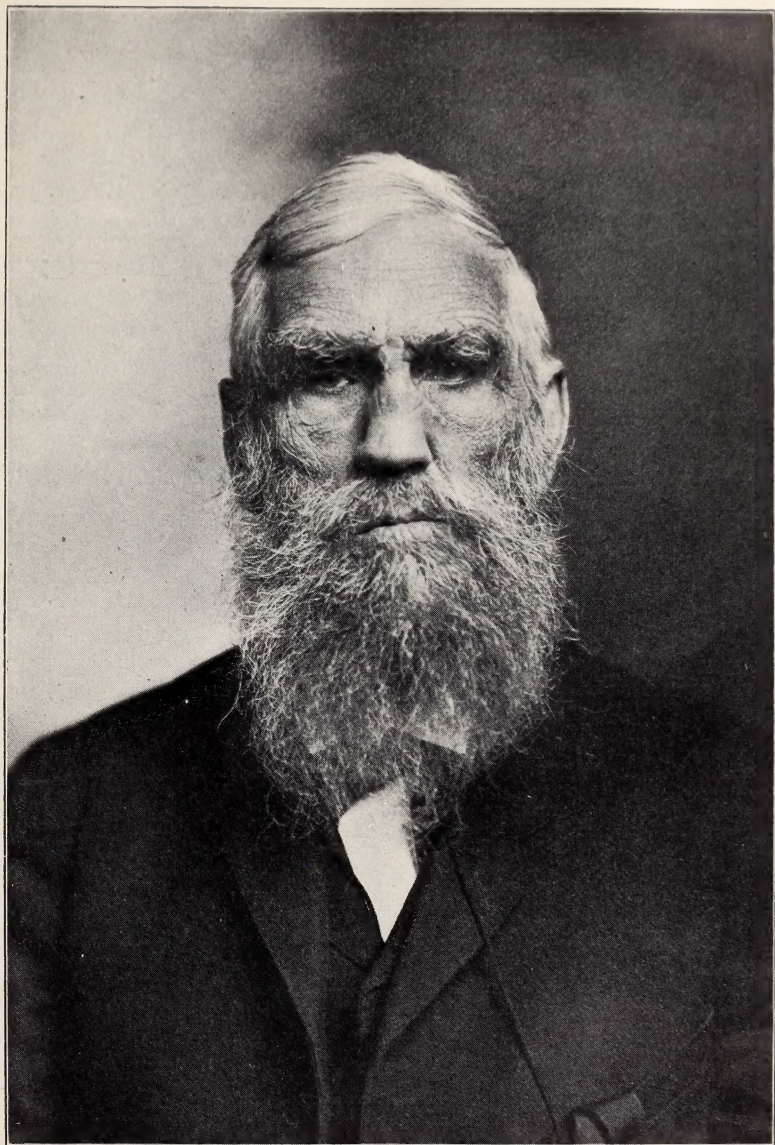
OLD ZION CHURCH, BURLINGTON, IOWA.

BY EDMUND H. WARING, D. D.

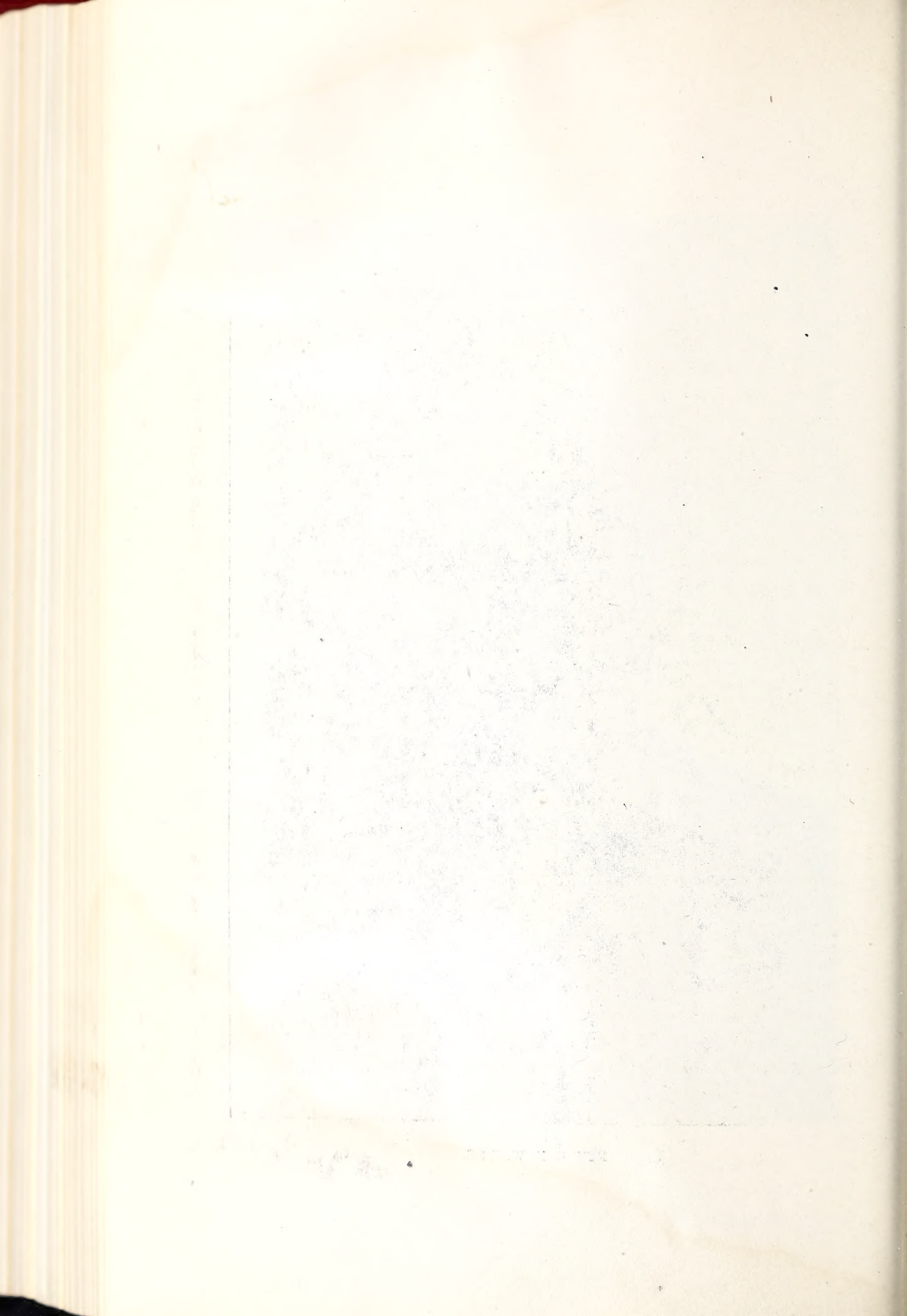
This honored and somewhat noted edifice has had a very remarkable history, connected with the early annals of the Territory of Iowa, as well as with the Methodist Episcopal Church. Perhaps no western edifice has witnessed more remarkable scenes, or been devoted to more diverse uses. And besides these distinctions it was the first brick church built in the limits of the State, and at the time when it was dismantled was the oldest house of worship then in use in Iowa.

Contrary to what is usually the case, the materials for a very complete account of Old Zion are extant. The early records, for which we are indebted to the careful forethought of Rev. N. S. Bastion, the first stationed preacher of the church in Burlington, were kept with considerable completeness, and have been preserved.

The principal actor in the erection of Old Zion was Dr. William R. Ross. Ross was one of the first settlers at Flint Hills, as that vicinity was then called. He was on the ground when there was nothing there but a string of cabins at the landing, which was known as Pin Hook. In 1833 he brought the first stock of goods to the place. There were a number of honorable "firsts" to his name. He was the first postmaster, justice, and clerk of the court there. Through him the first preacher, Rev. Barton H. Cartwright, was secured, and he appears to have been the first man of the settlers to get married. But in accomplishing this purpose he had trouble. He found the lady, but Pin Hook contained no person authorized to perform the needed ceremony. But "love laughs at locksmiths." A justice was brought from Monmouth, Ill., and Ross, taking his bride across the river



REV. E. H. WARING.



in a skiff, was married in the open on the Illinois shore. Of him that other worthy Burlington pioneer, lately called away, Dr. William Salter, said:

“Dr. Ross built several cabins in 1833. He was public spirited and a warm hearted Methodist. He was the first postmaster of the town. It was five years ago he told me that the school and church were residents in 1834, and he was the right hand man of the teacher and the preacher. And one of his cabins furnished the place with a schoolhouse. He built Old Zion, which was free to order for preaching. His work and services not only resulted in the large and flourishing Methodist church that has grown out of his labors; but it is also in all the churches and schools that have been built from that time to this.”

He might have added that the early Methodist preaching there by Cartwright was in Dr. Ross's cabin, on the north hill, the yard being frequently filled with Indians during the service. This worthy man died some years since at Lovilla, Iowa, at a very advanced age. Dr. Ross bought the two lots on which the church and parsonage stood for one hundred dollars, and donated them to the society. In 1836 he dug the cellar, or rather excavated from the hill nearly the whole of the south lot, for the building, at a cost of \$72.00, the only aid being \$20.00, given by David Rorer, a pioneer lawyer of the town. The next year, 1838, the work on the church was commenced; but the progress, for want of means, was slow. The old record book has the minutes of a meeting held March 5th, 1838, at Mr. Chapman's room, “to take into consideration the erection of a meeting house.” The pastor, Rev. N. S. Bastion, J. C. Sleeth, Thomas Ballard, Levi Hagar, Wm. Davis and Wm. R. Ross were present. It was resolved to build a house of brick, 40 by 60 feet in size, and Sleeth, Ross and Hagar were named as a building committee. Precise instructions were given the committee. They were: “1. To estimate the probable expense. 2. To raise funds. 3. To plan said building. 4. To let out and make all contracts, and for security to have a lien on the building. 5. To exer-

cise a general superintendence over the work until completed. 6. To have power to make their own regulations, and to fill vacancies in their number occasioned in any way." Certainly their duties were plain, and their powers ample.

The quarterly conference, which met on March 10th, and was composed of the same parties, with the addition of the presiding-elder, confirmed the appointment of the committee, and added Adam Fortney to their number. The committee held frequent meetings, in which plans, specifications and proposals of the mechanics were fully discussed and a contract for the brick was made with Dr. Ross, June 15th, 1838, at the rate of \$7.50 per thousand. The contract for the stone was made with parties styled "the Germans," at the rate of "one dollar for every $22\frac{1}{2}$ cubic feet, to be measured clear measure when in the wall." The walls of the basement were to be two feet thick, and it was to have "doors and windows sufficient to make it light and airy, so that the rooms would be pleasant and comfortable for meetings and schools." But this the situation of the church, dug out of the steep hill side, effectually prevented. March 7th, 1838, the form of the subscription was agreed upon; but the list of subscribers is lost. The probable cost of the house, "partially completed," was stated at from two to three thousand dollars. Under date of April 2nd, 1838, Mr. Bastion says: "The contracts for the stone, lime, lumber, brick, timber and digging are all let. See list of contracts in this book." But the list is missing. The work upon the church, under these arrangements, was commenced in April or May, 1838.

June 14th, 1838, the following trustees were appointed: John C. Sleeth, W. R. Ross, Thomas Ballard, Robert Cock and Robert Avery. They met June 18th, 1838, and resolved "in their capacity of trustees to assume the responsibility of the business heretofore transacted by the building committee, and attend to the duties of their office," in view of which action Bastion records, June 25th, 1838, "the building committee is annihilated, and the trustees assume all the business and obligations."

About this time a begging tour, in the interest of the project, was undertaken by Bastion. To foot the current expenses of the trip Sleeth, Ross, Ballard and Hagar made up \$30.00, and Bastion went as far south as Louisville, Kentucky, where he had to borrow \$25.00 to pay his expenses home. And the balance sheet showed:

Cost of trip	\$55.00
Receipts	00.00
	<hr/>
Total loss	\$55.00

The Legislature of Wisconsin, then in session in Burlington, the Territorial Capital, passed an act of incorporation for the church, which was approved June 22nd, 1838. It provided that "John C. Sleeth, Thomas Ballard, Wm. R. Ross, Robert Avery and Robert Cock, and such other free white persons of full age as shall be associated with them, . . . shall be, and are hereby constituted and made a body corporate in deed and in law, by the name, style and title of the Trustees of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the city of Burlington.....with perpetual succession, and are hereby made capable in law to have, purchase, receive, take, hold, possess and enjoy, to them and their successors, to the use of the said Methodist Episcopal Church in the City of Burlington,.....Lot No. 374 and 375¹."

The Southern prejudice, prevalent at the time, is indicated in the phrase "free white persons."

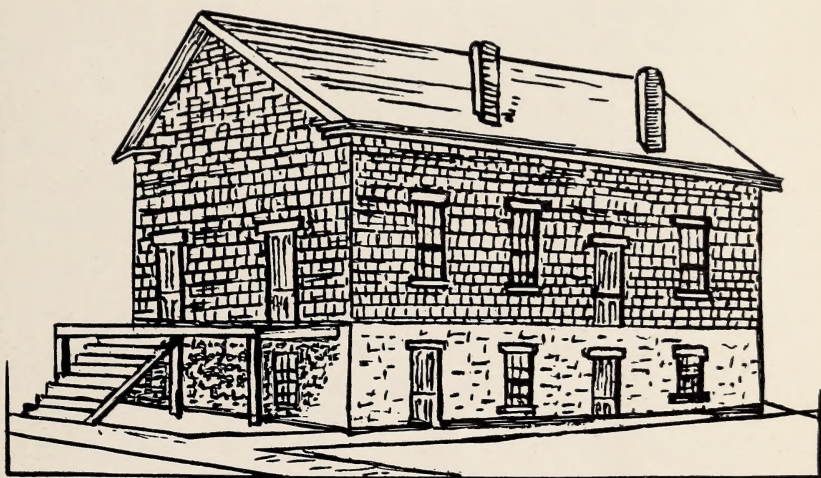
During the summer and fall of 1838 the building was pressed vigorously. In a report signed by John C. Sleeth and Robert Cock, in which they state the amount of the original subscription at \$1,500.00, they say: "After having proceeded with the building to a considerable extent, an opportunity presented itself of renting the church to the legislative assembly. Thinking this opportunity a favorable one for raising funds to pay the expense of erection, every effort was made to have it completed in time for that special purpose." This report was made to the quarterly conference,

¹Laws of Wisconsin Territory, 1838, p. 346.

March 6th, 1841. The proposition came from Robert Lucas, Governor of the Territory of Iowa. The work on the church, so far as it had then been done, was finished in December, 1838. But nothing further had been accomplished than to enclose it, and put on one coat of plaster. And it then consisted of only the "old part." The front extension and cupola were not erected until 1846. A framed platform extended along the front of the church on a level with the audience room. It stood on turned posts, and was ascended from the street by a flight of steps. The building as completed thus, cost about \$4,500.00.

Perhaps this is a good place to say something about the pastor, Bastion, who lent his aid so efficiently in the furtherance of the work. He joined the Illinois Conference on trial in 1832. At the session of 1834 he was admitted to full connection, ordained a deacon, and sent to Dubuque. He was a man of fair talents and good scholarship, zealous, and of excellent business capacity; but erratic, irritable and given to change. At the close of his year at Dubuque he retired and taught school at Catfish Gap. There the school was often visited by the Indians, who could not understand why he was caring for other people's children, and who, in view of the apparent size of his family, gave him an Indian name, meaning Big Father. In 1837 he was sent to Burlington, then made a station. The next year he was appointed principal of the Preparatory Department of McKendree College. In 1849 he transferred to the Liberia Conference, Africa, of which he was the acting President in 1850. In 1851 he returned to America; but having become dissatisfied with his baptism, he did what he had a perfect right to do, withdrew from the Methodist Church, and so became lost to Methodist vision in the waters of a sound Baptist immersion.

The Territorial Legislature and government took possession of the church as soon as it was completed. The upper room was assigned to the House of Representatives, the front basement to the Senate. The rear basement was divided by rough board partitions, for the legislative and government offices.



OLD ZION, THE FIRST CAPITOL OF IOWA.

From an unsigned drawing used in the semi-centennial celebration ceremonies at Burlington, 1896.

Some long benches were provided for seats by the trustees; but the chairs used in the halls were purchased by the government. The Speakers' desks were made of boards, roughly planed, and nailed together so as to form a kind of stand; and the one in the audience room served, at time of preaching, as the pulpit. And so, it came to pass that, by the arrangement made, the Upper House of the Legislature was the Lower House, and the Lower House the Upper House! Amid such primitive surroundings the machinery of legislation was first put in motion in the Territory of Iowa.

In their report of 1841, the trustees gave their aggregate receipts to that date as follows: Received from the Legislature \$2,200. On subscription \$980. Total \$3,180. Remaining debt \$1,320. To meet this debt they had a balance of rent due of \$300, and subscriptions (depreciated) of about \$500, and the debt continued for some years to be a source of vexation and trouble. The late Rev. D. G. Cartwright informed me that while acting as a supply, as pastor of the church, in 1840, the building was threatened with sale; but he succeeded in getting a number of the creditors to release their claims, and in this way over \$1,000 of accumulated incumbrance was cleared off within two days. Dr. Ross said, "I paid for most of the material, rock, lime, lumber and all the brick, besides many other materials, and many of the workmen, costing me upwards of six thousand dollars; and after all, to keep it from being sold at a sacrifice—for it had gone through a Court of Law and Equity, and the Conference—I had to sell my own private residence, which cost me \$3,400 for \$1,200, and save the church from sale." Through such embarrassments many of the pioneer churches of Iowa had to pass but few of them had behind them a man of the pluck, liberality and self-sacrifice shown towards Old Zion by Dr. Ross. And it is a pity to say that what he did for the old church seriously embarrassed him in his later years.

The Iowa Patriot of December 13th, 1838, said of the old building: "The new Methodist Church is now occupied by the Legislative Assembly. It is a very neat and substantial

building. The basement story, partitioned off for conference and class-meetings, is composed of stone, and the upper part of brick. It is in a commanding situation, and when finished, with its cupola and bell, it will be a great ornament to the city of Burlington."

The location of Old Zion, on the west side of Third Street, between Washington and Columbia Streets, was central for the north side at the time. The claim to the town site was held by two brothers-in-law, White and Doolittle, and the church lots were purchased by Dr. Ross for one hundred dollars. The title to the lots, however, came to the trustees of the church through Bastion, who was held in a bond of \$10,000 to make the trustees a deed according to the provisions of the discipline of the M. E. Church, so soon as he should receive a patent from Washington. The duplicate of the certificate of title was placed in the hands of John C. Sleeth, to be sent to the land office; and the patent issued by the United States to the trustees is dated February 4, 1841.

The Legislature of the Territory of Iowa held four sessions in the church, viz: the regular sessions of 1838-39 and 1839-40, the extra session of July, 1840, and the regular session of 1840-41. And the appropriation bills show that the territorial government paid the trustees, for the use of the house, in all \$2,350. Besides its use by the Legislature it was employed for several years as the place of meeting of the Supreme Court of Iowa, and the District Court of Des Moines County. While so used, in June, 1845, the Mormon murderers, the Hodges brothers, were tried and convicted there of murder in the first degree. The verdict of the jury was delivered on Sunday morning, June 22nd; and on the afternoon of that day they were sentenced to death from the pulpit of Old Zion, and were both hung July 15th following.

The church being at that time the only commodious building in the town, it was used for a long time as the place of political meetings, lectures and even shows. And during all that time the services of the Methodist Church were held within its walls, and frequently those of other denominations

were held therein. And after its use was abandoned by the government, the basement was furnished with desks and private and public schools were accommodated there.

January 23rd and 24th, 1840, it was the scene of an Indian council held by Governor Lucas with the chiefs of the Sac and Fox Indians. About fifty of the Aborigines, including young Black Hawk, and the chiefs Wishelamaqua, or Hard-fish, Wapapesheek, or the Prophet, and Nasheaskuk, all in their native costumes, were present. They came to complain of the desecration by the whites, of old Black Hawk's grave. And the whole affair wound up with a big war dance and Indian show.

On Monday night, December 16th, 1838, it was the headquarters of a company of soldiers from Muscatine, numbering about 150, on their way to the threatened border war between Missouri and Iowa respecting the southern line of the Territory.

Four sessions of the Iowa Conference of the M. E. Church were held in Old Zion, viz.:

Date.	Bishop.	Secretary.
1845	T. A. Morris.....	H. W. Reed
1852	E. R. Ames.....	M. H. Hare
1861	Levi Scott.....	E. H. Waring
1868	E. S. Janes.....	E. H. Waring

On account of its diverse uses, the building was known by different names, such as "The Methodist Church," "The Court House," and "The State House." Thus in *The Iowa Patriot* of Dec. 13th, 1838, a notice said: "A two days' meeting will be held in the State House in this city on Saturday evening next, and continuing until Sunday night."

The name "Old Zion" dates from 1851. In a notice in the *Burlington Telegraph*, attention was called to the need of a new roof on the church, and to give prominence to the matter, the editor headed the notice with the words "Old Zion needs a new roof." The name thus given was at once attached to the building, and in 1854 the station, organized in the church, was named the Old Zion station.

In reference to the remarkable history of the old church, Hon. Charles Mason, in a speech delivered at an old settlers' festival in the church, June 2nd, 1858, said: "As illustrative of the novel uses to which it was necessary to adapt the limited means within our reach in those early days, and of the shifts to which we were driven by the great mother of invention, I need but remind you of the scenes which have been witnessed within these very walls. The main body of the edifice has now been standing about twenty years. It was the first, and for many years, the only church building in Burlington.

"Whoever, at the present day, sits within its hallowed precincts, listening to the fervid prayer, the calm discourse, the swelling anthem, or the loud hosanna, would be very erroneous in the conclusion that these were the only sounds that had ever echoed within it. No, other halls have witnessed more important and more tragical scenes; but where will you find those that could give a more variegated history? Here was embodied, for instance, for a number of years, the legislative wisdom of the Territory of Iowa—the "Lower" house paradoxically occupying the hall above, and the "Upper" house the room below. From these went forth those edicts which for many years have ruled this goodly land. Here too the Supreme Judicial Tribunal of the Territory held its sometime session; and the regular terms of the District Court were held here for many a year. Here the rights of persons and property were adjusted. Here the felon trembled, and hoped at the prospect of an inefficient penitentiary, and here the murderer met his final earthly doom. Nor is this all. With the eye of vivid recollection I now see before me the assembled patriotism of the young city, in democratic council assembled, to discuss in high debate, the momentous question of peace or further war, with our more powerful, but not more valiant antagonist. A model war was that, and worthy of our praise, where not a drop of blood was shed, where those who won the glory paid the bills, and ever since their hearts have been inclined to peace.

“Finally within these walls the amiable governor of the Territory met in friendly conference the representatives of some of the dissatisfied red children, to hear their complaints, and at least to promise them redress—an easy and oft repeated remedy.

“Here the citizens listened to the native eloquence of the Indians, and were treated to the exhibition of the song and the war dance. The wild whoop of the savage, which had often carried dismay and horror to many a stout heart, failed to make any impression on Old Zion, which then as now, looked on in strange gravity, and was determined not to be surprised at any scene that might transpire within it.” The war referred to was the contest over the boundary line between Missouri and Iowa.

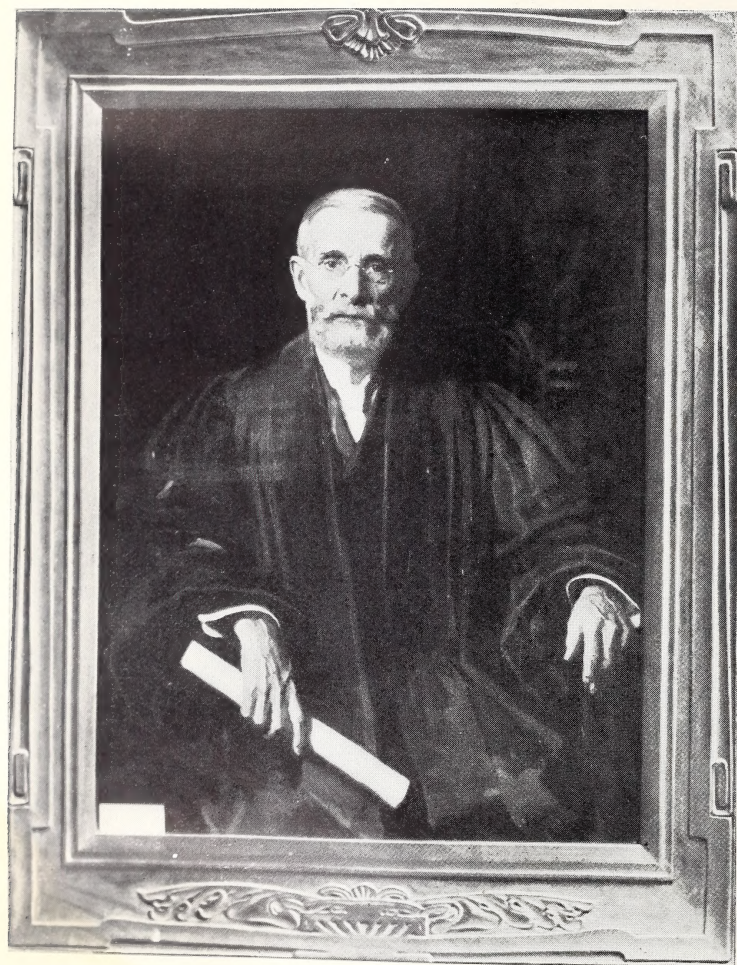
And Old Zion has not wanted for a poet. At the Old Settlers’ Festival spoken of, Johnson Pierson, Esq., read a poem, in which were the following lines:

“Now rose thy walls, Old Zion, which have stood
The dread assaults of wasting Time and flood.
Thou wast all our hope for many rolling years;
Shook with our joy; as often soothed our tears,
Poured out like rain drops from the smitten cloud,
When the live, vaulting thunder rifts its shroud.
Thou wert our Forum, scene of many a sport
In Pleasure’s drama and Ambition’s court.
Here too our village beauties rushed to see
The motley Indian dance, with savage glee:
Here was the patriot’s stand when border war
Chained his fierce dragons to the bloody car.
But our good guns and swords of burnished sheen,
Showed we were brave—a set of dangerous men.

We ‘went, saw, conquered’—not the foe—the meat
Our knapsacks held—then made a grand retreat!
We ran with eager haste from war’s alarms,
Covered with glory, to our shops and farms,
To hear the plaudits, ‘Patriots, well done.’
So thou, old pile, hast been our guiding star
In all these varied scenes of Peace and War.”

After the church was abandoned by the Territory in 1840, the members placed in the "Amen corners" some rough benches, with narrow backs. The rest of the house had just benches to be used as seats; but about 1845 it was furnished with comfortable pews. The first pulpit has been described. That was succeeded by a kind of tub concern that half encircled the preacher as he stood behind it. A third stand, a high and massive structure, "marbleized," and thought tasteful in its day, was set up as the pulpit. When taken down in 1862 there was found penciled inside of one of the columns, "August 22nd, 1845." But its day was brief, for in the thorough renewal of Old Zion in 1864 a neat, small stand of walnut took its place as the reading desk of the minister. On down to the year 1879 Old Zion, with a slight interruption in 1864, was used as the place of worship of the station. But in that year the two Methodist churches then in the city were united, and the services taken to the larger edifice on Division Street. Later the old property was sold, the new owners taking the old building, and the adjacent parsonage, down, and erecting on the site a theater. It may be that, in the change that came over the growing city, a new site for the church became a desirable thing. Yet it seems sad that a spot where the people of God had so long gathered for worship, which had been solemnly dedicated to its sacred uses, and which had become hallowed by its associations in the memories of thousands, should now be given up to the giddy throng of fashion, intent alone upon creature enjoyment, to the neglect of the higher duties that pertain to a better and safer life.

FUR TRAPPING IN IOWA.—The rivers and creeks in the interior and western parts of Iowa are said to be perfectly thronged with beavers and minks, to say nothing of myriads of other animals whose hides are sought by the trappers. Beaver Creek, which empties into the Cedar at Cedar Falls, is dammed at very frequent intervals by the industrious and enterprising rodents from which it takes its name. They have not been as plenty before for several years. The trapper's field of labor is a large one, and great numbers of them are "picking up their traps" and preparing to reap their harvest. Prices are likely to be remunerative.—*Sioux City Register*, Dec. 31, 1859.



WILLIAM FLETCHER KING, D. D., L. L. D.

Portrait in the collections of the Historical Department of Iowa, by Ralph Clarkson, Chicago, 1910.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

HISTORICAL PORTRAIT COLLECTIONS.

Nearly every state in the Union has done and is doing something by way of collecting and preserving its historical materials. All are refusing to destroy the documentary materials accumulated through the administration of state business, and many are making efforts to acquire, preserve and display for the public benefit these illustrative materials. Thus are being formed not only the excellent collections of books in the different state libraries, but there are also being created some most valuable collections of object materials as well, which are even more instructive than books to the mind of many classes of citizens. These form the State Museums.

Iowa has taken an advanced position among Western commonwealths, favoring what the late Doctor G. Brown Goode made so much of, namely, popular museum education. Special effort has been made to well illustrate by portraiture the lives of the eminent men of the State. It is often a tremendous task to secure an appropriate record of the forms and faces of men of whom it would seem easy to record in writing a good account.

The Historical Department of Iowa, having been more fortunate than similar activities in some other states, wishes to present through *The Annals* some of the considerations that have brought its portrait collection into favorable notice, and thus answer frequent inquiries in relation to this part of the work. There is scarcely a month in which we are not requested to give to some official, society, department or other functionary, an account of our methods.

It is assumed that any Iowa person who has performed such a part as to imprint himself upon the records of the State or Nation, and who inevitably will be encountered in a reasonably exhaustive research into the period of his activities, is an historical personage. It may be that his influence will be found solely in the nature of public duty, as in civic or military office. It may be wholly within a private sphere, as in business. Or it may have a semi-public quality, as in educational or eleemosynary enterprise. Wherever there was an influence, the weight and result of which contributed much to progress, that influence emanated from an historic character.

In the investigations that are being made or that may be made into Iowa and Western history, there are vast hindrances to the complete knowledge of men and events of no more remote a period than the opening of the Civil War. The aids that do exist are almost as numerous and quite as valuable among collections derived from private individuals as from deposits in public archives. Therein lies much of the peculiar value of biographical and genealogical materials, so eagerly sought by the Historical Department of Iowa. Value that lies in documentary evidence of the life of a man lies also proportionally in all records of his personality. Hence our zeal in obtaining the best possible portraits as well as documentary materials of Iowa people. A potent precedent consulted in our labors is the rule of the National Portrait Gallery of London:

“The rule which the Trustees desire to lay down to themselves in either making purchases or receiving presents is to look to the celebrity of the person represented rather than to the merit of the artist. They will attempt to estimate that celebrity without any bias to any political or religious party. Nor will they consider great faults and errors, even though admitted on all sides, as any sufficient ground for excluding any portrait which may be valuable as illustrating the civil, ecclesiastical or literary history of the country.”

The Historical Department of Iowa recognizes in its portrait feature a duty no less important, relatively, than is that of the greater institution of England. It designs to benefit

the same elements of our society, present and future, as are the beneficiaries of that enterprise. Iowa and England have practically the same area. They do not differ in their civil, ecclesiastical or literary history, as they do in population, or wealth, and not so much in these, perhaps, as in their respective wealth of art, and other instrumentalities for culture. The English people can not be more prone to cherish their collections than is the tendency with us, and meeting this obligation is the incentive of our work in portrait collecting. We are moved to industry in the work that even England was without until toward more modern times.

Taking, then, as the basis for our efforts in portrait collecting, the purpose of illustrating the civil, ecclesiastical, military, business and literary history of Iowa, we have determined for us, by documentary sources, the names of personages, of whose lives we wish all that is obtainable, especially including portraiture in some of its various forms. Iowa newspapers, legislative journals, minutes of ecclesiastical conferences and military reports, afford fair aids to the discovery and appraisalment of men of prominence, and the contents of these publications almost determine the weight of a personality. Discovering, for instance, a movement and a leader, who is by us forgotten, but whose personal history is necessary to an adequate study of present or past phases of our development, we feel it incumbent upon us to have at hand for the present, and particularly for the future, ample aids to an understanding of him and his purposes.

Our efforts in this direction result in the acquisition of biographical material, embracing portraits in some form. These may be daguerreotype or tin type; zinc, copper or steel engraving; mechanical or hand work; on paper or canvas; in color or in black and white; in miniature or heroic proportions; in sculpture, whether plaster, bronze or marble; in the original or duplicate; whether the subject be living or dead, the artist known or unknown, and the object be a gift or a purchase, to be displayed on walls, in cases or bound in volumes, the point is that there be obtained something; the

very best obtainable, whatever that may be. Hence our portrait collection is, and ought to remain, primarily an historical collection, influenced, enhanced, but not dominated by rules and reasons of high art.

Of course our highest aim is a portrait done in oil at the height of the vigor and fame of the subject and the best in point of fame, style and medium of the artist.

But it is impossible to fix, and unwise to desire, an absolute standard of art merit in a collection, or to disparage the acquisition and display of the inferior in art value of portraits of men whose lives and labors are worthy of commemoration. Of standards there are almost as many as there are critics. The point to be considered is whether a given portrait of a given man is the best portrait of that man and not whether that portrait be a work or in a class esteemed alone by the art connoisseur. The art value, it must be remembered, is not an element of indifference; far from that. It is indeed, scarcely even secondary. But where the consideration is for the subject and not for the artist, the loftiest thought is: Does it, of all available records, the most permanently and fairly represent the face, form and spirit of the subject.

VISIT FROM THE INDIANS.—On Tuesday forenoon last the quiet stillness of our city was somewhat disturbed by a visit from a band of Sioux Indians, numbering about fifty, and accompanied by Chief "Mad Bowl." They entered the city in regular order, marching in straight lines, and keeping step to a rude, wild song, accompanied by an instrument somewhat resembling a tambourine, beat upon with a stick. They were arrayed in their best blankets and woolen leggings, their faces painted with gaudy colors, and their heads decorated with flaunting feathers. Their chief was seated upon a fine pony, and rode with all the dignity of a monarch. It was altogether the best representation of our Dacotah neighbors we have ever seen, and the appearance they presented was truly novel and interesting. . . .

They visited Kennerly, of the firm of Frost, Todd & Co., a gentleman widely known and much respected among the Sioux Indians, who gave them about \$30 worth of provisions. They also visited other stores, and in the afternoon departed, laden with about one hundred dollars' worth of provisions given them by our merchants.—*Sioux City Eagle*, Dec. 12, 1857.

JUSTICE SAMUEL F. MILLER AND HIS FIRST CIRCUIT COURT.

Soon after his appointment as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States by President Lincoln, pursuant to the Act of July 15, 1862, reorganizing the Federal Circuits and creating the Ninth circuit (comprising Missouri, Iowa, Kansas and Minnesota), Samuel F. Miller came to Des Moines to institute the Circuit Court provided for under that act. Some of the facts incident to the organization of the new court over which he presided until his death, October 13, 1890, are worth reproduction.

The court was convened at Sherman's Hall, Third Street and Court Avenue, Des Moines, Tuesday, November 11, 1862, Judge Miller presiding, with District Judge J. M. Love also sitting. The officers of the court were Judge W. G. Woodward, Clerk, Wm. H. F. Gurley, District Attorney, and H. M. Hoxie, Marshal. After the ceremonies of opening, the first work transacted was the admission of a number of attorneys to practice in the Circuit court—among them, Benton J. Hall of Burlington, Judge James Grant of Davenport, Attorney General Charles C. Nourse of Des Moines, Henry Wiltse of Dubuque, Henry Strong and Col. John W. Rankin of Keokuk and Leroy L. Palmer of Mt. Pleasant.¹

One incident in the inauguration of the new court is interesting. The Clerk had no seal. Judge Woodward procured an instrument that he regarded as sufficient for temporary use. Some one questioned the validity of papers authenticated thereunder. Mr. J. S. Polk of Des Moines suggested that the seal ought to be engraved on a "plate of the precise size of a silver half dollar." Thereupon Judge Miller remarked: "You will find it difficult to get at the preciseness you speak of;

¹*The Daily State Register*, November 11, 1862.

for I believe *there is not a silver half dollar in town to measure by.*"² Those were days when the infusions of "red dog" and "wild cat" bank notes and depreciated Greenbacks were illustrating the efficacy of Gresham's law.

The efficiency and vigor of this court was noteworthy and impressed all observers. Although convened on Tuesday all cases on the docket were disposed of and the court adjourned by Saturday, November 15. "Judge Miller," observes a contemporary, "has the rare faculty of doing up business with remarkable dispatch. The record of the cases disposed of in one week is sufficient evidence of this fact. The judge has made a decidedly favorable impression in this initial term of the court in Iowa."³

On Tuesday, May 13, 1863, Judge Miller opened the second session of the court, again in Sherman's Hall. As at the first session admission of attorneys to practice was first ordered. Among those admitted were Judge J. Perkins of Adel, J. W. Thompson of Davenport, Daniel F. Miller of Ft. Madison, Charles T. Ransom of Iowa City, and H. Scott Howell of Keokuk. The account of the proceedings intimates that one prominent attorney of Warren county desired admission, but owing to his pronounced antipathy to the course of President Lincoln's Administration in the Civil War, declined to take the oath of allegiance entailed.⁴

This second session was noteworthy for two reasons: First, because of the character of the instructions given the Grand Jury by Judge Miller; second, because of sundry important decisions rendered and verdicts found. The instructions were delivered orally to the Grand Jury. Either the substance of charge or the vigor of the Judge's delivery so impressed the attorneys in attendance that "the entire bar, irrespective of party, united in a request that he should write it out for publication, and he therefore complied with their wishes."⁵ The various subjects touched upon in the instructions indicate the many phases of the stress in which the people of the State were

²*Ibid.*, Nov. 16.

³*Ibid.*, Nov. 18. ⁴*Ibid.*, May 15, 1863. ⁵*Ibid.*, May 16.

at the time. Those portions relative to treason and conspiracy to interfere with national authority had peculiar interest to the public because several prominent citizens of Iowa in the year preceding had been summarily arrested and incarcerated in national forts or in Federal prisons, on charges of treasonable utterances or of conspiracy. The Charge entire follows:

Gentlemen of the Grand Jury:—You are called here for the purpose of assisting in the administration of the criminal laws of the country. The frame of our Government is peculiar in the co-existence of two law-making powers, exercising jurisdiction over the same people. They are, however, well defined in the class of subjects to which their legislative powers respectively extend. The Federal or national government has confided to it by the Constitution of the United States, which is the supreme law of the land, the exclusive right to legislate upon certain classes of subjects and the state governments have in like manner exclusive control over certain other classes of subjects. Each of these grand divisions of the political power has its courts, separate and distinct from each other, to administer the laws which each has a right to enact, and you are here today as a part of the National Court, with the duty imposed upon you to inquire into the violations of the nation's laws.

The Constitution of the United States provides that the Congress shall have power to coin money and regulate the value thereof. This duty it has performed; and in order to protect the people from spurious, depreciated or counterfeited coins, laws have been passed to punish those who may attempt to impose such on the public. There are laws of a highly penal character against counterfeiting the coin of the nation, against uttering or putting in circulation any counterfeit coin, against having such coin in possession with intent to pass it on, and against having in possession the instruments for making it.

The Government of the Union has the right to borrow money, and as a necessary incident to this power it has the right to issue bonds, notes and other securities. These securities are liable to be counterfeited, and the signatures of the proper officers forged. The Congress has therefore passed stringent laws for the punishment of any person who shall forge or counterfeit these securities, or who shall knowingly put such counterfeits into circulation, or have them in possession with intent to do so. Into all these offenses it is your duty to inquire, and make presentment if they are found to exist. And since the securities of the Government, in the shape of Treasury notes have become the principal circulating medium of the country, it is very important that the public should be protected from a counterfeit issue of them.

There are laws for the protection of the mail, the carrying of which is another subject of exclusive federal control. Into the various postoffice repositories are placed every day millions of dollars, in drafts, notes, and bank bills, and equivalents of money. The letters which are carried by mail contain the confidential secrets of a thousand hearts, which if exposed to the public would involve the happiness of as many families. The temptation to the officers who have the handling of these letters to open them, to learn their contents, and to appropriate their wealth, is of the strongest character; and experience has proved that the severe punishments which the law provides for these offenses, and for robbing the mail, have yet failed to secure perfect protection. I invite your attention to this subject, as one closely connected with one of the best interests of society.

There are laws against destroying the timber upon the national domain, and against trading with the Indians (who have recently become so troublesome upon our borders) which you may be called upon to enforce, but of which I cannot now speak more definitely.

There is another class of laws, gentlemen, to which I feel it to be my duty to call your attention, which I do with the utmost pain and reluctance. I mean those laws which relate to the preservation of the Government itself. When our fathers, shortly after our independence as a nation had been recognized by the mother country, proceeded to establish our present form of government, and presented to the world a written constitution as its foundation, it was received by the statesmen of Europe with general distrust and failed to command the universal confidence of our own. Based substantially upon the Democratic idea, of the right of the people to govern themselves, and relying upon a written fundamental law to bind together the people of numerous states, with varied interests, it was confidently predicted that its duration would be short and its end inglorious. Three-quarters of a century of prosperity, of growth, of addition of territory and population, of increase of wealth and power unparalleled in the history of any other nation had taught us to laugh at these predictions. The increasing love and devotion of the people to their government, and the pride with which they cherished the common glory of the nation, had led us to believe that its destruction by their own act, or that of any considerable portion of them was scarcely to be dreamed of. We had fondly hoped that the principle of obedience to the laws, which equally with the love of liberty has characterized in all ages, the people of the Anglo-Saxon race, would safely carry us through all the trials to which our form of government might be subjected.

Recent events which constitute a prominent part of the world's history, have taught us that our feeling of security was not well founded. The present wicked and causeless rebellion tells us plainly that the passions and thirst for power of ambitious men may in this country and this age, as it has in other countries and other times, prove too powerful for the memories of the past, and the hopes of the future as they are bound up in our present Constitutional Government. It has also taught us the value, nay the absolute necessity of obedience to the laws.

Treason against the United States consists only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. To constitute the crime of treason, some overt act is necessary. That is, something more than mere expression of thought or opinion. Some act must be performed toward carrying the treasonable purpose into execution. And before conviction can take place this act must be proved by two witnesses. There can be no doubt that all those now or heretofore engaged in the Rebellion are guilty of treason, and that their lives are forfeited to the law, but I am happy in the opinion that no *actual* treason has been committed in Iowa. If, however, your researches should unfortunately prove the contrary, it will be your duty to bring the fact before the court.

In reference to the probability of violations of another law of analogous character, I fear I am not justified in entertaining an opinion so agreeable.

Very soon after the Rebellion broke out, the Congress of the Union finding that the Nation was engaged in a struggle which seriously threatened its existence, passed a law concerning conspiracies. By this statute it is provided, that when two or more persons shall conspire or confederate together, for the purpose of destroying or overthrowing the government of the United States, or forcibly resisting the execution of the laws, or any officer of the government in the lawful exercise of his authority, they shall be guilty of a conspiracy, and punished by fine and imprisonment. You will observe in the construction of this law that it requires two or more persons to agree upon a concerted course of action, but it does not require that the action itself should take effect as in the case of treason. It is sufficient if the agreement is made, or the resolution taken to act in concert, for any of the purposes mentioned in the act. You will observe that it relates to the purpose of forcible resistance to the law, and that the conjoint formation of this purpose, by two or more persons, constitutes the crime.

The right of the citizens to discuss, and by peaceable means to endeavor to procure the repeal or modification of an obnoxious

law or the change by legal means of an officer of the government for one more satisfactory, is unquestionable. On the other hand the duties of obedience to the law, while in force, and of submission to those in authority so long as that authority exists, is equally clear and if possible more essential to the public safety. No government can, even in time of peace, long tolerate a violation of its laws without rapidly tending to decay. Much less can it in time of war, a war which threatens its own dissolution, permit those who are receiving its protection to conspire for its overthrow.

Those who are loudest in their complaints against the government at the present time profess to be peculiar champions of the law and the Constitution. They surely should unite with us in the effort to enforce vigorously in this hour of our national calamity, the laws which are made for the security of all, and for the preservation of the government in which all are so vitally interested.

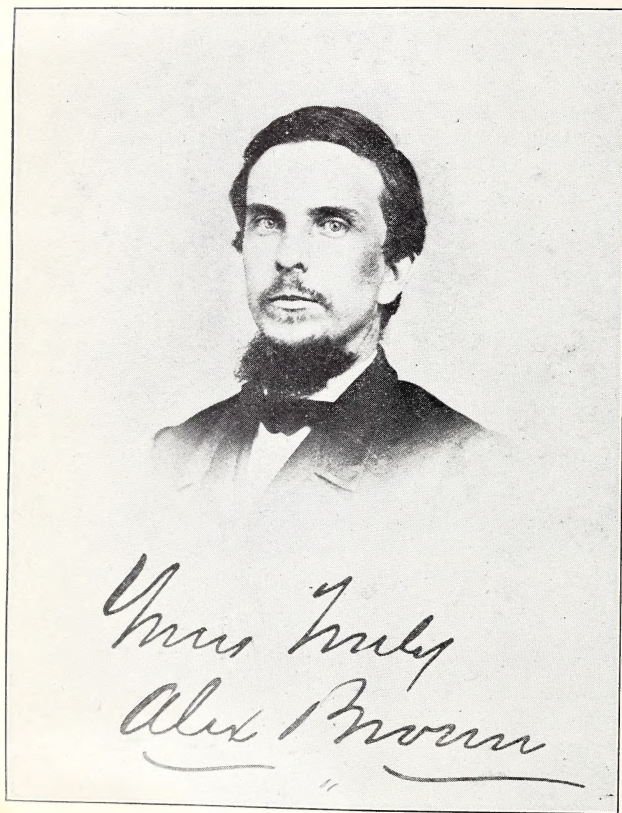
Satisfied that you, gentlemen, aided by the counsel of the able District Attorney, will do your duty in the premises, I commit these matters to your charge.⁶

The following gentlemen composing the Grand Jury received the foregoing instructions.

N. Baylis, [Baylies], Foreman, J. P. Foster, Clerk, W. F. Ayres, Wm. H. Bigelow, W. M. Calfee, A. N. Comstock, Owen Edgerton, J. K. Hobaugh, J. M. Holladay, J. C. Jordan, John Jack, Lewis Jones, J. K. Lyon, D. Limpus, S. H. Reynolds, Wm. S. Pritchard, Geo. M. Swan, John L. Smith.⁷

The foreman, Nicholas Baylies, was a resident of Polk county, near Des Moines. Prior to his removal to Iowa he had had a creditable career as a lawyer, legislator and District Judge in Vermont. Under his foremanship we are told the jury "opened its sessions each morning with prayer." This practice was regarded by *The Register* as a "hopeful and refreshing indication of the earnestness and sincerity of the jurors." It was in "broad contrast with the usual customs adopted by rebel-sympathizing inquisitions."⁸ Whether the supplication was the result of the piety of the presiding judge or of the foreman or of the jurors, or the expression of their feelings in view of the awesome character of the dangers threatening the public or their persons in those troublous times is not clear. The practice does not appear to have been continuous in the courts.

⁶*Ibid*, May 16. ⁷*Ibid*, May 13. ⁸*Ibid*, May 17.



ALEXANDER BROWN, 1863.

A number of the officials of the national government under President Buchanan, the Postmasters at Ft. Dodge, Iowa City and West Point, and the Receiver of Public Monies at Decorah, were adjudged in default in their accounts and judgments against them and their bondsmen for serious sums were entered on the record. Among the important civil suits decided were, *J. Edgar Thompson vs. the County of Lee*, and *Rogers vs. the City of Burlington*, in which Judge Miller held certain issues of bonds in aid of railroads invalid, concurring therein in the holding of the Supreme Court of Iowa. In *Walkley vs. the City of Burlington*, in which the plaintiff sought to mandamus the city council to appropriate monies to pay a judgment, he granted an alternative writ allowing the city until the next term of court to show cause why such a writ should not issue. Another interesting case was *Jacob Edwards, et al., vs. Addison Daniels, et al.*, in which a plea of usury was set up in defense against an attachment issued to realize on promissory notes. Judge Miller held that where notes made in Iowa, payable in Boston, are usurious by the laws of both states, the effect will be governed by the laws of Iowa; whereas in the case of notes made in Boston and payable in Boston the full amount specified on the face of the notes may be received; the court in the latter case would not enforce the penal law of usury of Massachusetts.⁹ In the two cases last mentioned, Mr. S. V. White, for forty years past a notable figure in Wall Street, was one of the attorneys. He was then a resident of Des Moines.

F. I. H.

⁹The cases mentioned are not reported in Woolworth's *Circuit Court Reports—Justice Miller's Decisions*. Brief mention of the rulings may be found in the *Daily State Register*, May 19, 20, 22.

ALEXANDER BROWN, HIS FAMILY AND FRIENDS.

The life of Alexander Brown, of whom an article by his life-long friend, Hon. Robert Sloan, appears elsewhere in this number of *The Annals*, is of the type most useful in the early

stages of the development of a community. The writer was a student under him, and later his law partner, and was brought up among influences of which his life was one of the strongest.

Hugh Brown, the father of Judge Brown, left Scotland and settled in Luzerne county, Pa. His oldest child, a daughter in her teens, remained in Scotland, as was intended temporarily. This temporary arrangement became permanent, and she never afterward saw her parents. She lived to a great age, and died, within two miles of the home of Robert Burns. She maintained an interest and love for her family in America through correspondence. The letters she exchanged with her brother, Judge Brown, whom she never saw, are a most interesting source of information on early emigration. From Pennsylvania, Hugh Brown brought his family to Keosauqua, Van Buren county, Iowa, in 1844. A daughter, Sarah, was married to James Johnston, their only child being the late Captain Benjamin Johnston, who died in the United States service as consul at Ceiba, Honduras. He had served as a Private in Company E, 15th Iowa Regiment Volunteer Infantry, and as First Lieutenant in Company G, 67th U. S. C. Infantry. In 1844 Hugh Brown and James Johnston established the first steam power mill at Keosauqua. It was erected upon ground the title to a part of which was in doubt. They took possession under a quit claim deed executed by ninety citizens of the town, with the understanding that as these were all the freeholders there, no one could possibly make adverse claim. The deed, dated July 21, 1844, now in the collections of the Historical Department of Iowa, bears the autograph signatures of John Fairman, James Hall, Edwin Manning, Meshach Sigler, and other proprietors of the town of Keosauqua, and of no less important men in the political and business world than Richard Humphrey, James B. Howell, Elisha Cutler, Jr., Henry Heffleman, James M. Shepherd, George G. Wright, Andrew J. Davis, Henry H. Barker, James Kinnersly, John McCrary and Charles Baldwin.

Upon this title, whose value lay perhaps in a moral support rather than on a legal foundation, there was launched an enterprise of large significance, to that place and in that day.

Here as a boy, Judge Brown acquired in mechanics that ingenuity which he exercised in accounts and in the management of men. And in the same enterprise, in different capacities, a training was given to his brother, James Brown, for a long time at the head of the state school for the blind at Vinton, and his brother, John G. Brown, the earliest bank cashier in Van Buren county, having at the time of his death served in the banking house of Edwin Manning almost from its inception. Another brother, Hugh G. Brown, who enlisted in Company E, Fifteenth Iowa Volunteers, was appointed Second Lieutenant, December 1, 1861; promoted to First Lieutenant, July 9, 1862; aid-de-camp with rank of Captain, August 28, 1863; Brevet Major, September 29, 1864; Brevet Lieutenant Colonel, March 31, 1865; and Major, April 26, 1898. After being mustered out of the volunteer service he entered the regular army as Lieutenant of the Eighteenth Infantry, was transferred first to the Thirty-sixth, then to the Twelfth Infantry. He was four times brevetted for gallant and meritorious service, served for a time in the compilation of the Rebellion Records, and, after service in the Spanish-American war in the Philippines, retired May 16, 1899, and died at Keosauqua, November 30, 1901.

A sister, Anna, was married to Dr. William Craig, and was the mother of Lieutenant Collin P. Craig, who graduated from the United States Naval Academy, and died while in the service with the rank of Lieutenant. Thus may be seen something of the wealth of blood contributed to an Iowa settlement by one Scotch emigrant. The above named members of the family, and many others, lie buried near to each other, the body of Benjamin Johnston only recently having been returned from Ceiba, and interred by the United States Government in the family burial plot.

Judge Brown's preparation for his life's work was made at a time and under conditions which have more than once been noted in the writings and speeches of pioneer Van Buren county men. In the main, it was in the school of the Rev. Daniel Lane, which flourished during and before the Civil War, and in which were enrolled George W. McCrary Secretary of the Interior; Felix T. Hughes, Railway President; Samuel M. Clark, Editor and Member of Congress; William W. Baldwin, Lawyer and Railway Official; Thomas S. Wright, Railway Attorney; Samuel Elbert, Governor of Colorado; E. K. Valentine, Member of Congress from Nebraska; Edwin O. Stannard, Member of Congress, founder and President of the St. Louis Board of Trade. These are merely the names of a few of the most widely known. There were scores of young men and women prepared by Mr. Lane for the professions and active business life.

Judge Brown held the favor of a remarkable number of men who were either in themselves or were by blood or affinity closely related to men of the first importance in Iowa matters, both military and civil.

Judge Sloan has noted the law firms of the Keosauqua bar. The writer draws from notes of conversations with Judge Brown for further facts. There was an interesting relationship of individuals of firms, and of firm with firm, both in the early and more recent times. George G. Wright, besides being a strong and able man, was the brother of Governor Joseph A. Wright of Indiana, who for a time lived at Keosauqua. Rachel, a sister of these brothers, was the wife of Charles Baldwin, of the firm of Wright & Baldwin, and the mother of a generation of strong men and women, of whom William W. Baldwin of Burlington, Iowa, is the eldest. The sons of Judge Wright have enjoyed the leadership of the bar in Iowa. Another sister of Judge Wright was the mother of two daughters who were married respectively to Hon. Joseph C. Knapp, and Hon. Henry Clay Caldwell, two members of the firm of Knapp, Caldwell & Wright. George F. Wright, of the firm was not a relative of George G. Wright, but was the son of a

half-brother of Joseph C. Knapp. Pursuing the matter further, we find the oldest son of George G. Wright, Thomas S. Wright, chief counsel of the C., R. I. & P. Ry. at the time of his death, and the oldest son of Charles Baldwin, William W. Baldwin, assistant to the president of the C., B. & Q. Ry. system at the present time. These two eminent sons of eminent parents married respectively a sister and a niece of the late Major General James M. Tuttle. All these individuals were born or resided in Van Buren county before or during the Civil War. Mere kinship and nothing else is lacking in the beautiful and deep friendship and esteem always interchanged among themselves by these people, and the family of Edwin Manning. Mr. Manning inclined but slightly toward public life. He was the wealthiest citizen in the State in 1860, and for thirty years thereafter. Domestic life and business shared equally his interest and reflected equally great credit upon him. His house was made even more open to the Wright relationship by reason of its presiding genius, Mrs. Manning, the adopted daughter of Governor Wright. She came to Keosauqua to be mother to Mr. Manning's children of a former marriage in 1842 with Sarah J. Sample of Keokuk, who died in 1857. Mrs. Manning and Mrs. Knapp now reside in the homesteads erected by their distinguished husbands. They are the two resident survivors of that interesting group of pioneers, the others being Judge Henry Clay Caldwell and his wife of Los Angeles.

Judge Brown was never without the complete confidence and esteem of this old group. He was at times in the confidential employ of Edwin Manning, and was always a confidant and advisor of John G. Brown, his brother, whose long service and fidelity was a most important factor in the success of Mr. Manning. In his marriage Judge Brown was allied with a family of equal interest, for his wife was a daughter of Thomas Rankin, an ideal gentleman of the age and school of Charles Baldwin. The mother of Mrs. Brown was a daughter of Chappell Bonner, an intimate friend of the pioneer preacher, Samuel Clark.

But in his own life Judge Brown exemplified the peculiar value of his type of citizen. Besides the offices and honors mentioned by Judge Sloan, he religiously attended to, and efficiently performed the duties of Mayor of Keosauqua for years, and was a member of the Board of School Trustees continuously for twenty-four years.

This man actually withheld the appearance of suffering from the world, and only his intimates knew he was without freedom from pain ever after receiving his wound at Corinth. With such fortitude, and a genius for selecting the humor in a situation, and for gauging the capacity of his auditor for receiving it, his personality was a prism through which affairs passed into the lives of all he touched, only in such quality and character as were inspiring.

PERMANENT MARKING OF HISTORIC SITES.

The Iowa Daughters of the American Revolution have under consideration extensive plans for marking Iowa Historic Sites. As yet their services in this respect have been rather as individual chapters, and without special regard for a general state-wide movement. The Historical Department has urged the society to assume responsibility for a general if not uniform method of determining and appropriately marking historic sites, and has advanced through correspondence and public addresses by the Curator some reasons therefor. Responses have been received which give promise that widespread and significant results may be expected during the next year. So much present benefit is derived from the agitation for funds, the gathering of evidence as to sites and importance of events and persons commemorated, in the actual erection and ceremonies connected therewith, and in the positive and permanent influences for good that reside in a visible monument, that we feel very amply warranted in sharing the labor and meeting some expense on the part of the Historical Department.

Two very notable contributions to the purpose of marking historic sites in this State have been made recently by individual chapters. On October 28th the Jean Espy Chapter erected Lone Chimney Monument on the site and commemorating the establishment of old Fort Madison. Deputy U. S. Attorney George B. Stewart made the address at the ceremony of unveiling. The monument is a reproduction of the stone chimney of the old fort, for years a famous landmark, and the tablet placed where the fireplace would be bears the following inscription:

ERECTED 1908
BY
JEAN ESPY CHAPTER,
DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.
ON SITE OF
OLD FORT MADISON,
BUILT 1808.
EVACUATED AND BURNED
BY GARRISON 1813.

Stars and Stripes Chapter at Burlington, on November 12th unveiled a beautiful tablet commemorating the use of Old Zion Church as the first capitol of Iowa. The bronze tablet attached to the wall of the Opera House which stands on the site of Old Zion Church, bears the following inscription:

THIS TABLET MARKS THE SITE OF
OLD ZION CHURCH, M. E.,
IN WHICH CONVENED THE FIRST LEGISLATURE
OF THE TERRITORY OF IOWA,
NOVEMBER 12, 1838.
ERECTED BY STARS AND STRIPES CHAPTER,
DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION,
NOVEMBER 12, 1910.

The program at the ceremony of unveiling consisted of an invocation by Dr. Eugene Allen, patriotic songs, an address of welcome by Mrs. H. C. Jordan, an address on "Old Zion Church" by Mr. J. L. Waite, an address on the Administration of Robert Lucas" by Mr. Edgar R. Harlan, the presentation of tablet by Mrs. G. A. Chilgren and acceptance by Mayor Cross on behalf of the city, and closing prayer by Rev. Naboth Osborne.

EARLY SUGGESTION FOR AN INEBRIATE ASYLUM.

The wisdom of maintaining at public expense a hospital for dipsomaniacs or inebriates is a subject now on the anvil of political discussion. The following letter written sometime in the month of September, 1863, will prove of interest.

Hon. I. M. Preston, Marion:

Sometime ago, you and I had some talk about our Lunatic Asylum, and I promised to put some ideas I then stated, in writing, and address them to you, which I now do, hoping that, in this way, the subject may be brought before the next session of the General Assembly either by the Linn County delegation or some other, and the matter looked to, and examined.

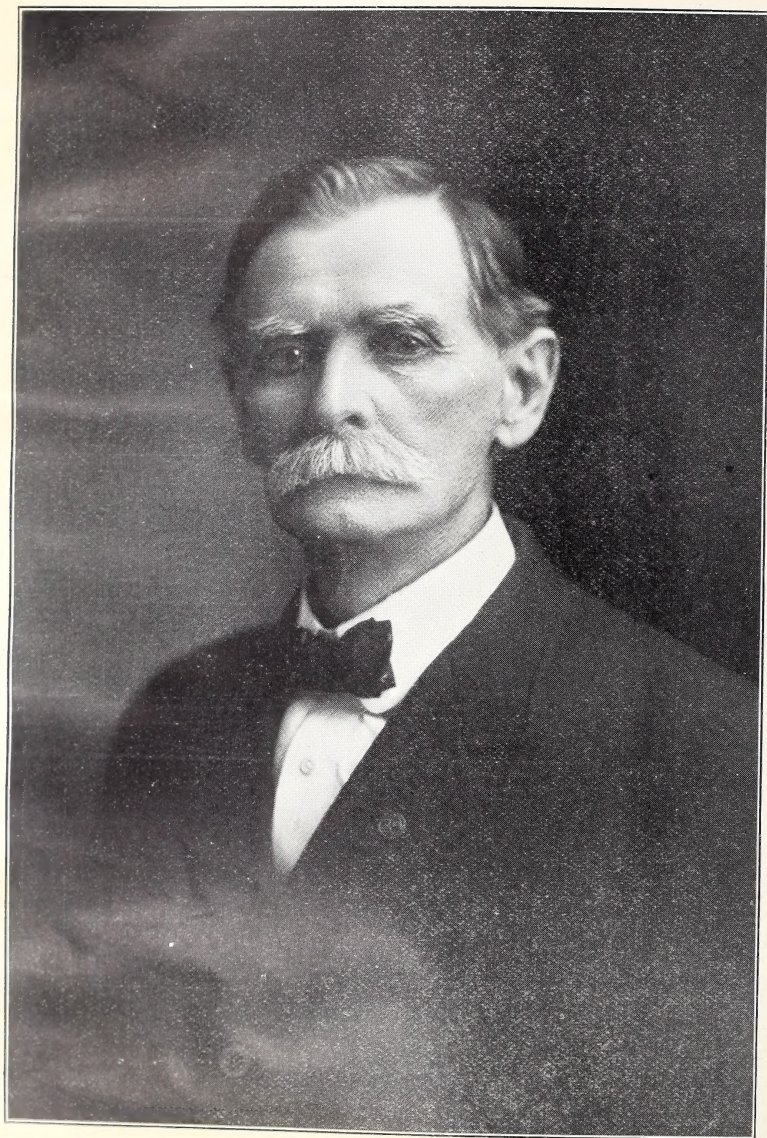
I believe that a man, who, being in all other respects clear in his intellect, has yet lost the power to resist the temptation of getting drunk, and becomes, in consequence, a periodical drunkard, is *insane*. He is no more master of his actions, while drinking, than a man insane from any other cause, and, even in his sober intervals, is not entirely master of himself.

But if such a man could be put under restraint from liquor for a sufficient time, he might acquire strength to abstain voluntarily; and if such restraint were possible under our law, some of the most brilliant men we have today, in the state, might be saved. You and I, and every man in every locality know instances of the kind to which I here allude. I believe that the state has a right to take custody of such men, on the complaint of their friends, and treat them for a time as insane; and I believe they, themselves, would be thankful for such treatment; because although they have lost all power of will to resist the opportunity of getting drunk, they are not blind to the destructive consequences.

If these ideas should be entertained, the State Lunatic Asylum, or a branch of it, might afford the necessary accommodations for a time. But an Inebriate Asylum, built somewhere in the center of the State is the thing to be ultimately looked to. A state takes rank as much from its charitable institutions as from its roads, or anything else. As to the expense, the State can bear it very well. You remember we were told in the sessions of 1855, that we should be ruined by appropriating so much for the Lunatic Asylum; but the State is not ruined yet, and has got an institution that is an honor to it. If you think as I do on this subject, try and turn public attention to it, and especially the attention of your county delegation to the next General Assembly. The more the subject is examined the stronger, I believe, will grow the conviction of the necessity of adopting some measure in the direction I am trying to point out.

W. W. Hamilton.

Cascade.



HARVEY REID.

NOTABLE DEATHS.

HARVEY REID was born in Argyle, Washington county, New York, March 30, 1842; he died at Maquoketa, Iowa, April 25, 1910. In 1844 his parents removed to Wisconsin. He received his education in the public schools of that state and at the University of Wisconsin. At seventeen he began teaching in the rural schools and alternated this with assisting his father as a merchandise clerk until 1862, when on August 7, he enlisted in Company A, Twenty-second Wisconsin Infantry. His regiment became a part of the Army of the Cumberland and with it Mr. Reid participated in the battles of Thompson Station and Brentwood. He was captured at Brentwood and confined in Libby prison for a month. After being discharged, he rejoined his command at Franklin, Tenn. His regiment, attached to the Twentieth Corps, was in Sherman's march to the sea, continued through the Carolinas and Virginia, and by way of Richmond to Washington, participating in the grand review. He received his discharge in July, 1865, and at once removed to Sabula, Iowa, where he entered the employ of the Iowa Packing Company as a book-keeper. He retained that position until January, 1886, when he was elected county treasurer of Jackson county, remaining in that office for two terms, then entering the general mercantile field in Maquoketa. It is not merely as a brave soldier, a faithful public servant or as a loyal citizen that Harvey Reid has been most admired or should be longest remembered. It is for that quality that urges men beyond the confines of mere duty into the fields of love of friend or country, there to note and record merit. Harvey Reid witnessed no act, discovered no event which, if it had worth, passed his attention without respect, and if it were not recorded, without his share of effort to write its record. He had no pride of opinion nor desire for notoriety. Long after his physical strength seemed insufficient, he persisted in his efforts to locate and identify names of Iowa men belonging on the rosters of the Mexican War, and other pioneer military organizations, and this early military history is to become a part of the *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers*, now in preparation. Mr. Reid was a contributor to *The Annals of Iowa*, and was the author of many narratives and historical sketches which have appeared in the "Annals of Jackson County," and elsewhere. His most important literary production was the life of Thomas Cox, published by the State Historical Society of Iowa, a review of which appeared in the April number of *The Annals*.

STEPHEN F. BALLIET was born at Ligonier, Pa., Nov. 10, 1837; he died at Tonopah, Nevada, April 24, 1910. When a boy he removed with his parents to Illinois. He was educated at Knox College, Galesburg, and later entered the old Chicago University, now Northwestern University, taking his degree in law in 1877. Shortly after he removed to Iowa and began practice at Nevada. He removed to Des Moines in 1883. In 1890 he was elected to the district bench of Polk county, serving one term.

MAJ. A. S. CARPER was born at Mt. Vernon, Ohio, Aug. 8, 1838; he died in Des Moines, Iowa, May 11, 1910. Maj. Carper was always interested in politics, casting his first vote for president for Abraham Lincoln in 1860. When the first call for troops was issued, he enlisted in the Sixteenth Illinois volunteer infantry. At the end of three months he enlisted in the Fiftieth Illinois regiment, serving with distinction throughout the war, and winning several promotions. He came to Iowa in 1881, locating in Waterloo. In 1885, when Frank D. Jackson was elected secretary of state, Maj. Carper was chosen as his deputy. For eleven years he was chairman of the Polk county soldiers' relief society, and for a number of years was associated with Isaac Brandt in the real estate business. In 1901 he was appointed to a position in the office of Governor Cummins, and later was employed in the archives department. Maj. Carper was esteemed and respected by all who knew him.

CHARLES ABIATHAR WHITE was born at North Dighton, Mass., January 26, 1826; he died at Washington, D. C., June 29, 1910. He removed to Iowa in 1839. He attended the public schools at his home in Massachusetts and in Burlington, Iowa, prior to his matriculation at Rush Medical College from which he graduated in 1863. In 1866 he became state geologist of Iowa, continuing until 1870, and for the years 1867 to 1873 he was professor of natural history at the State University of Iowa. In 1873 he became professor of natural history at Bowdoin College, remaining two years. During 1874 he became attached to the United States Geographical and Geological Survey west of the 100th meridian under Lieut. J. M. Wheeler, in the capacity of geologist and paleontologist. In the same capacity he was with the surveys of Major John W. Powell in 1875 and 1876, and Ferdinand V. Hayden up to 1879. He had charge of the paleontological collections of the U. S. National Museum from 1879 to 1882, and in 1881 acted as Chief of the Artesian Wells Commission under the auspices of the U. S. Agricultural Department. In 1882 he was connected with the U. S. Geological Survey, and in 1883 as paleontologist, had charge of the Mesozoic vertebrates. He attained unequalled reputation as authority in certain branches of fossil life. The degree of A. M. was conferred on him by Iowa College in 1866, and that of LL. D. by the State University of Iowa in 1893. He was the author of over two hundred papers on scientific subjects, including a Report on the Iowa Geological Survey, 1870; Report on Invertebrate Fossils and Surveys West of the 100th Meridian, 1875; Bibliography of North American Invertebrate Paleontology, 1878; Review of the New Marine Fossil Mollusca of North America, 1883; Review of the Fossil Ostreidae of North America, 1883; Contributions to the Paleontology of Brazil, 1887; the Relation of Biology to Geological Investigation, 1894. He was one of the earliest and staunchest friend of Mr. Charles Aldrich in his work of founding the Historical Department of Iowa, and his contributions of specimens, manuscripts and articles for publication, have formed a most valuable part of these collections. A more adequate sketch of the life of Dr. White will later appear in *The Annals*.

JOHN KINGSLEY MACOMBER was born in Northampton, Mass., Feb. 2, 1849; he died at Des Moines, Iowa, May 2, 1910. At the age of fourteen he removed with his father's family to Cass county, Iowa, and was engaged at that early age as an employe of a stage line

across Iowa. He was of a cultured and studious turn of mind, and secured an elementary education with very little assistance. He taught school between the age of fifteen and twenty, and with funds thus earned attended the State Agricultural College at Ames, graduating therefrom in 1872. He then went to Cornell University, where he took a course in law, and later attended the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, securing a most liberal education before he became attached to the faculty of the college at Ames as professor of mathematics. This work he continued for five years. He then removed to Des Moines and engaged in the practice of law. He was soon elected city attorney, and some of the litigation which he instituted and successfully prosecuted has been of permanent value to the city and State. A similar capacity for effective work was exemplified in his administration of the office of county attorney of Polk county. He was a strong candidate before the Polk county primaries for judge of the district court at the time of his death.

GEORGE HENRY WILLIAMS was born in Columbia county, New York, March 23, 1823; he died at Portland, Ore., April 4, 1910. He was educated at Pompey College, Onondaga county, New York, admitted to the bar in 1844, and removed to Ft. Madison, Iowa, soon thereafter. He soon formed a partnership with Daniel F. Miller, at that time prominent among the lawyers of Iowa territory. He was elected judge in the first Iowa district in 1847, serving until 1852. In the latter year he was democratic presidential elector and canvassed Iowa for Franklin Pierce in 1852. After his election President Pierce appointed Mr. Williams chief justice of the territory of Oregon. He was re-appointed to the office by President Buchanan, but declined. He was a member of the convention that framed the constitution of Oregon in 1858, and was chairman of the judiciary committee of that body; he was elected U. S. senator from Oregon as a union republican, serving from 1865 to 1871. He was a member of the Joint High Commission in 1871 which arranged the treaty at Washington for the adjustment of differences between Great Britain and the United States, growing out of the Alabama claims. He was Attorney-General of the United States from 1871 to 1875, and was nominated by President Grant as Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court in 1874, but his name was withdrawn. He was in the continuous practice of the law at Portland, Ore., after 1875. He served as mayor of Portland from 1902 to 1905, was president of the Business Girls Aid Society and of the Pattion Home for the Aged.

THOMAS MILTON FEE was born at Feesburg, Brown county, Ohio, April 18, 1839; he died at Centerville, Iowa, April 13, 1910. He was educated in the common schools of his native State and in the Academy at Perry, Ill. He removed with his family to Pike county, Illinois, in 1847. After finishing his education he became a teacher, his first experience being at Shibley's Point, Mo., in 1858. About this time he removed to Ottumwa, Iowa, where he became principal of schools. He took up the study of law in the office of Col. Samuel W. Summers, of Ottumwa, and was admitted to the bar in 1862. In May of that year he entered the practice of his pro-

fession at Centerville, continuing his residence and profession there the remainder of his life. In August, 1862, he enlisted in Company G, Thirty-sixth Iowa Infantry. He was chosen captain, receiving his commission from Governor Kirkwood October 4, 1862. He was captured with the entire brigade, of which his company was a part, at the battle of Mark's Mills, and for ten months was a prisoner at Tyler, Texas. He was exchanged in March, 1865; for a time was assistant inspector-general on the staff of Gen. Shaler, and also inspector-general of the Seventh Army Corps, commanded by Gen. J. J. Reynolds. He was mustered out at Duval's Bluffs, Ark., August 24, 1865. He was elected district attorney of the Second Iowa judicial district in 1874, and at the end of his service received the nomination of the Republican party for judge in the same district, but was defeated. In 1894 he was again nominated and elected, continuing on the bench until January 1, 1902, when he voluntarily retired. He was a prominent Mason, a member of the I. O. O. F., the Elks, the G. A. R. and the Loyal Legion.

LEWIS O. BLISS was born at Union Springs, Cayuga county, New York, July 29, 1826; he died at Iowa Falls, Iowa, April 21, 1910. He removed to Sheffield, Ohio, in 1834, and was educated at Kingsville Academy. He taught school for three years in Ohio and Kentucky, then engaged in the mercantile business in Ashtabula, Ohio. In 1854 he removed to Grant county, Wisconsin, where he engaged in business, but shortly afterward removed to Elliot, Minn., remaining until 1864, when he removed to Iowa Falls, Iowa. He established a mercantile business in Iowa Falls with William Wilde as his partner, continuing this partnership for many years. He was a member of the House of Representatives from Hardin county in the Fourteenth General Assembly.

JERRY M. WILSON was born near Canaan, Ind., July 16, 1842; he was killed by lightning near Winterset, Iowa, June 25, 1910. When he was about two years of age his parents removed to Adair county, Iowa, and established one of its earliest home circles. In 1862 he enlisted in Company I, 4th Iowa Cavalry, and served until the close of the war. With his regiment he participated in the siege of Vicksburg. In 1852 he removed to Union township, Adair county, to land upon which he resided for fifty-eight years and until his death. He was a strong, active citizen, serving as a member of the board of supervisors for a number of years and as chairman of that body when the Madison county court house was built in 1891. He was elected to the House of the Iowa Legislature in 1899, serving one term and refusing to be a candidate for a second nomination. At the time of his death he was president of the organization whose plan it is to build an electric traction line from Creston to Des Moines.

DAVID STEWART was born in Huntingdon county, Pa., March 24, 1830; he died at North Liberty, Jackson county, Iowa, June 10, 1910. He received a common school education and engaged with his father in the operation of a woolen mill at his native place, until 1852, when he began to read medicine in Pine Grove, Center

county, Pa., attending at the same time the Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia. He later studied and received a degree at Ann Arbor, Mich., in 1855. He began the practice at Colerain Forge, Pa., but removed to Pontiac, Ill., in 1857, thence to Jackson county, Iowa, in 1860. He served as captain of Company E, 28th Iowa Infantry, and was promoted to the rank of regimental surgeon. He served as army surgeon for one year, and retired on account of ill health, being mustered out in July, 1863. He was for over forty years one of the prominent practitioners in his county and was a leader in every form of activity. He was especially prominent in the councils of the Republican party, being elected by that party to the state Legislature, serving in the House of the 13th General Assembly. He was a candidate again in 1892 and was defeated.

JOHN A. KASSON was born at Charlotte, Vt., Jan. 11, 1822; he died in Washington, D. C., May 19, 1910. He was graduated from the University of Vermont in 1842; studied law and was admitted to the bar in Massachusetts in 1845; removed to St. Louis and engaged in the practice of law until 1857, when he became a citizen of Des Moines, Iowa. He was chairman of the Republican state central committee from 1858 to 1860 inclusive, and a delegate to the national Republican convention in Chicago which first nominated Lincoln for President. He was First Assistant Postmaster-General from 1861 to 1862. He was Commissioner on the part of the United States to the International Postal Congress in Paris in 1863, and again in 1867, when he negotiated postal conventions with Great Britain and other nations. He was elected to Congress from the 5th Iowa district, serving from 1863 to 1867. He was a member of the Iowa House of Representatives from 1868 to 1873, and from December 1, 1873, to March 3, 1877, he again served as a member of Congress. After declining a mission to Spain, he served as United States Minister to Austria from 1877 to 1881, and having been again elected to Congress, took his seat March 4, 1881, remaining until his appointment as Minister to Germany, July 4, 1884. He was president of the committee on the centennial celebration of the adoption of the constitution, held at Philadelphia in 1877; U. S. Commissioner to the Congo International Conference in 1885; Special Envoy to the Samoan International Conference in 1893; Special Commissioner Plenipotentiary to negotiate reciprocity treaties in 1897-1901; member of the American-Canadian Joint High Commission in 1898; President Columbia Historical Society; member National Geographical Society; member American Association for the Advancement of Science and of Washington Academy of Sciences. He was the author of "The Evolution of the United States Constitution" and "History of the Monroe Doctrine." He was one of the earliest and remained one of the most valuable assistants, advisers and donors of the Historical Department of Iowa, delivering the memorable oration at the laying of the cornerstone of the Historical Building, and presenting to the collection his commissions, much of his correspondence and many other valuable objects. A more extended biographical sketch will later be published in THE ANNALS, and in accordance with a plan formulated between Mr. Kasson and the late Mr. Charles Aldrich, founder and curator of the Historical Department, an adequate biography will in future be prepared under the direction of the Department.

WILLIAM P. WHIPPLE was born December 26, 1856, in Benton county, Iowa; he died at Vinton, in the same county, June 6, 1910. His parents entered the land upon which he was born, and from it he attended the common schools and the high school at Vinton. He graduated from the classical department of the State University in 1877, and from the law department in 1878. In August, 1878, he opened a law office in Vinton, associating with various partners until the time of his death. In 1879 he was elected city attorney, serving for many years. He was also for many years a member of the school board of Vinton, and most of the time was its president. In 1901 he was elected state Senator from the Benton-Tama district, being re-elected in 1906. He served in the 29th, 30th, 31st, 32d, 32d special and 33d General Assemblies. He assumed leadership in the second session of his service, when he introduced a resolution authorizing the appointment of an educational commission looking to the reorganization of the management of the State University at Iowa City, the Iowa College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts at Ames, and the State Normal School at Cedar Falls. Out of the labors of this commission, of which Senator Whipple was chairman, came the present Iowa law and the Educational Board of Control under which the three institutions are now managed. This law, drafted by Senator Whipple, was defeated when first presented. He introduced it in the next session, somewhat changed in form, but it was again defeated. Not until its introduction in three different sessions was he able to secure its passage. This most important reform in the educational field of Iowa for a generation is a monument to Senator Whipple.

WILLIAM H. BAILEY was born in Colesburg, Iowa, April 5, 1850; he died in Des Moines, Iowa, May 10, 1910. He attended the University of Wisconsin and the University of Iowa, graduating from the latter in 1875. He entered the law practice at Independence, Iowa, as a partner of ex-Governor Frank D. Jackson. He was in the practice at Spirit Lake for ten years, removing to Des Moines in 1888. He served as city solicitor of North Des Moines, then a separate corporation from Des Moines. He became a member of the firm of Guernsey & Bailey, with Nathaniel T. Guernsey as senior partner, in 1895. At the time of his death he was senior member of the firm of Bailey & Stipp. Mr. Bailey distinguished himself in his attainment as an authority in the law of municipal corporations.

HOWARD DARLINGTON COPELAND was born at Marion, Ohio, August 19, 1853; he died at Chariton, Iowa, May 3, 1910. He was of a family of bankers. He was educated at the Ohio Wesleyan University. He removed to Chariton in 1873 to engage in the banking business with his uncles, Percy and Elijah Copeland, and remained in that business for nine years, when he became state bank examiner. In 1893 he founded the commission house of H. D. Copeland & Co., at the Union Stockyards in Chicago, serving as its president from its organization until his death. He organized the Burlington Savings Bank in 1904, serving as its president until 1906. He

became the president of the Chariton National Bank in 1907 and vice-president of the First National Bank of Rochester, Ind. He was one of the promoters of the fraternal organization of the Homesteaders, and its supreme treasurer. He was a member of the Republican state central committee for some time.

JOHN HOPWOOD MICKEY was born on a farm in Des Moines county, Iowa, September 30, 1845; he died at Osceola, Neb., June 2, 1910. He received his early education at home and in the common schools of Iowa. In August, 1863, he enlisted as a private in Company D, 8th Iowa Cavalry; was advanced to corporal and served on the field in the forces of Sherman from Chattanooga to Atlanta. After the war he entered the high school at Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, and was later a student in the Iowa Wesleyan University. After spending some two years as a tenant on a Des Moines county farm, he removed to Polk county, Neb., to land for which the Government issued him its first homestead certificate from the land office at Lincoln. He served in the Nebraska Legislature and as officer in a number of business and financial institutions. He was elected Governor of Nebraska in 1902, and again in 1904.

JAMES K. MCGAVREN was born in Hardin county, Ohio, Dec. 19, 1846; he died at Monrovia, Cal., April 20, 1910. He came, with his parents, to Pottawattamie county, Iowa, in 1850. He received his education in the common schools and at Tabor College. He later studied law and was admitted to the bar in Harrison county in 1869. In the fall of the same year he removed to Seward, Neb., and became one of the first settlers of that town. After a residence of three and a half years in Nebraska, he removed to Missouri Valley, Iowa. He dropped the practice of the law and took up the loan and real estate business, in addition to his farm work. He served as mayor of Missouri Valley, as supervisor of Harrison county, and as county auditor. In 1889 he was elected to the Iowa House of Representatives, serving in the 23d General Assembly. Politically Mr. McGavren was always a Democrat. He was a member of the Odd Fellows' lodge of Missouri Valley, being one of its earliest members.

JOSEPH G. HUTCHISON was born in Northumberland county, Pa., September 11, 1840; he died at Ottumwa, Iowa, April 9, 1910. His father's ancestors were Scotch and those of his mother Irish. He graduated from the Williamsport Dickinson Seminary in 1862, entered the Union army August 10, 1862, as first lieutenant in the 131st Pennsylvania volunteer infantry, participating in the battles of Fredericksburg, Antietam and Chancellorsville. In the Gettysburg campaign he took part as Captain of Company I, 28th Pennsylvania volunteer infantry, mustered under a special call of President Lincoln to repel the Confederate invasion. He received special mention for bravery at the battle of Mary's Hill at the battle of Fredericksburg. After the war he resumed his course in the Cleveland law school, graduating in the spring of 1865, coming almost at once to Ottumwa, Iowa, when he entered into partnership for

the practice of law with Hon. E. H. Stiles. He remained in the practice until 1872, when he assisted in the organization of a number of very important enterprises which advanced the city of Ottumwa to the forefront as a western manufacturing center. He resumed the practice in 1875. In 1879 he was elected to the House and in 1881 to the Senate of the state Legislature, being re-elected to the Senate in 1884. He was a member of the ways and means and judiciary committees. The system of registration for elections was one of the best of his many good measures. He was nominated for Governor by the Republican state convention in 1889, being defeated at the election by Horace Boies. He promoted and for seven years served as president of the Ottumwa National Bank. In 1891 he established a wholesale grocery business bearing his name and retained its management while he lived. He was president of the Ottumwa Law and Order League. He was alert, courageous and most effective in his enterprises for the good of his community, and carried a state-wide reputation for honesty, integrity and nobility of character.

THOMAS W. HARRISON was born in Waukesha county, Wis., March 7, 1842; he died at Topeka, Kansas, May 21, 1910. He was educated in the common and high schools of Wisconsin and at the University of Michigan. He enlisted in the 10th Wisconsin volunteer infantry in May, 1861, and with his regiment participated in the battles of Perryville, Stone River, Chickamauga, and the engagements about Atlanta. At Chickamauga he was captured Sept. 20, 1863, and for ten months confined in Confederate prisons, being removed from one to another. On June 29, 1864, when on the way from the prison at Columbia to Andersonville, he made his escape by cutting through the bottom of the freight car in which he was being transported, and after traveling through the enemy's country, reached Sherman's army between Chattanooga and Atlanta. He continued in the army until August, 1865, receiving a commission as lieutenant-colonel for meritorious service. After the war Col. Harrison attended the law department of the University of Michigan, graduating in 1869. Upon his admission to the bar, he removed to Independence, Iowa, where he practiced for a short time, thence in 1870, to Emmetsburg. He served as county surveyor in 1871, and held a number of minor public offices. He did much to foster horticultural and agricultural enterprises in Palo Alto county. In 1883 he was elected a member of the lower house of the 20th General Assembly. Failing health in 1887 caused his removal to Topeka, Kansas, where he afterward resided. He was a writer on agricultural subjects and was an active member of fraternal societies, being a 33d degree Mason, and a member of the G. A. R., and of the Sons of the American Revolution.

DR. SALTER MEMORIAL

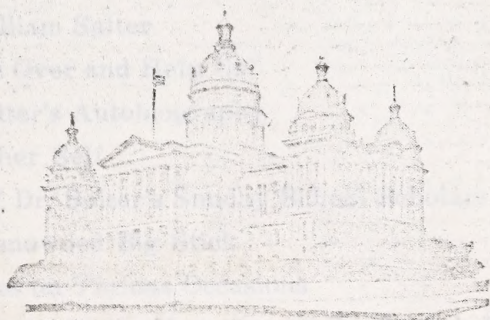
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JANUARY, 1911.

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DR. SALTER

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Dr. William Bates

"Come Over and See"

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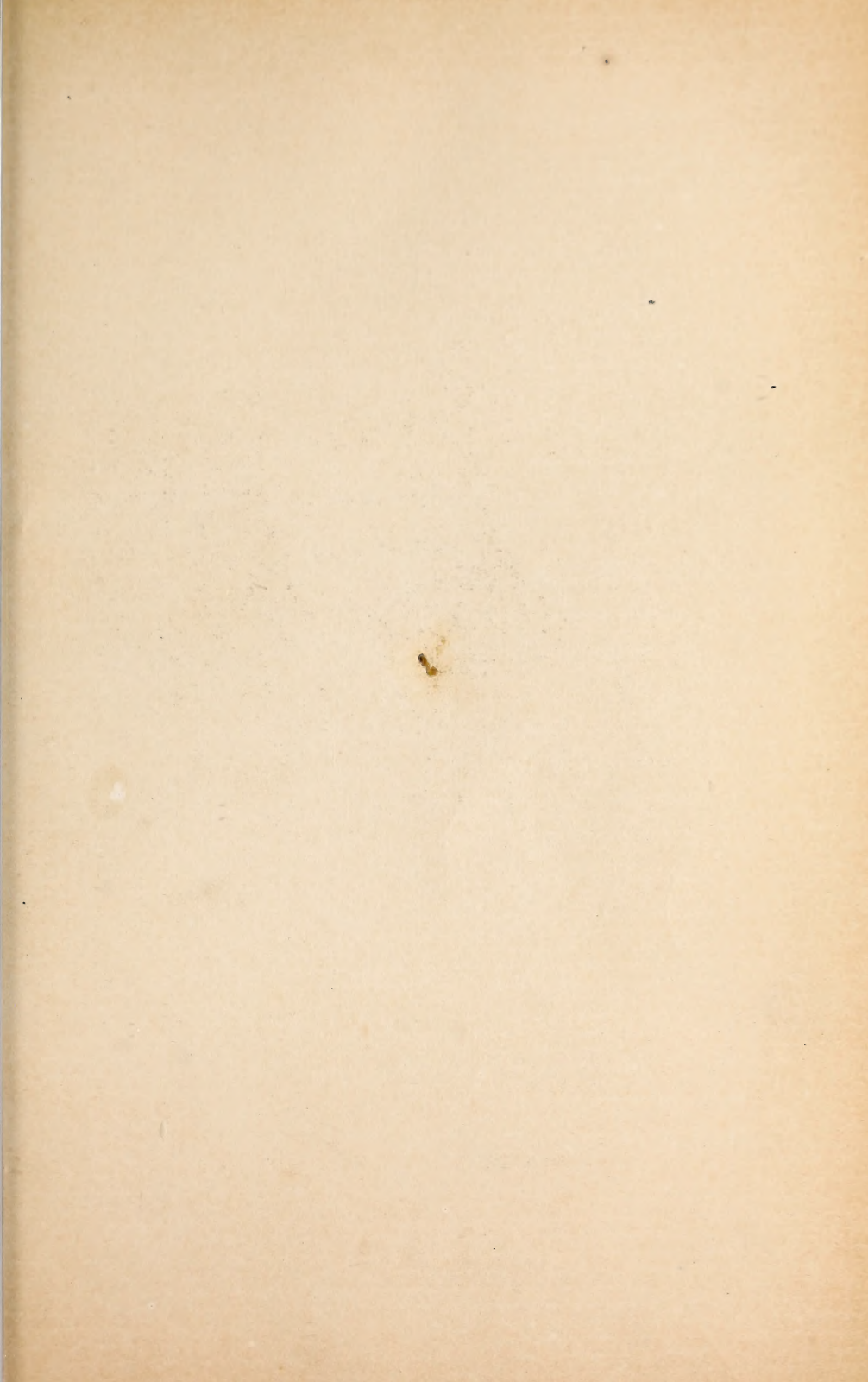
At the End

Dr. William Bates, F.R.S.

Mary A. Bates, F.R.S.

Home of William Bates, F.R.S.

Mary A. Bates





William Salter

REV. WM. SALTER D.D.

Dr. William Salter

In Memoriam

ANNALS OF IOWA.

VOL. IX, No. 8. DES MOINES, JANUARY, 1911.

3D SERIES

DR. WILLIAM SALTER.

BY REV. JAMES L. HILL, D. D., SALEM, MASS.

In every sphere there is one, outranking all others of its class; one Napoleon, one Shakespeare, one law of gravitation, one Washington, one Grant, one Iowa Band, and, as Oliver Wendell Holmes would say, one Last Leaf. I have looked with reverence upon the solitary venerable man whose life Heaven so graciously lengthened out as to leave him the last of the pioneers and founders of Congregationalism in Iowa. Abounding sympathy and imagination are required to place a reader in the environment and among the events of his early life. When he was born, Adams, Jefferson, and other fathers of the Republic had years to live. Lafayette was nowhere near his end. Webster, Clay, and Calhoun had struggles yet to make. Napoleon lived a part of the year in which Dr. Salter was born.

In the career and works of the venerable pastor of Burlington, we have an open book on early Iowa. His life is a long chapter in the genesis of the State. No attempt is made to disassociate him from his part in laying the foundation of a Puritan Commonwealth on the sunset side of the Mississippi, nor from his strong alliance with his associates whose joint work is not matched by anything in the entire annals of the universal church. No one can present Washington apart from his army and the struggle for independence. The effect of any man's life work, his individual success, his influence and power, depend more upon that with which he identifies himself than upon any other single condition whatsoever. Call it greatness, call it fortune, call it providence, the fact remains that Dr. Salter first made his alliances and they together helped make the State, whose history cannot now be written without placing his name on her page of honor.

By the necessities of the case Dr. Salter must be viewed in his representative character. In an encomium given him in October, 1910, at the National Council of the Congregational Churches of the United States, the highest deliberative body in that denomination, he was eulogized as a devoted minister and leader, "the last of the noble Iowa Band." With the earliest dawn of memory, such sentiment and regard for him and his associates were inculcated in me as a child. They seemed in a class by themselves, of peculiar lineage, different, almost like beings from another world. They would scarcely have been more remarkable to my youthful imagination if a circlet of light had been about their heads. That aureole they have never outlived. If prophets from heaven had appeared in my boyhood they would not have been looked over more carefully. More than is true of most mortals, "people have not waited until after their death to anoint them with appreciation." "Their bodies are buried in peace, but their name liveth evermore." I catch that solemn song. I echo that lofty strain of funeral triumph. "Their name liveth evermore." In their main purpose, and in the fruition of their lives, they came close to the ideal. In our wide land, who has surpassed them? What a bundle of history their career binds up!

Dr. Salter's life arches over everything that lies between the rudest beginnings in a territory where still were seen the plain footprints of the savage, and a peerless State having over 2,000,000 people within her borders, with 13,000 school houses valued at \$25,000,000, over 4,000 houses of worship, more than 9,000 miles of railway, and more banks than any other State in the Union. It is not uncommon to see in flaring headlines in papers this caption, "Lost on errors." This means wild pitching, misjudged objects, attempts made foolishly, brilliant games marred by one glaring mistake. But in Dr. William Salter's life there was no false step nor sounding of the wrong note. "In all of my thirty years' residence here," said Mr. LaMonte Cowles, "I have never heard one disparaging word spoken of Dr. Salter. All united in calling him a model Christian gentleman. He was one of the very few men in public life of whom there was but one opinion. He was not only a

very able man but he was a good man." "There never was a citizen," said Judge J. C. Power, "who left his impression so indelibly stamped on Burlington as Dr. Salter." Mr. C. C. Clark affirms, "Dr. Salter came close to the ideal in his test of real, genuine manhood, and his sunny, unspoiled, and optimistic life will always be an inspiration." "During his long life in this community," testifies the Burlington Gazette, "he became its most beloved and revered member. There was none so beyond the pale of decency as to lift up his voice against the Congregational minister."

Such a life is its own eulogy. It uplifts us to hold such a veneration. We feel its ennobling power. It is to many a new view of the clergy. We know what pictures we look up to in the stained glass windows of the churches. In Plymouth Church, in Brooklyn, N. Y., where once in the days of his sore trial, Henry Ward Beecher preached in the morning and Dr. Salter in the evening, there is a window setting forth the life and work of the Iowa Band, the overflow of New England, the founding of the Christian college. What a radiance envelops the scene! What a nimbus of light crowns every head! These men carried the traditions and ideals of the Pilgrims to a wilderness where they erected a superlative State. We feel that as Washington was ordained for his work and as God had prepared Lincoln for the critical place he filled in a crisis, so Salter was prepared for great length of days and for his pastorate of sixty-four years by his itinerant work. In that work he received the baptism of the Home Missionary spirit. Here in my library is an entire alcove filled with printed references to the phenomenal work of the Iowa Band, of which Dr. Salter was the youngest member. Grace P. Davis devotes to them a striking chapter in her Congregational Hero Tales. "As an incentive to missionary zeal" the pastor of the church at Nashua, Iowa, publishes an address on the Iowa Band, delivered by a daughter of one of its members before the Ladies' Missionary Society of that church. We have assembled here uncounted reports of missionary addresses where its labors are recited for inspirational effect. It is probable that individual secretaries and other Christian work-

ers can be named that have each referred in public to its work at least a hundred times. More than half of those who composed the membership of this notable band have left to me their accumulations, made through two generations, of historical references to their fruitful and suggestive mission, and I believe it is demonstrated that in giving just the right initiative, at just the right time, in just the right place, the work of Dr. Salter and his associates is without an equal in its outcome in the Protestant history of mankind. I believe that a careful study of Home Missionary undertakings in the entire annals of the church justifies this assertion. It is a crowning achievement. In my mail today is an extended report from the "Montana Band." And what is their model by their own open statement? It is the work of Dr. Salter and his associates.

In settling a place, character often counts more than money. The formative period is the briefest that occurs in history. The secret of stamping any impress on the newer portion of the country is in the keeping of the first permanent settlers who become by that fact historic. On Dr. Salter's coming, Iowa was in the alpha of development. The natural resources of the State predestined it for a great future. He came not to find a place for himself but to make one. The final test of a ministry is its quality. "I cannot play on any stringed instrument," said Themistocles, "but I can tell you how from a small village to make a great and glorious city." So could Dr. Salter. He was Burlington's first citizen. Aside from those who serve or have served in political office, he was the first private citizen of Iowa. A vote of thanks was once passed by a Roman Senate to a certain prominent man and public servant because he did not despair of the city. So Dr. Salter's faith in the most trying hours was like the arbutus in our northern woods, blooming and fragrant in the chilly atmosphere of a tardy spring.

If you would see his monument, look around. There is Burlington. Mark Iowa itself. His influence lay in what he was himself. His power was felt in every matter that concerned the good of the community. His character had the proper poise, the native dignity, the self respect, which, with

a certain solidity in his attainments were altogether unique in their combination. He was always on the right side of every public question. He served often upon public committees to which had been assigned difficult duties. It was not only what he did but the way he did it that made him distinguished among his fellow citizens. Had he been a weaker man, we might look to find mysteries about his character and career. As it is, everything is plain, straightforward, substantial. He went west and entered upon a career projected by nothing except inherent energy and high resolve. Who will take up the suspended service? I here venture to say that no one man can do it; but if one could, he would be surprised to find how much of his labor was for the good of others. Dr. Salter's life is a complete fresh volume on the evidences of Christianity. His fine personal appearance, his well-rounded, distinguished head, his intelligence and attention made him a marked man anywhere. On his death, I happened to meet the editor of our leading denominational paper, who spoke warmly of his handsome appearance, of his affable, companionable nature, and of his pleasing address. What a guest he was! What a friend! On such points I want to be heard. One of the last acts was to direct to me, with trembling hand, some memorabilia concerning his first work in Iowa. He followed this with a short, beautiful letter, and knowing that the sands of his life were spent he added, feebly, the single word, "Adieu." His character was an achievement. His career contains an earnest lesson to young men. His whole life would lend itself to treatment in a volume upon Success and One of Its Achievers. One chapter would deal with falling to work while young. He did not wait until his best years were gone before he closed in upon his task. Education will some way have to be readjusted so that a man can begin his special lifework before so many of his years are behind him.

In a close analysis of the career of Dr. Salter it is revealed that while many men do not undertake professional life until twenty-six or twenty-seven years of age, he was only twenty-one when on September 3, 1843, he received his instructions in the South Church at Andover. He was

only twenty-one when he made his address in the First Presbyterian Church at Buffalo. He was only twenty-one when he was ordained and preached his first sermons in Iowa. When but twenty-one years of age, he had made a beginning on ground visited today by the curious, who desire to know of the log house where he wrote his first sermons and the kitchen which was of necessity his small study.

Another thing set out in the life of Dr. Salter is the desirability of having a vocation and an avocation. By the first of these, a man earns a livelihood; by the second he refreshes, rejuvenates his mind, extends his influence, and often gains earthly immortality. Dr. Salter's vocation was the ministry; his avocation was history. No man was more diligent in his vocation, and no man better used his avocation to reinforce his vocation and extend its scope, its attractiveness, its power. His studies in history are apparent in all his addresses. They attracted attendants to his church and gave permanence and value to his writings. His sermons are not evangelistic nor hortatory. They are instructive and cultural. In his later ministry he was not so much taken up with the supernatural as he was with the spiritual. His famous sermon on "The Human Hand," while it is unique, is still characteristic, as it is always fair to illustrate by an extreme case. "When a man reveals his character and intention we say 'He shows his hand.' To give sense and meaning to a letter, to make your check valid or your last will and testament, you sign with your hand. The training of the hand is the chief part of education. Whoever has a winning and skillful hand and will use it for his own benefit, or for that of others, may come to his own advantage and to the advancement of the world. If one does good or bad, it is usually the hand that does it and makes him worthy of credit or blame. Without a guilty hand, crimes would be comparatively few. Deadly weapons would do no murder nor the intoxicating cup have a victim. How many trades are plied with the fingers! The spinner, the weaver, the compositor, the player upon instruments, the writer with his pen or with a machine, the artist with his brush, or the sculptor with his chisel, performs the finest movements with

rapidity and precision by means of the fingers. Observe also the padding or cushion attached to the palm of the hand and to the finger tips to help in the ease, comfort, and safety of work. 'Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord, and who shall stand in His holy place? He that hath clean hands.' Upon the death of Abraham Lincoln a cast was made of his strong and massive hand and reproduced in marble by the sculptor Volk. A fine poet said:

'Look on this cast, and know the hand
That bore a nation in its hold;
From this mute witness understand
What Lincoln was—how large of mold.' "

No one could forget a sermon like this. Its value is no more transient than its effect. The same characteristic pervades his sermon on Melancthon, on the Bible, on James, the Lord's Brother, on the Spirit of the Christ, and on Bishop Butler. When a boy, I heard this last address. The imprint on my memory is ineffaceable, and here is the reason that I class Dr. Salter as an educator. In his ministry, he was for nearly two generations a teacher. No one could attend his services without being instructed. There were public men, public school teachers, college graduates, and highly intellectual people in his congregation, and he set for himself a task to lead their thought. He openly stated on going to Burlington that he preferred that field, as it gave him a chance and was in harmony with his inclination to lead a scholar's life. He was by far the most bookish man among his associates. He was even willing to relinquish certain appointments and honors and forms of ecclesiastical office, if they displaced study, overturned his literary habits, and exiled him from his library. His writing was of a character that required great research. This is true of all work in the realm of history. A man must dig for his facts. He must be exact. He must have infinite patience. I have known Dr. Salter when in Salem to spend a day in verifying a single statement in one of his treatises on history. Most ministers know what it is to write a sermon at a single sitting. Many a clergyman writes a homily that is an

exhortation just as you would write a letter. But look at those topics named above! They are the prevailing type of Dr. Salter's ministry, and it will be plainly seen that they could not be produced by a little hurried work on Sunday morning or between the services on Sunday afternoon.

I can name no other clergyman that makes such infrequent use of anecdotes for illustration as did Dr. Salter. Religious stories can be acquired like second-hand windows and doors, which are put sometimes into cheap buildings. The demand for these illustrations is such that on visiting the book stores in Boston and London, a man can buy a shelf, perhaps even an alcove, of them. A borrowed illustration in one of Dr. Salter's discourses would have appeared grotesque. The New England mind if left to itself conjectures that preachers on the frontier were loud. Not so. Dr. Salter was gentle, well-mannered, ruling his tongue, and showing invariable refinement. Here was his power. This is the reason that he stood as an exemplar in the new territory. His style of rhetoric resembled that of Antony who said, "I am no orator as Brutus is. I only speak right on." But I like that kind of address best if Antony speaks as well as Shakespeare makes him speak. There is now no style of oratory that is distinctly "Western." If there were, Dr. Salter would not exemplify it. We know what his first sermon in the West was after his ordination. It had the quality of nicety. It was fine, choice. He might have preached it the next Sunday to divinity students in Cambridge, and he could not have chosen better. In 1843 the people of the West greatly preferred an educated ministry, but they must have religious teachers of some kind, and so sometimes were forced to put men into the ministry in six months or a year after their conversion. But the Missionary Society that was behind Dr. Salter in his beginnings determined to advance no farther or faster than it could go with the guidance of men who had been specially trained for their work. It stood for an educated ministry and undertook the responsibility of furnishing it for that territory for which Jefferson had paid three and a half cents an acre. The words used by the City Council of Burlington when it came to take action on Dr. Salter's death are

suggestive. "He has taught good morals and sound principles." "His teaching" is referred to again in the short paragraph, showing that politicians, men of affairs, who knew Dr. Salter as a citizen almost unconsciously used words that made him prominent as an educator.

In early days help could not be obtained, and many parents needed for home duties the assistance of their sons and daughters. Then boys and girls, with so many positions and wants about them, fell out of the ranks as scholars at the end of the grammar school; and as the high school was the privilege of some and not of all, there were many good people who felt that, as the higher education was enjoyed relatively by few, it should be paid for by those who were directly benefited by it. Now that the high school is accepted as a regular institution in every community, there are many of our younger citizens who do not know what battles were fought and heroic efforts made to secure this crown offered now by every town and city. Dr. Salter from the first was the champion of the high school. He was determined, patient, forceful, and tactful. He molded public opinion. He held up the ideal. He rallied the forces. He carried the day. It was at the time a great achievement. No man can take his crown. The effect on citizenship in the State is beyond computation. He was a member of the school board when both the North Hill and the South Hill schools were erected. In the 50's he and the rector of the Episcopal church arranged the grades in the public schools. On November 13, 1908, he laid the corner-stone of the new \$150,000 high school as he had laid that of the first high school forty years before. It has been accepted as a fact that it was his influence and suggestion that inclined Senator James W. Grimes in 1868 to found by a gift of \$5,000 the Burlington Library. Dr. Salter, Senator Grimes, Henry W. Starr, Dr. W. B. Chamberlain, Dr. Philip Harvey, and others effected its incorporation. When it passed from a subscription library into a larger life by being transferred to the city in 1885, Dr. Salter became a trustee. He served for a number of years as president of the board of trustees, resigning only when forced to do so by the weight of years. Himself a lover of books, he

fostered the library until it became the third largest in the State. He knew books and for many years almost every volume passed through his hands. As President Lowell of Harvard College has pointed out, a library is something more than an aggregation of printed matter in covers. It is a collection of books plus the personality, the taste, and the judgment of the man that assembles them. To choose a library is the consummate work of scholarship. The library in Burlington, because of his taste and breadth, has character and value, and includes the finest and best things that exist in our literature. In the resolution of esteem in the record of the annual session of July, 1908, the trustees say, "This co-worker of ours was eminently fitted for the position of public trust; his knowledge in all matters concerning library administration, his profound literary attainments, his productive genius, all qualified him most admirably to render the best services to the cause of free education as represented by the public library. Among the liberal donors to the good and standard literary treasures, he is second to none. His many gifts are and always will be of the highest value. We would suggest that the Mayor of the city of Burlington be asked to appoint Dr. Salter an honorary member for life of the Board of Trustees of the Burlington Free Public Library, in consideration of his merits, for the cause of free education and the public welfare."

As Mr. A. C. Hutchinson has pointed out, "Dr. Salter was always bigger than his own church. His mental equipment was of the highest order." His influence and his abiding interest were manifest in all the things that made for the good of the city and the State. His work as an educator is perpetuated in three strong, important, dominating institutions of sound learning that are winning their ever-widening way. It will be seen in these pages that he was one of the secretaries at the meeting in 1854 that founded the beloved and vital Chicago Theological Seminary. Another institution, Denmark Academy, perpetuates his influence and fame. The people of Denmark, Iowa, have led almost an idyllic life. The place from the first has taken a leading part in improving the minds of the young. It has done much for the youth of that section of the

State, and the reflex effect on the community has been benign in the extreme. The place has a special atmosphere and spirit. It is clean, temperate, moral, wholesome. In an early day its tide turned irresistibly toward education. Dr. Salter was a chief factor in founding its famous academy, which has become the mother of good citizens, teachers, ministers, missionaries, and reformers. To say that he was a trustee does not necessarily carry a tithe of the truth. He was an adviser, a helper, a staunch and devoted friend. Then there is Iowa College at Grinnell. In October, 1910, the first issue was made of any publication distinctively representing Grinnell College in which it could be said that all those who laid its foundations were no more. Unclasp the book of memory. Call the roll of the pioneers, Turner, Reed, Emerson, Holbrook, Gaylord. These are familiar sounds, but the men are gone, all gone. Summon the members of the Iowa Band. Not one is left to respond for Dr. Salter and his associates. For many months Dr. Salter alone remained of all the Congregational patriarchs in Iowa, to behold the rapid unfolding of his work with that of others in church and college. Imagination pictures a day when those who have composed the Grand Army of the Republic will be reduced to a solitary survivor, to witness the development of the great country which he, with others, sacrificed to save. It is a striking fact that at only the 1910 commencement of Grinnell College Dr. Salter stood alone in the world, having outlasted all who were associated with him in laying the foundations of that noble institution. His name appears in all the catalogues for the first sixteen years. Opening his papers almost at random, we are carried back sixty-four years and find the first president of the college, as things developed, in close and full correspondence with him. Later, the man who became president enumerates to Dr. Salter six items of business for consideration, naming, "second, Removal of the College. We have been injured grossly by the City Council (atavenport). We cannot be secure from the dismemberment of our ground. I am for removing to Grinnell or Muscatine." It is very pleasant to notice which place was his first choice.

It is written that when the representative of the evil forces of the world, Satan, appeared to Martin Luther in his cell, he threw his ink bottle at him. So Dr. Salter became famous by the use he made of ink in overcoming evil and establishing the right. Evidences appear in all his writings that he felt, on reaching Iowa, when immigrants were crossing the river by thousands, that the times were so stirring they must be momentous in the country's annals and that history was being made with wondrous rapidity. His mental attitude and his rule were, "File your papers; these are historic days; future generations will want to know what men now do and think and say." He kept a diary which is priceless. We find the cost of everything. He left a minute record touching the field and environment of all his ten associates, most of whom he visited as they were making beginnings in 1844.

It is a general truth that a man is not allowed to be a leader and an authority in two successive generations. The period for which most persons may keep at the head of things in the world of thought and action is very brief. Here Dr. Salter proved to be a conspicuous exception. Most of his books are a growth. He did not say, "Go to, I'll be an author." It is his most striking characteristic that everything is matured before it is stated. His thinking is steady and strong. He had uncommon force of mind. He was a man of great industry. He kept his work right before him all the time. His work was so finished that it could be used in print, and it found its way there by way of the pulpit or of some conspicuous public occasion. His "Iowa, The First Free State in the Louisiana Purchase," began with an address June, 1873, at the anniversary of the State Historical Society. Other studies followed, but this admirable history, interesting, compact, graphically written, and inspiring, did not see the light until after he was more than fourscore. At length he enables his readers to reach a sightly place and to survey the field and its labors in the beginnings of this Puritan State. The story needed telling. It is exceptionally well done. The style at many points resembles that of Mr. Bancroft. The volume comprises the best of everything. The whole book is written on such a plane

that when a citation is made from some learned and gifted author no abrupt change is made in the general level of the composition.

In his biography of James W. Grimes, we do not see what could be added to make it more complete. We would not suffer it to be shorter; it need not be longer; and we do not wish it different. It seems not to relate all that his subject ever did or said, but with the smallest array of facts possible reveals the real spirit and innermost quality of the life. A master can choose essentials and omit details, but he must be a master. Dr. Salter's work stands one test, that of being quoted. It is much consulted in the libraries in the various towns by the pupils in the schools. An ingenious New Englander, some years since, compiled a list of 1,000 names that have risen above mediocrity—names of persons, whose lives anyone assuming to be acquainted with American history might know something about without consulting an encyclopedia. In this table of a thousand names, Iowa is credited with but two, and it was the good fortune of Dr. Salter to be the biographer of one of them, James W. Grimes. Grimes uttered in the U. S. Senate in 1866, this striking sentence—"I have lived in three different territories, under three territorial governments, although I have resided in the same town (Burlington) all the time." Teachers often refer to this statement in their efforts to interest their pupils in historical research, and Dr. Salter's book is in much demand in their study of the speaker. They find that during the Revolution, Iowa was Spanish soil. In 1801 she had passed to Napoleon and the French. In 1803, as a part of the Louisiana Purchase, she came under American control. Later, from 1812 to 1821, she was joined to Missouri as a part of Missouri Territory. In 1834 Michigan claimed her as part of the Territory of that name, and two years later, in 1836, she was a corner of Wisconsin. It was not until 1838 that Iowa ceased to be a part of something and came into the possession of a name and identity all her own. A study like that quickens in many young minds a worthy desire to peruse the more prosaic pages of our heavier history. A charm pervades all

the pages of Dr. Salter's book and lingers in the mind after it is at length reluctantly laid down.

In printing many of Dr. Salter's writings, the bookmaker's art is handsomely exemplified. From among his publications we separate no one masterpiece. I have read them all,—some of them several times, and, whichever one it is, I always say I like best the one that I read last. The secret of his work is first in the plain narrative itself. He is a strong word-painter. Second, by leaving out multitudinous details, the picture comes out so vividly as to be surprising even to students of history. Third, more local color is given to the author's descriptions than most other authors can use. Fourth, he always tried to infer what use could be made of a fact before he put it down. It was not enough for him to know that a thing was simply true. His inquiry was, "Well, what of it?" This bent of mind was shown when Mr. Edgar R. Harlan, Curator of the Historical Department of Iowa, took up with him the advisability of placing a marker at the burial place of Black Hawk. Dr. Salter vigorously inveighed against anything which would tend to perpetuate the name, or by any possibility give credit to the fame, of an Indian who was a cold-blooded murderer of infants and women, and the wounded and helpless in battle. And when the founder of the Historical Department, the late Charles Aldrich, proposed the acquisition of the portrait of Abner Kneeland for the Historical Department, Dr. Salter was strenuous in his resistance to the apotheosis of the free thinker, against whom he had delivered some of his first and best blows on Iowa soil.

Dr. Salter gained power as an author because he specialized on history and biography. In each department in which he wrought he printed only such work as stands easily first.

"COME OVER AND HELP US."

At the age of twenty-one, Dr. Salter received what he repeatedly termed a divine call, obedience to which brought him to Iowa. This he affirms was in a letter from Asa Turner which, as I write, I hold in my left hand. It is, by interpreta-

tion of godly men, especially when viewed in its effects, a sacred and it now appears almost a holy thing. It is like a chapter of the Book of Acts. To Iowa this letter is at length to go, to be preserved as an object of veneration. Those who know its import will find few things surpassing it as a suggestive letter, touching the moral, educational, and spiritual development of a great State. Dr. Ephraim Adams held that Asa Turner was the instrument under God of bringing into a new territory at one time the largest accession of men from one place that the country had ever known; and that no field now remains for a repetition of that unequalled enterprise.

Asa Turner, who is the father of Congregationalism in Iowa, preached the first sermon ever delivered by a Congregationalist in this territory. A little colony of good men had been established at Denmark with the distinct purpose of extending the kingdom of Christ and of founding an academy. They invited him to come over from Quincy, Illinois, where he had founded a church of fifteen members. Rev. David Nelson, author of the "Cause and Cure of Infidelity," and the hymn "My Days are Gliding Swiftly By," which, as we shall see, is to have, as a hymn, a career of its own in Iowa, had helped him. Asa Turner recognized in this a divine call and obeyed. He crossed the Mississippi, and gave for the first years of his ministry at Denmark one-half of his time to his church and the other half to the American Home Missionary Society as its agent for Iowa. He was enabled by personal exploration to catalogue twelve needy and important fields that required missionary labors. "Twelve, then," he wrote, "is the least number that will supply this territory in any tolerable degree; and my firm belief is, that if the churches of the East love the cause of Zion and the prosperity of our common country, and men cannot be obtained from other sources, those now well settled in New England had better leave their flocks and come and aid in laying the moral and intellectual foundations of this (will-be) great state." "I count myself happy," said Dr. Salter, "that this trumpet-call for Iowa, and for the founding of the kingdom of Christ in Iowa, reverberated a thousand miles afar among the hills of Andover, a

heavenly voice, and started one and another in that school of the prophets to say: 'Here am I; send me!'

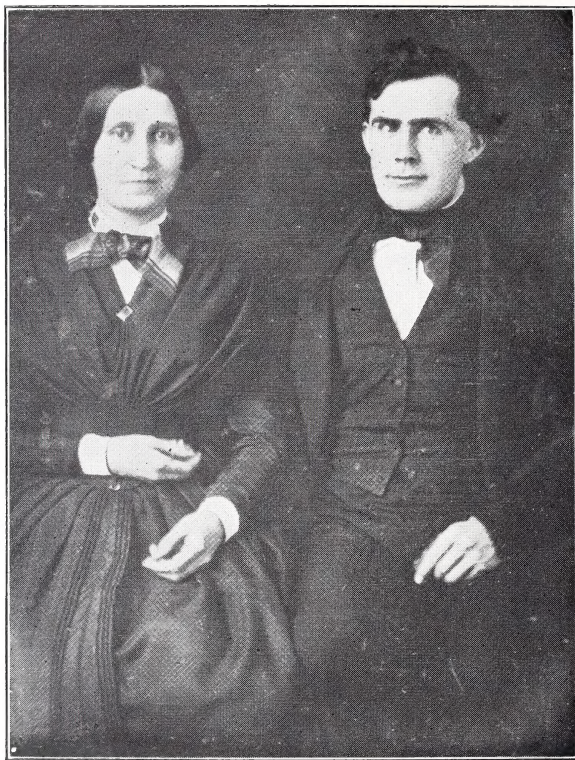
One of Dr. Salter's classmates, the lamented Dr. Daniel Lane, the assistant librarian of the seminary, was the first to decide to go. The library then became a sort of rallying point. For fear of fire, as there was so much paper about, the use of lights was, by rule, forbidden in the library. The young men who were thinking of Iowa met in the dark "up stairs, first alcove to the left," where some chairs had been made ready for any who might come. Undistinguishable forms would quietly glide into position in this meeting, and the new attendants could only be identified as they asked a question or led in audible prayer. In those primitive days summer vacations were unknown. They graduated September 5, 1843. The exercises were held in the South Church in Andover, which was filled in every part. A song was composed for the occasion with words suggestive of their field, the prairie where hardly a fence had been built or a furrow turned.

"Where through broad lands of green and gold,
The Western rivers roll their waves,
Before another year is told,
We find our homes; perhaps, our graves."

They received their instructions from the Home Missionary Society in the South Church in Andover, September 3d.* And it is a most phenomenal fact that, while they all came to Iowa, yet after leaving New England they were never again assembled at any time in one place. Nine of them by agreement met in Buffalo on Saturday the seventh of October, 1843.

Hill and Ripley came along in the spring of 1844. The former was detained for the winter in settling the estate of his father. The latter, the best classical scholar in the company, who became the first professor in the college that they founded, tarried a few months for special study. They took the train for Buffalo, the last real Eastern city. That was then the end of railway travel westward. From Schenectady the

*The men from Andover in the order of their ages were, Harvey Adams, Edwin B. Turner, Daniel Lane, Erastus Ripley, James J. Hill, Benjamin A. Spaulding, Alden B. Robbins, Horace Hutchinson, Ephraim Adams, Ebenezer Alden, and William Salter. They were from six different States and eight colleges.



MARY A. MACKINTIRE AND WILLIAM SALTER, 1845
(From a daguerreotype)

road had a snake-head track, that is, an iron strap spiked on to a wooden rail. On Sunday, in an hour of great privilege, they sat together in communion at the Lord's table with the first Presbyterian church. A rousing public meeting was held in the evening, and five of the young men were introduced and made brief addresses,—Salter, Robbins, E. Adams, Hutchinson, and Lane. The Buffalo Gazette, October 10, 1843, says:

"We cannot refrain from saying that we have seldom seen so many men banded together in an enterprise, who seemed to possess such sterling good sense, and humble, quiet characters, coupled with firmness and decision, as did these young men."

There is an Eastern spirit and a Western spirit, and to this point we will have occasion later to return. In Dr. Salter's day at Andover it is found that he walked not one day with a certain member of his class, and the next day with another, and so on through the company. That was not the Eastern custom. There was a general friendship and a genuine feeling of respect for all his associates, but the Eastern habit of the time was for men in their afternoon walk to Sunset Hill to go by pairs; not merely as friends, but as friends in particular, as rather constant chums. Thus it will be seen throughout their early association, that Dr. Salter and Rev. E. B. Turner were close companions by confirmed choice in an election of the heart. They were sometimes called David and Jonathan, and often referred to as Damon and Pythias, and the close intimacy was extremely creditable to both. By common consent it was simply assumed that they must go to the same place for entertainment in Buffalo. In all matters of the heart, Dr. Salter was immune. His Padan-aram was Charlestown, Massachusetts. It will be noted that in hospitality particular courtesy fell to Salter and Turner. They were invited into the home of the pastor himself, where Turner entirely lost his heart to Miss Brush, a member of Mr. Hopkins's household, a lady of bright spirits and winning ways. From that face he could never look away. "Whither thou goest, I will go, where thou lodgest, I will lodge, where thou diest, I will die,

and there will I be buried. Thy people shall be my people, and thy God, my God. The Lord do so to me and more also, if aught but death part thee and me." As Oliver Wendell Holmes would say, basing his figure upon the well-worn paths of Boston Common, they took the long walk together, and went hand in hand for fifty years, lacking but eleven days.

From Buffalo the good boat, the Missouri, was taken for Chicago, and as another Sunday drew on apace it happened that an opportunity was given to go ashore, and keep the sacred day after the best traditions of New England. But with a new-found Western spirit, they decided to go on, and upon that "day, of all the week the best," received a terrific rocking which made them in their distress wish that they had been true to their consciences. Chicago was a low, marshy, malarial, uninviting place. It had not a mile of railway, though in Dr. Salter's last visit to the city beside the lakes, there were forty thousand miles of railway track polished by busy traffic and nearly two thousand passenger trains sweeping in and out every day. Five years before Chicago had a single Congregational church, these men had founded more than a score in Iowa. The city lay straggling along the river front, mostly of frame houses and store-buildings. Here Dr. Salter and his companions met two farmers who had brought wheat to Chicago in lumber wagons from central Illinois. Arrangements were made for passage in these canvas-covered prairie schooners. Rough boards were placed across the wagon-box for seats and in the body of the wagon were placed their trunks, books, and other impedimenta. The next Sunday was passed at Galesburg, where they had the same experience as at Buffalo of finding their hotel bills paid. Forty miles per day had been their average rate of travel. Three weeks had been consumed in a journey now luxuriously done in thirty-six hours. On Monday morning the journey was resumed, and at night the dark silent stream of the Mississippi was at their feet. The ferry boat of that day had made its final trip and could not be induced by shouts and signals to return to the Illinois shore. Notice how the company now divides. Salter volunteers to abide by the stuff, while the others cross, in a

shapeless canoe, which they loaded to the water's edge. If Salter stays behind with the "plunder," as they call it, who would be inclined to stay with him? Of course, his unfailing chum, the inevitable Turner.

The exclusiveness of this friendship, as we have shown, is not invidious; it is a finer thing. It is simply Eastern, and in the atmosphere of the time would be understood and expected. There were other congenial pairs among these men. Robbins and Hutchinson: Robbins named his son, now living at Eugene, Oregon, Horace Hutchinson Robbins. Lane and Hill, who taught school together, were another pair. That school I have visited while engaged in collecting materials upon the life and works of Dr. Salter and his associates. Salter and Turner went together to their field of labor, Salter being located first in Jackson county, then at Burlington. He left Turner in a position where he turned to Holbrook, of Dubuque, for sympathy. Holbrook, on becoming secretary of the Home Missionary Society of New York, induced Turner to return to New York State, where he found his wife and located at Owego.

Salter and Turner passed the night in a rude chalet which they found standing among the trees. They built a fire, and the two guardians of all the property of the Iowa Band fell asleep.

On the morning of Tuesday, October 24, 1843, William Salter first looked across the Father of Waters and saw the future scene of his immortal labors, the Burlington which he was to make, and which was to make him, bathed in the golden light of the rising sun. Along the river front stretched a row of wooden warehouses. Back of them rose the rocky hills clad in autumn glory. There was natural, rugged beauty, which the city does not now possess. Not a church spire was to be seen for, although "Old Zion" had been used for legislative, political, educational, and religious purposes, no spire yet pointed toward the sky. Dr. Salter said the sight of that mighty, silently-flowing stream impressed him more deeply than did the great roaring Niagara. When a man's heart is

lifted up there is no other such suggestive scene as a majestic river, always arriving, always departing. The cities of great beauty are situated upon rivers. Paris has the Seine, London the Thames, Rome the Tiber, Cologne the German Rhine. The matchless stream which laves the water front of Burlington and which, with its tributaries, would reach three times around the globe, was to have a great place in the hearts of these noble men. Who can forget the way it seems to depart from its course to visit Muscatine, and the appearance of the great bend as seen from the window of the study Dr. Robbins occupied so many years?. To the surprise of the men of Burlington, Dr. Salter early built his house upon the south hill in that city that he might look across the great river and be charmed with the extended panorama.

The five men who had crossed the river on the night of Monday, October 23d, found their way to a small second-class hotel called the Western House. It was the best hostelry the place afforded and was conducted by James Nealley. It was situated on the southwest corner of Fourth and Jefferson streets, later the site of the Lawrence House. The proprietor told them that all his apartments were taken, and that the best he could promise was to hang them on a nail.

We are now at the Mayflower period in the Pilgrim history of a territory which the maps of those days show extended northward to the British possessions. A bigger tonnage fraught with higher destinies is being transported than has ever before touched the thither shore of the King of Rivers. The living freight brought to a wilderness, "laws, freedom, truth, and faith in God."

"Not as the conqueror comes,
They, the true-hearted, came;
Not with the roll of stirring drums,
Nor the trumpet that sings of fame."

The first man to extend a welcome to Salter and Turner was Mr. James G. Edwards, founder and editor of the Hawk-Eye. He had heard of their arrival the night before. He came down to the boat on that Tuesday morning wearing a

broad-brimmed hat of gray color, with a hearty invitation to all the young men to accompany him to his house. Such an invitation was not long debated by those who had passed the night in the scant shelter of the rude shack, and they followed their generous entertainer to his home, then situated at the northwest corner of Main and Court streets, on the site of the present county jail.

Among other early and well-known citizens who extended the hand of welcome to the strangers, were William H. Starr, formerly known to Dr. Salter in the East, and Albert S. Shackford, a dry goods merchant, whom also he had known as a boy in New Hampshire. Mr. Starr dwelt in a frame house on the southwest corner of Fourth and Washington streets, where what is known as the Starr house now stands.

Where Mr. Edwards stowed all the young men away when night came again is incomprehensible. But Dr. Salter states his distinct remembrance is that he himself slept with one or two others in a trundle-bed. The next morning a little incident gave rise to some good-natured pleasantry which probably had in it quite as much tender home feeling as boyish joke. Then, as always since, Dr. Salter was blessed with an aptitude for deep and sweet repose. He did not make his appearance as promptly as the rest at the early morning meal. Upon inquiry for Salter, the youngest of the party, some one explained, "Oh, he's in his little trundle-bed, waiting for his mother to come and wake him." Who can say that thoughts of the mother in the faraway East did not fill the dreams of the young soldier of the cross? But such was the innocent badinage which bound the enthusiastic young students closer together.

As Dr. Robbins had already been ordained in the Tabernacle Church at Salem, Massachusetts, his birthplace, he returned to Burlington to supply the church on that notable Sabbath, November 5, 1843, when the others were ordained at Denmark, and first and last became very familiar with the Western House at Burlington. When he was spending six weeks as the guest of the writer in Salem, notes were taken of his narratives touching his early experi-

ences, for just such use as this. He speaks in surprise and at length of the abundance of everything in Burlington, the largest place in the Territory, and not large at that. He thought there were two bushels of eggs on and about the hotel table, and he leaves a written statement that they could be bought there for 2 1-2 and 3 cents a dozen. He said they were handled and served like clams at a Rhode Island clam-bake.

The ordination of these young men was to come off at Denmark, fifteen miles away. The young men were set apart not by an ecclesiastical council as is the custom, nor by the General Association of Iowa, but by the Denmark Association. Teams from thence had been sent by the dear, good Father Turner to convey them thither. This David Livingstone of home missionaries beyond the great river welcomed them with open arms. The people, having heard that a company of young ministers were to be ordained, came in their rude conveyances from all the surrounding country and packed the rough schoolhouse meeting-house to its capacity.

This building later became the shrine of pilgrim feet. The men ordained there looked back to it as did Pilgrim to the House Beautiful, although, at the time of the ordination, a panel from the front door of the lowly edifice had been kicked out. This House of Prayer had been built with great effort by the colonists. It was twenty-five feet wide and twenty-four feet long. Subsequently sixteen feet were added to its length. It was unpainted, covered with split oak boards four feet long which were smoothed with a drawing knife. The floor was loose, the wall unplastered. The pulpit was made of perpendicular cottonwood boards, two in front and one on each side, with one black walnut board nailed across the top. The whole complete could not have cost a dollar. This gives a limelight picture of the cradle of Congregationalism in Iowa.

The Denmark Church represented all the States in New England except Rhode Island, which State was represented in the congregation. Rev. Julius A. Reed, who was to give to Iowa twenty-five years of conspicuous service as Home Missionary Superintendent, preached the ordination sermon. It

came not from his library, but out of his experience on the prairies. He traveled with a white horse and a chaise with an exceedingly high top. Sometimes at night, when Mr. Reed reached his destination, the horse with the exception of a white ridge along his back was black from floundering in the sloughs which intersected the unbridged roads. But the man whose heart was moved was Asa Turner. He had invited them and was instrumental in their coming. So many who had planned for the Western field had been diverted into Wisconsin and Illinois that he told them plainly he had not expected to see this day. His spirit and utterance were like that of Simeon. As he made the ordination prayer the tears coursed down his cheeks and fell to the floor. The audience was melted by what they heard and felt and saw. Through more than sixty-five years no one was likely to refer to that service without naming the part contributed by Father Turner. Such a contingent had never before, at one time, and together, reached any western State or territory, and such a day had never occurred before in the Christian history of this country. It was like the arrival of Blucher at just the right psychological moment. Such an event was impossible earlier on account of the Indians, not yet out of the State, and for the further reason that the Christian scouts, sometimes called the Sacred Seven, Turner, Reed, Gaylord, Hitchcock, Holbrook, Emerson, and Burnham, had only lately been able to name possible points at which the young missionaries should begin work. There is no half Providence. The doors for the first time were opened on the one hand, and on the other hand, for the first time, the young men were here to enter them.

It was at Denmark that we have the opening act in the tragedy of Rev. W. A. Thompson. It will be remembered that William B. Hammond did not appear at Buffalo, so that the number of the Band was reduced to eleven. Now, by a strange providence, W. A. Thompson, who came to Iowa about the same time, was ordained at Denmark with them, making their number eight. He labored in Davis county and in other places. One of the most striking and mysterious events in the history of these young men was the drowning

of Thompson in Meredosia slough in Illinois. He mysteriously disappeared, his body floated for weeks, reaching Muscatine at just the time of the meeting there of the State Association of ministers. It was recognized by two of his earlier associates, who chanced to be out for a walk along the Mississippi. The very persons who were ordained with him were present, took the body to its burial, held a religious service, and provided a slab suggestive of the sad story.

A man from Davis county came to Denmark with a long schooner wagon to get a minister and had settled in his own mind upon Robbins and his wife as his choice. Robbins used to say that he never wondered that the man liked Mrs. Robbins, but the appointments being talked over, Turner and the few who had preceded the Band to Iowa, withdrew from the conference and it was voted that Robbins should go to Bloomington, now Muscatine. On Saturday he returned to Burlington as before stated, not waiting for the Sunday service, in order to supply the church to which Salter was to give his life. Robbins preached in a long building over a store. On one end of a primitive bench, supporting his back by the wall, was the young lawyer James W. Grimes, who became politically, as he himself says, the foster-son of Asa Turner. He subsequently acquired much wealth and attained to many honors.

On Monday, November 6, Alden, Salter, and Turner returned to Burlington, and at eight o'clock in the evening, together with Mr. and Mrs. Robbins, took the steamboat, the New Brazil, up the river. The next morning about seven o'clock, having come to the great turn in the majestic stream, they hove in sight of the high, scraggy bluffs under which nestled the little town of Bloomington. The chilly November winds made the barren bluffs look still more desolate to the young couple who were to make this their future home. No one appeared at the landing to receive them. The sensitive nature of Dr. Robbins never recovered from the sensation of having no warmth of welcome. The contrast with Burlington made the event seem more chilling. As the boat

approached the place they looked in vain for the least sign of a church, and the bell of the boat, which rang to remind the passengers that her stay was short, they were told, "sounds tenfold more like your 'church-going bell' at home than any you will hear for years to come." There are those whose eyes have filled with tears at the sound of an unusually large bell on a new boat engaged in the river trade because of its suggestion of things at home. It is the "ranz des vaches" to the Swiss soldier.

Let us roll the curtain of time back for two generations, and, as the new expression is, try to orient ourselves. No one of these men had a call to his field. Robbins was sent to Muscatine by a vote of the brethren at Denmark, and not by an invitation from the place. Spaulding says distinctly that he had no call, except from above. He saw the burning bush, heard the voice, and did what he believed to be the bidding. They shut the door to wealth and ease, and, like the Pilgrim fathers, devoted their years to laying the foundation of a Christian commonwealth. In a field so new no one could make complaint, as in the East, of being hampered and hindered with outworn traditions and antecedents. Every man's originality and formative genius could be given full play, as everything must be created. Alden also landed at Muscatine, hoping he could catch a ride in some "chance" wagon sixty miles to Solon, his designated field.

The Bloomington Herald of November 10th, 1843, contained the following: "*Notice.*—The Rev. Mr. Robbins, Congregationalist, will preach at the court house on Sunday next at half past 10 A. M." Meetings were held in the court house until December 7, when the same publication informed the public that "Rev. Mr. Robbins will preach in the new brick building opposite Smalley's blacksmith shop." The place on this account became historic. "On motion, resolved that Rev. A. B. Robbins be invited to officiate as pastor of the church for the present." "December 31st, 1845, on motion of Bro. H. Q. Jennison, Resolved that we invite Bro. A. B. Robbins to remain another year as our pastor, and that we on our part

raise for his support \$150, and that the Home Missionary Society be invited to contribute \$250."

When the others had landed whom do we find still aboard? The twins, Salter and Turner, yokefellows as before, go thirty miles farther up the river and land at Davenport. Here they found one of the "Sacred Seven," Rev. A. B. Hitchcock, just moving into a small house and beginning his labors. It was to become the site of Iowa College, which was to spring from the joint labors of all. From this place to their appointed stations Salter must go sixty miles and Turner ninety. Their only earlier sight of such an expanse of wilderness was the boundless and almost uninhabited prairies which they crossed in Illinois. They had no conveyance. They were facing, as President Cleveland in substance said, not a theory but a predicament. Mr. Hitchcock's brother, seeing their dilemma, came to their rescue and offered to take them in a lumber wagon part of the way. At night they reached the log-dwelling of Rev. Oliver Emerson, the great evangelistic, extemporaneous, eloquent preacher, then living in Clinton county. With his characteristic cordiality, he welcomed them to his heart and house. Here was one of the double log-cabins with two rooms about ten feet apart and an open space between them having the earth for a floor. In this open space was a flight of stairs leading to the loft. One roof extended over the whole and a sod chimney graced each end of the building. The logs were not hewed but laid up in their native covering of bark. The openings between the logs were "chinked" with strips of wood spread with mortar, made pretty much of mud. The floor of the loft was loosely laid with crooked basswood boards, not so close as to prevent the free circulation of air. These also formed the ceiling of the lower room.

The pioneer missionary provided for their further journey the only conveyance that could be obtained among his people, a long wagon having a box somewhat in the shape of a skiff. It was a raw and dreary November day, and the chill winds had full play upon the defenseless voyagers. They crossed the wild and boundless plain with the courage of St. Paul when he passed over into Macedonia. Once there came a sud-

den halt. It was caused by a break in the harness. From a pocket filled with strings the driver gave Salter and Turner their first lesson in harness mending. Soon they came to a small branch of the Wapsipinicon. They had poled across the main river on a flatboat the day before. Going into the stream the driver jumped upon the board that had answered for his seat, and directed Salter and Turner to do the same. When the team attempted to ascend to dry ground on the opposite bank, the wheels of the wagon went to the hubs in the soft mud.

They did not reach McCloy's mill until dark, and to their dismay found no accommodation for the night. Hence they continued to wind their way in the dark along the banks of the mill creek, in one place fording it when they could not see from one bank to the other. At ten o'clock, they reached Mr. Shaw's. This was their destination, and Mrs. Shaw insisted upon getting them a warm supper. As the house was a small log building and one room answered for kitchen, parlor, dining room and bed room, and as there were children, beside Mr. and Mrs. Shaw, there was question about a dormitory. But with a blanket Mrs. Shaw soon partitioned off an apartment. Here Salter and Turner slept the sleep of the just arrived.

The next day being Saturday, the two ministers spent the forenoon in pastoral calls at the Forks, afterwards named Springfield, now Maquoketa. In the afternoon, Salter rode to the home of Rowland Cotton, son of Deacon Samuel Cotton. On the Sabbath, he preached in the upper story of the log courthouse at Andrew. He delivered his first sermon as an ordained minister from a desk where sentence of death had been pronounced in the first judicial trial for murder in the Territory of Iowa. Before the execution of the sentence the prisoner was brought into the courthouse in chains. He cried out in anguish, "Oh, what would I give to restore to life the man I killed." Many a manly cheek was wet with tears.

At the close of Dr. Salter's service, a warm-hearted brother, a justice of the peace, greeted him, saying that in this new country he welcomed with open arms all preachers "no matter what their tenements are."

Turner preached at the Forks in a log schoolhouse, the only place where a room could be found. It had one low story, twelve by fourteen, with a half window on each side of the room and the door so low that he had to stoop to get in. He found about thirty-five hearers, seated on benches made from the slab logs, and a small stand and Windsor chair for his pulpit.*

My plan has been to exhibit Dr. Salter in his close relations with his associates and to follow them in their united journeys and appointments and experiences as long as I could well keep them together. Now that separation is inevitable I should like to portray Iowa as they found it, and then turn abruptly, and by a few strokes, suggest what the State became before they had all left it. We shall presently glance at two or three of them in their homes, chiefly availing ourselves of Dr. Salter's eyes. We shall glance over the New Purchase, as the narrow strip along the river was then called, and see Iowa as a child-state, then turn and contemplate it as a mother-state.

Recurring to the time of their arrival in the Territory we find that on Friday morning, October 27, Salter and Turner on the way to Denmark made a detour to Farmington. There they stopped with the family of Jonas Houghton. On Saturday they dined at Bentonsport with Mr. Seth Richards, who afterwards contributed liberally to the endowment of Denmark Academy. Dr. Salter's diary, a priceless thesaurus of history, dwells on the beauty of that October day, and of their enjoyment of the delightful scenery along the banks of the Des Moines river. He speaks warmly of the pleasure that people would have, thirty years thence, when the country became settled, in the beauty of that stream. Here incidentally

*Dr. Robbins on visiting Dr. Salter in Burlington in a fine auditorium used to recall the fact that when he entered his log church at Maquoketa he struck his head violently on the lintel, not having learned to bow his head on entering the House of God.

we find the key to their courage and fortitude. They had the consciousness that in a generation those idle acres would have a teeming population.

That night they were entertained at Keosauqua by Deacon Hadden, who had purchased a mill-site on the Wapsipinicon where Independence now stands, and where it was then expected Iowa College would be located as planned by Asa Turner and Julius A. Reed. At Keosauqua in a blacksmith shop on October 29, 1843, Dr. Salter preached to a little band of earnest Christians, his first sermon on Iowa soil. In the interest of historical accuracy, it may be stated that when Dr. Salter is referred to as having preached his first sermon at Maquoketa the reference is to his first sermon as an ordained minister in his appointed place. Before he left Andover he had preached at Braintree, Massachusetts, for Richard Salter Storrs, a classmate at Amherst College of Alden, Hammond, Robbins, and Horace Hutchinson, Salter's predecessor at Burlington, and father of the orator, Richard Salter Storrs, of Brooklyn, N. Y. On Monday Salter and Turner passed through Troy and tarried Monday night with Captain Wilson at the Indian agency. Next day they dined with Mrs. Street, widow of Joseph M. Street, Indian agent at Prairie du Chien during the Black Hawk War and later at Agency City, Iowa. The young travelers visited the graves of General Street and Wapello, the Indian chief. On their way back to Denmark, they were entertained for a night at Fairfield by Rev. Julius A. Reed, the Nestor of Iowa Congregationalism, and they visited the beginning made at Salem by a little community of Quakers. They had, they say, a vision of the radiant future of the State. "This people must soon be a wealthy people. A more beautiful country was never trodden by the foot of man."

From Denmark, Spaulding had reached his field at Indian Agency. "The frail dwellings, beaten trails and newly made graves of the Indians still remained, and they were often seen passing and repassing, carrying away corn which had been raised on their fields, as if unwilling to leave the land which had so long been their home. On September 15, 1844,

a church is organized and a communion is held in the old Council House, a building erected for the special purpose of accommodating the Indians when assembled in the negotiations with the authorities of the United States, and where less than two years before savages were sitting and lying upon the floor, smoking their pipes, and singing their songs." On the very ground where the capitol of Iowa now stands, he preached with Indians about. On February 3, 1845, Spaulding formed a church at Eddyville, holding his first service in an Indian wikiup. The next year February 15, 1846, he formed a church at Ottumwa. On reaching this place, he found fourteen buildings, all of logs but two. In the vivid panorama of the past, his labors seem like the elements and movements of a wondrous dream. Pella at that time consisted of a log house on one side of the road and a log stable on the other. The site of Oskaloosa was marked only by a pole with a rag on it. Like Samson the members of the Iowa Band are to find sweetness in the most unlikely places. In his style of living a minister cannot far exceed the members of his congregation, for a leader must keep within sight of his followers. It was the log house and the log schoolhouse period in Iowa. Alden's "library" was a cheap, thin "lean-to," clumsily attached to a store. His preaching place was in a room over the jail. On the wind-swept prairie, so open to the weather were the walls of Dr. Salter's study that he hung up bedquilts to keep out the cold. Water would freeze in rooms where there was a fire. "So comfortless and almost uninhabitable was this place," said Spaulding in speaking of Indian Agency on the high prairie, seven miles east of Ottumwa, "that more than once it was left ostensibly for some business, but really for health and safety." These men, speaking broadly, were, "west of the law."

Dr. Salter visited all the settlements in Jackson county and preached during the first quarter forty-six sermons, and at sixteen different places. He received a baptism of the missionary spirit which rested upon him richly all the days of his mortal life. The last act in his study was to frame a letter giving five hundred dollars to the Home Missionary Society

that had sustained him while making his start at Andrew and Maquoketa. These towns under his care together contributed one hundred and fifty dollars one year while the Home Missionary Society gave two hundred and fifty, making the usual salary received by the young men. In his itinerant service, he accompanied the father of the writer to his appointed field, and all went well until they came to Turkey river, when they were forced to take the buggy to pieces and transport it, and swim the horse. On another occasion when "braving the angry flood in a canoe," one of the members of the Iowa Band, in view of the perishing need, took upon himself the task of bailing out the boat with his hat; and after the young men, barely escaping, had landed, he philosophically remarked, "What a sensation it would have made in the East, if we had all gone down!" Thus they had, it seems, the pleasant consciousness, and it strengthened their hearts, that distant eyes were upon them. These pioneers had none of the facilities of railroad transportation which were afforded later to the early settlers of Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, and the land of the Dakotas. People crossing Iowa by train can scarcely imagine the indescribable beauty of the prairies before they were settled. They were carpeted with green grass, bedecked with flowers of every shape and color. The soil had a perfect fury of productiveness, and would respond to the slightest efforts at cultivation, with the most prodigal bounty. These young missionaries, who helped bring Sunday across the Mississippi, leave us the record that the grass on the Des Moines river bottom grew so rank and luxuriant that it sometimes stood higher than the top of the buggy; and one of them says, in writing, that you could tie the grass together over your head as you sat upon a horse. All the West lay spread out just as the Lord made it. To simply turn the soil with a plow was to convert it into a garden. "Ships are first built and then sent on voyages," said Mr. Beecher, "but Western States are as if men were rafted to sea with materials, and were obliged to build the ship under them while they sailed." A State like Iowa is likely to have an epoch that is heroic. Our studies have brought us to its beginnings. We are contemplat-

ing forces that are advancing to their work and that have been put in motion by an unseen hand. These young missionaries are confronted with the hard task of casting up a highway for our God through the wilderness. They are placed where they must do their utmost in shaping the character of a future mighty State. This was their consciousness and they were overwhelmed with the thought. They were "the salt" of Iowa. The fullness of the time had come. The history of Iowa during the labors of these young missionaries was one of steady, uninterrupted prosperity and of almost magical growth. Dr. Salter lived to write of Iowa, The First Free State of the Louisiana Purchase, but, if Jefferson had secured this State alone for his \$15,000,000 the bargain would have made him famous. In their records they speak of Oskaloosa as it begins to develop, as having a "population not less than fifty, perhaps a hundred, or more, for it increases so fast as to be scarcely two days alike and is constant hardly long enough to be counted." No equal area in the United States, and perhaps in the world, has ever been developed with such great rapidity.

Here is a map of Iowa locating only the schoolhouses, and the State is studded with them, as the sky is with stars. At every sectional crossroad, on an average, there is a schoolhouse; usually no home in the State is more than two miles from a school. And a literal myriad of teachers go down the highways of Iowa each morning, causing the State to have, in the lifetime of Dr. Salter, the least illiteracy of all in the Union, and to be surpassed today in general enlightenment by one State by but the margin of three one-hundredths of one per cent. These men saw Iowa employing more teachers than any State in the Union, not proportionately, but counting them one by one, with the single exception of the State of New York, and that alone on account of her great city. Iowa came to have in his day more banks than any other State in the Union. She was the banner State in the Civil War, furnishing more than her quota of troops. And when one soldier, enlisting for three years, was accounted the equivalent of three men for one year, all thought of a draft was at once

retracted.* She came to have more Congregational churches than any other State except five, and in the race Illinois has the aid of a great and rich city, while Iowa, beautiful land, is only the garden State of the world. When Dr. Alexander Francis was in America to study local conditions, he hired a carriage at Marshalltown, Iowa, and visited the homes of twelve farmers, to find that the wives of five of them were college graduates. That's Iowa! That is a notable example of ideal farm life. Social clubs and literary societies are organized and no finer life can be lived than the kind which the gentle influence of fine women has brought over the community. The State ranks fifth in the percentage of her population attending Sunday school. It was found that in the year 1863 almost one-fifth of the entire membership of the Congregational churches in Iowa was in the army. Illinois had only one-eighth, Minnesota one-ninth, whereas in Iowa one church had two-thirds of her male members in the army, seven churches had one-half, sixteen churches had one-third, twenty churches had one-fourth, and the College founded by these men did not retain a single male student that was old enough to render military service. Dr. Salter lived to see Iowa have more miles of railroad than the whole country had when he left the railway in Buffalo in 1843. He saw Iowa build more miles of railway than any other State in the Union in one year, and saw her so completely gridironed with tracks that she had more miles of them than any other State in the Union except three; so interlaced with them that scarcely a farmer's house in her wide domain was out of hearing of the locomotive. He saw a day when one-third of the people of Iowa were found in the membership of her churches, a larger ratio than in Maine or New Hampshire or Vermont, and not far behind the proportion of Massachusetts and Connecticut. He had repeated opportunity of seeing Iowa possess more influence at the capitol in Washington than almost any other State. In their youth,

*This refers rather to the last call for men in 1865. There had been some persons drawn for the service owing to the later congressional legislation which required the several localities to furnish their own full quota. Hence about 4,000 persons were drafted for the service, although the quota of the State as a whole had been filled and several thousand over.—
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these young men determined to make religion the great concern of their lives, and Iowa has never forgotten there is a God. If the inhabitants are of exceptional character, it was the ideals and types and conditions that were thus early introduced into the State that drew people of peculiar quality and value into it, and it has become all distinctively American although drawn from many sources in the United States and from foreign countries. We are permitted to see the original colors blending and toning down until that strange commingling has been produced which constitutes Iowa as she stands today.

Except for the labors of such men as Dr. Salter and his associates, Iowa would never have been Iowa. The good God ordained and disposed, but they were the fortunate instruments. Things begun in the first decade of their labors are still perpetuated. There never can be in this land nor probably in any other such an opportunity. It was a blessed thing to start then. No one can begin to trace a career like Dr. Salter's and conduct it through putting him by himself alone. The very things which were interpreted by him as a divine "call," were by his own statement received by the young men jointly. They became an entity as distinguished from an aggregation of atoms. Dr. Dunning, editor of the *Congregationalist*, author of the leading recent work on Congregationalism, said of them, in 1894: "All have made good ministers of the word, faithful pastors; more than half of them have passed the semi-centennial of their ordination; two of them still retain their original charges. The seven and the dozen, coalescing and co-operating, at once gave prestige to their movements all along the front. It is not too much to say that their combined influence has given character not only to their denomination in the State, but to the State itself. They themselves have been built into the commonwealth that lies between the two great rivers." Together in service they gave the State more than half a thousand years. Who can reckon the beneficent influences which have flowed from these abundant labors? We are not able to estimate these things. But from such beginnings has come the miracle of time. The occasion, manner, and event had all been

ordered beforehand. The cathedral tower clock struck at a certain hour and nothing could hinder it. Dr. Salter's highest ecclesiastical honors came when he was called by President Angell to the platform of the National Council to receive in conjunction with another member of the Iowa Band the salutations of the highest body in the denomination to which he belonged. "Both men are considerably over eighty," states the report, "but Dr. Salter of Burlington, Iowa, would never be thought to be over sixty, though his beard and hair are snowy. He spoke with vigor of voice and clarity of mind unusual in one of his age. He is able and upstanding, full-voiced, and free and vigorous in gesture." In a late letter to the writer he states, "I was with Hutchinson and Spaulding in their last hours and at their funerals. I was with Ephraim Adams at the funeral of Robbins's wife. He and Robbins were with me at the funeral of my wife in 1893. They were both with me the fiftieth anniversary of my pastorate, April, 1896. Ephraim Adams and I were together at the funeral of Robbins in December of that year. I was with Ephraim Adams at the funeral of his wife in 1905. What a record of pathos and tenderness." In his record of his forty years' ministry, he says of his predecessor (Hutchinson), "I closed his eyes in death," and adds, "Fond of athletic sports, he was accounted the best skater on the river in the winter of 1843-4. He was an able preacher, given to study and intellectual culture, ardent and enthusiastic in his work, with a genial disposition that won him friends. In the flood of 1844, he preached a sermon on 'What Wilt Thou do in the Swelling of the Jordan?' which made a great impression." "Hitherto my life has been preparatory," said Hutchinson in contemplation of his passing, "when I think what God will do for Iowa in the next twenty years, I want to live and be an actor in it." Spaulding's career had a special charm for Dr. Salter for two reasons; first, he had perhaps the raciest mind of all of the brethren, was very delicate and nice in all his observations; and, second, his location and surroundings were antipodal with Dr. Salter's. The pastor in Burlington had by far the best position of the members of the Band and Mr. Spaulding

had by far the most rugged and the one closest to nature. He began his work at Ottumwa, when not only could he discern the footprints of the savage, but he could almost hear the echo of the warwhoop. Spaulding had beside a hopeful vision of Iowa which he regarded as "the glory of all lands." He said the people were so pleased with Iowa that they wrote back to their friends encouraging them to come. Associated with Dr. Salter in his valiant work in breaking the force and influence of Abner Kneeland, was Harvey Adams, settled for twenty years a little to the southwest from him, at Farmington. In this relation we come upon one of the few occasions in which Dr. Salter appears as a genuine crusader of the church militant. Dr. Salter had a sharp pen, which is said to be mightier than the sword. Dr. Adams's only weapon was the Sword of the Spirit, the Word of God, and such a lover of the Bible was he that in the last year of his life, and something like it was true of every twelvemonth, he read the Bible through sixteen times. Sometimes he read it through in eleven days, the last time, reading it in twelve and a half days. He used to hold and teach that, when the Bible was read continuously like any other book, it made a very much more effective impression than when read by little detachments. Dr. Salter's most picturesque relations were with Dr. Ephraim Adams after all the rest of their associates had passed on to the higher service and its eternal reward. He gave an address at Dr. Adams's funeral "and when he said farewell to his departed comrade and brother, there were no eyes in the church undimmed by tears. His voice gathered fullness and richness as he proceeded." "The natural beauty of the scenery at Davenport," said Dr. Salter, "and the air of quiet and repose then about the infant village, suggested to Dr. Adams that it was a desirable location for a college, and he gave his best endeavors to establish Iowa College upon a commanding site there. For sixty years he attended nearly every meeting of the trustees." "In my prejudiced opinion, no man living or dead has done more for Iowa," says Dr. Douglass, "than has this good man, Ephraim Adams." He was one of fifty who left Phillips Academy on being forbidden

to found an Anti-Slavery Society. He attended every meeting of the state association but one and that was when the daughter died.

With Dr. Robbins, Dr. Salter for half a century had an annual exchange, although there was for a long period no direct railway communication between Muscatine and Burlington. They first met in Union Theological Seminary, New York in 1841 and maintained an intimacy for fifty-five years. While they had much in common, yet on close review they may have enjoyed each other more because in many particulars they were so unlike. Dr. Salter was more of a scholar. Dr. Robbins gave more attention to executive and administrative affairs in his denomination and was necessarily out of his study a great deal in attendance upon meetings of boards of trust. Dr. Robbins had a boy's relish for outdoor sports. On one forenoon, in company with a brother in his church, he captured in a long net five hundred beautiful quail, but was forced to let them go, for if he put them in a log house they would, at any alarm, pile one upon the other till some would suffocate. Fourteen different kinds of fish were observed by him that had been captured in a boat upon the river. He used to go to Davenport, on college work, in a sleigh on the river, and if his course was suddenly checked the sleigh would slide around until it tipped over.

Dr. Salter also lived in close relations with Daniel Lane, who took Keosauqua for his labors, where Dr. Salter preached his first sermon in Iowa. There was no church building, there were no members, there was nothing. In ten years he built a church. During the last two years of this pastorate, he was also a teacher in the high school. Many eminent men trace their classical enthusiasm to him, while a teacher there, and later in Iowa College, at Davenport. As his sympathies were with his associates in the ministry he left the teacher's desk to return again to the pulpit. He took a pastoral charge in Belle Plaine, where the church when organized numbered but four members.

Dr. Salter held with great tenacity to those with whom he was most closely associated in the days of his earliest labors

and sacrifice, and he wrote at length about his regard for and relations with Ebenezer Alden, the phrase-maker of the group, whose sententious sayings are widely quoted. Dr. Salter pointed out analogies between himself and Alden, and they were many. An unusual feature of Dr. Salter's ministerial service was that it was performed in various ways for five generations of a prominent family of his church. He officiated at the funeral of an aged member of his church, performed the same service for the first wife of her son, and christened his children, grandchildren, and finally a great-grandson. So Dr. Alden conducted the funeral services of five members of the Webster family, representing four generations. Daniel Webster was one of his parishioners at Marshfield, and it was the dying statesman's request that Mr. Alden should conduct his funeral service. The church in Tipton was organized in 1844, May 5th, by Mr. Alden, and consisted of three members. It was formed in the barroom of the public house. The first summer he preached in the upper room of the jail, which was used during the week as a carpenter shop. He afterward occupied the courthouse. During his first three months in Iowa, he preached in Solon and Iowa City, making his home in Solon, which consisted of one frame house containing three families. The striking difference between his pastorates in Iowa and in the ancient Pilgrim town is shown by the fact that on his return to Massachusetts he officiated at the funerals of three persons who were over one hundred years of age.

Dr. Salter was not quite able to reach the bedside of his favorite among the members of the Iowa Band, E. B. Turner in his mortal sickness, but stood at his grave a few days after the burial and could say, "I am distressed for thee, my brother. Very pleasant hast thou been unto me." He joined in a tribute to his memory on the following Sabbath at Owego, New York.

When Dr. Salter approached the end of his life, carrying the weight of nearly eighty-nine years, his mind seemed irresistibly to return and dwell fondly upon his first striking

experiences in the new Territory. His first impressions seemed the deepest in his memory and were most ineffaceable. He returned to his association with his chum, E. B. Turner, and left us reminiscences of many situations which but for his statement we would never suspect. He remarks that the settlement in any new country seems slow because it devolves upon the poorer class of people to take the initiatory steps to test the productiveness of the soil and the healthfulness of the climate. The poorest are the first on the ground, not from choice, but from necessity. We learn that it was far from a joy-ride that Salter and Turner took west from Davenport. The chief thing about the places to which they came was a vast need of improvement. It is much to be regretted that we have not a more complete record of the incidents of those early days when Iowa was in the making.

Cascade was Mr. Turner's field, and it consisted of a half dozen log cabins. For hospitality, he was directed to the log house consisting of one room, which contained a bed, the table, chairs, cooking stove, and furniture. His hostess was a Christian lady. While he was wondering what disposition was to be made of him, a ladder was brought in and placed in one corner, and Mrs. S. pointed to a hole in the upper floor, and he, with candle in hand, was informed that he would find lodgings above. This garret, where he could stand only in the middle of the room, was for some time his study. The narrow tick, filled with straw and placed on the floor neatly covered, was his bed, and there was a strip of carpet in front of it to cover the cracks. He had his trunk lifted up through the hole and this trunk answered sometimes for a chair and sometimes for a table. To bury oneself in a newly organized Territory seemed a waste of education or at least a most hazardous investment of one's life. For three years after this, Des Moines, the future capital of the State, was a struggling line of barracks with a permanent population of four families and about twenty souls. And these men lived to behold it with a population of three score and ten thousand. The Territory was a narrow strip of land running along the Mississippi river about two hundred miles long

with forty miles of width and Dr. Salter saw it develop into a commonwealth of two million souls.

In reviewing the achievements of Dr. Salter and his associates, themselves their only parallel, we are summoned to an explanation of their phenomenal success.

First, these men had a rallying cry. There is great power in a banner with a device. The world stands aside to look at men who seem to know where they are going. The other great religious movements in history have had a slogan. It lifts. It concentrates. It enlists. Times are always dull when there is no watchword, no show of colors, no raising of a standard, no unfurling of ensign or symbol. These men all had a scutcheon. This was the motto, "Each to found a church, all, a college." Dr. Salter reached his destination November 10th, and his own record is, "In December, I organized a church here of seven members." It was a mile from the two forks of the Maquoketa. Fortunately there exists a picture of the building first used by Dr. Salter as a house of prayer. It was made in 1846 by the Rev. Charles Peabody, while superintendent of the western department of the American Tract Society. Dr. Salter said that with one or two slight exceptions the picture was correct. Like himself, Dr. Salter rang true to the motto which had its inspiration and did its work, the praise of which is in all the churches.

Second, In the name of our God they set up their banner. They connected their work in the community, in education, and in the State with the organized churches. Intelligence, temperance, politics, were not one thing, and their church work another. What they did for the community or commonwealth, they did as home missionaries, and this was understood to be so. They magnified their office, and the people took them in their work at their own estimate of it. "Voted, That in case the governor declines to recommend a day of public thanksgiving that we recommend to our churches to observe the last Thursday in December (not November) as such." Here is the logic of holy action, determined effort, invincible courage, all combining to produce a conviction of sincerity, of

earnestness, and of vigorous, all-conquering principle. Here are your State builders. These things were all talked over in their State Association, and they acted together, and as a religious force. They had a program. They knew what it was, and could state it. They had a purpose. They made it known. No other single mark so distinguishes a reformer in any history as this. Such a power is mightily effective. "The Blessing came." It spread into surrounding Western States where it had been unknown. It abides, and the churches did it, and it redounds to them, and is part of their antecedents. It is obvious that these men were more capable and potential because they were bunched. They believed in the power of together. They learned to co-operate. They accomplished by their united influence what they could not have done had they been scattered one by one over a larger territory. Their usefulness and value were enhanced moreover by the very diversity of their gifts, and the oppositeness of their temperaments. Together they were like an orchestra, where each performer has his own instrument and plays from an individual score, but all together produce perfect harmony. It is the best and truest example of a united brotherhood that is to be found in any Christian or civilized land. They were entire strangers to each other from distant, unlike places, from the largest city to the obscurest hamlet, until they gathered to use the same books, to pursue like studies, with the same lessons, in the same classroom, with the same teachers, in college in some cases, and later particularly at Andover. Then mind came to act on mind, and a little of the individuality of each was imparted to others, and the tendrils of esteem, of affection, and of sympathetic interest were thrown out and fastened. These, with their common purpose, united labors, and community of feeling, touching the whole of their life's work, strengthen as the years rise and fall.

To appreciate their effectiveness, it is necessary to keep firmly and clearly before the mind the plain fact too often overlooked that in their earliest days there was little of organization in connection either with the church or with social life. Organized Christianity grew up out of the intellectual

awakening that was quickened by the Civil War. We now have nearly three times as many people in the United States as we had at the outbreak of the strife between the States, and church organization and administration have become very much more prominent. But be it said to the glory of these young men and to the honor of the State that they engaged in team work long before its effectiveness was generally understood. From the start, they were association men. They were royal neighbors, organized and acted as such. They had their local associations and these were arched over by the general association of Iowa. When magazines and telephones, railroads and bridges, were lacking, the significance of this was tenfold. It was worth a year of toil to go up to the feast of fellowship where they planned together for a great cause and where their hearts were kindled. It thrills the feelings of any one who knew the men to read, in the scant, short, insufficient, inadequate report of their meeting in 1850, "The conference on Monday morning was distinguished by the warm flow of sympathy and affection, a high tone of spirituality, and the expression of the most earnest desires to do good." If I were limited to naming one other thing that lay at the foundation of their success as pioneers beside their religious enthusiasm, I would say that it was their passion for education. It perpetuated the ideal of the New England mother's charge: "Child, if God make thee a good Christian and a good scholar, thou hast all that thy mother ever asked for thee." From these men comes the cause of Iowa's greatness. The dead past lacks much of being buried. A great deal of it is still above the ground. Go in Iowa where you will and you still see the result of the original "Iowa idea," in the passion and determination of people that their children shall be educated. She took her stand early for an education that fits young men and women to take readily their places as productive units in the world's industrial organization. For nearly half a century it was the custom of the members of this group of pioneers in religious work in Iowa, in connection with the meeting of the General Association, to hold a little session by themselves and to write a brief memorial

of gratitude that they had been called to Iowa, that their lives had been so graciously lengthened out that half of their number attained a great age. When Mrs. Ephraim Adams became the sole survivor of the wives of the members of this group, she used to sign the minutes that they adopted. For she and her husband were the only couple of the Iowa Band who lived to celebrate their golden wedding, which occurred September 18, 1895. In 1901, Dr. Salter and Dr. Adams being left alone, it seemed artificial to continue the practice of many years, and so it was discontinued. The Tuesday evening meeting however, which as we have seen was begun by the classmates in Andover, and transferred to eleven different homes in Iowa, was continued in some form for more than threescore years. Fellowship was developed by the feeling that each of them was in the affectionate thought and prayers of the others on each recurring Tuesday night. Sympathy in a common work appeared so appropriate and beautiful that the General Association of Iowa by a rising vote adopted Tuesday evening at 7:00 o'clock as the hour for a prayerful, fraternal remembrance of one another. The writer often reviews his own life in terms of the great songs that he has heard. They mark the years with as much distinctness as the great journeys or the joys. But for pathos, for depth of feeling in the hearts of those who saw or heard, for the ineffable quality that we term "touching," I would set forward that supreme event, the time-honored custom near the close of the meeting of the State Association, when the good gray heads whom all men knew and revered used to surround the altar of the church as one expression of their devotion, and all who were assembled sang in tearful tone, "My Days Are Gliding Swiftly By." It was affecting to the last degree. This picture of the Iowa Band, etched on memory's walls, will never be effaced. All of those who rocked the cradle of Congregationalism in Iowa are now translated. "The prayers of David, the son of Jesse are ended."

"And with the morn those angel faces smile,
Which we have loved long since and lost awhile."

DR. SALTER'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

In the judgment of the lamented Charles Aldrich, founder of the Historical Department of Iowa, and of his successor, Edgar R. Harlan, Dr. Salter's natural impressions of values in literature, and especially in historical literature, excelled that of any other scholar of their acquaintance. They accorded him the highest place as a critic. A word expressed by him or withheld, touching any publication in their department, had important and unequaled effect. Thus Dr. Salter's influence unquestionably penetrated every nook and cranny of that great historical institution. Dr. Salter was able to make those at the head of the Historical Department feel from the inception of its work that the enterprise in which they were engaged would appeal to the serious and scholarly of all times in Iowa. If any lack of attention by the living was detected, it was to him a stimulus to new zeal and activity. Dr. Salter revealed a prophetic knowledge of the mind of the future toward the history of Iowa and of the middle West. His soul was that of a founder, and he stood nobly by the Historical Department of Iowa when appreciation and moral support were vital things. He was a natural collector and historian. By collector is meant that any object within the range of his vision or knowledge so appealed to his attention that he drew it into his memory and so retained it in his recollections and considered it in its bearings and relations with all similar things, and so classified it and displayed it to his own mind in its appropriate connection at its correct value, that it became a permanent, distinct, and appreciable asset. Without visualizing as museum collectors do, he became a great collector. The long correspondence between Dr. Salter and the gentlemen at the head of the Historical Department is of great value, and could be some time very profitably abstracted for the published permanent records of the State. This characterization is so just and is so perfectly exemplified in Dr. Salter's autobiographical sketch which he gave to his Burlington congregation on the 86th anniversary of his birth, Nov. 17, 1907, that we take pains to place them

together. It is obvious that in eighty-six years, we ought to have said eighty-six such years, there is much more than can be told. A great deal, perforce, must be omitted, and there is entertainment in perusing selections from his autobiography, observing what he states and noticing his principles of selection which show "his natural impressions of values in literature and especially historical literature":

I was born by the seaside in Brooklyn, N. Y., in a happy home, where my earliest memories are of loving parents, of school and church, of Fulton Ferry, named for Robert Fulton who six years before I was born sailed the first steamboat up the Hudson river, and of the stately ships I saw go by in the East river.

My father was a ship owner and with his brother had built a ship which they named "Mary and Harriet" for their respective wives. As I stood on the deck of that ship or climbed the rigging, I felt a boy's enthusiasm to sail away upon the high seas. But my father had other thoughts for me. He had been a scholar in Phillips Academy, Exeter, N. H., and he wanted that I should have a liberal education. He loved good literature; and Shakespeare, Milton, Addison, as well as Robinson Crusoe, the Pilgrim's Progress, and Walter Scott, were in the family bookcase. I was put to the study of Latin at ten years of age, and of Greek at twelve, and six years later began to read the Hebrew Bible and took lessons in Arabic.

Meanwhile my father had removed to the city of New York, and I became familiar with its sights and scenes and goings-on. My parents became members of Samuel H. Cox's church in Laight street, and I sat regularly with them in the family pew, and was a member of the Sunday school under a kind and faithful teacher. Dr. Cox was an eloquent preacher, mighty in the Scriptures, a leader of the "New School," and of the "Evangelical Alliance," of those days. An ardent anti-slavery man, having on one occasion rebuked the prejudices of caste and race and said that the Savior of the world was an Oriental, and probably of a darker hue than white persons generally, he was hounded on the streets as having called Christ "a negro," and his church and his home were mobbed and stoned. A leading member of the church was president of an anti-slavery society, and suffered similar insults. Those were the "abolition riots" of 1832. I remember a pleasing incident earlier in the same year. It was the centennial of Washington's birthday, and it was honored with magnificent processions and shows, that left a shining memory in my youthful mind.

At the dedication of the Church of the Messiah on Broadway, I heard Dr. Channing on "Blessed are the Peacemakers", and was charmed with his spirit and the grace that fell from his lips. Sometimes I went to political meetings, whig and democratic. I also visited the courts, and heard Ogden Hoffman, Daniel Low, Prescott Hall, and thought one time I would be a lawyer. In 1837 I heard Daniel Webster in Niblo's Garden, and was impressed with the dignity of his person and speech. After referring to the annexation of Texas, and stating his opposition to bringing a large slaveholding country into the Union, and that the question of slavery had taken hold of the consciences of men, he discussed the commercial and financial crash which had followed upon the removal of the deposits from the United States bank by President Jackson. My father's business went down in that crash, and I had to engage in some humble services, and earn a little money to eke out the expenses of my education. The same year I went to see the first ocean steamer that entered the harbor of New York, and I looked with wondering eyes upon Black Hawk and Keokuk as they passed through the metropolis, not thinking that six years later I was to make my home in the territory from which they came.

In 1839, I heard John Quincy Adams deliver an oration in the Middle Dutch church in commemoration of the adoption of the constitution and the establishment of the government fifty years before. He spoke with splendid vigor and enthusiasm of the events of which he was an eye-witness, and I was filled with admiration for those institutions, and for the orator of the day.

Towards the close of my four years in the university, a class mate from Norwalk, Conn., obtained for me a situation to teach in an academy in that town.*

At the end of six months' teaching at South Norwalk, where I made some lifelong friendships, I entered the Union Theological Seminary, in the city of New York. Professor Edward Robinson had just returned from his "Biblical researches" in the Holy Land, and he inspired me with his enthusiasm for Bible study. I studied with him "Newcome's Harmony of the Gospels," and later in his own "Harmony," and in his "Lexicon of the New Testament," found

*Getting a recommendation from the chancellor of the university before going to his work he sets out upon his first undertaking as an educator. We insert here in full the recommendation which he obtained, as it shows the child, the father of the man. By the date it will be seen that he is 18 years of age.

"University of the City of New York, April 24, 1840.
 "Mr. William Salter of the senior class in the University having in purpose to take charge of an academy, at the close of his collegiate term, I take pleasure in recommending him, as well qualified for such duty. His high standing, in his class, for scholarship, his correct deportment and exemplary conduct in the institution, fully entitle him to esteem and confidence.
 THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN, Chancellor."

more aid in understanding the original sources of Christianity than in any commentary. He gave the students a portion of Scripture on which to write an exegesis, and he was so kind as to write upon one which I prepared, "Read with pleasure.—E. R."

At the end of two years in Union Seminary, I went to Andover for my third year, thinking a change from the din and scenes of a great city to a quiet place would be good for me, and also having made up my mind to enter the ministry in the order of the New England churches. My year at Andover was one of satisfaction and delight. My studies were uninterrupted. They were largely historical. The library was of immense advantage to me. I learned much from Moses Stuart and Bela B. Edwards. The student fellowship was cordial. There were debates, and a society of inquiry to look over the world and learn its wants. * * *

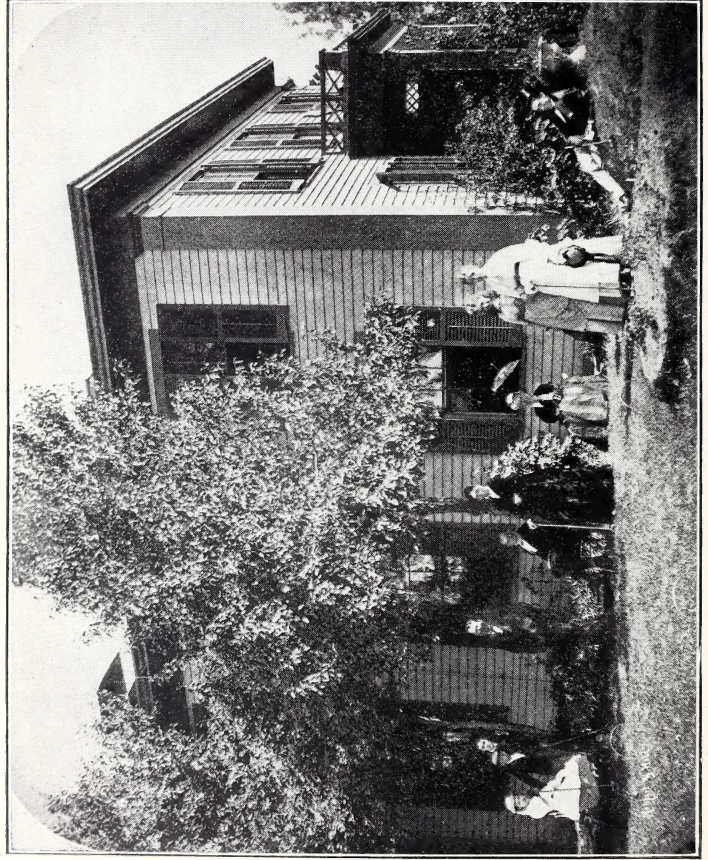
The field assigned to me was Jackson county, Iowa, halfway between Davenport and Dubuque, and I labored there two years and four months. I traveled up and down the Maquoketa river and its branches, and over the prairies and through the thick woods. I preached my first sermon there in the upper story of the log courthouse in Andrew, and my second in the log schoolhouse at Maquoketa, and afterwards in the cabins of the pioneers in nearly every part of the county. The people welcomed me, and I sat by the blazing logs in open fireplaces and at hospitable tables. I traveled on horseback and my constitution was invigorated in the open air under the dome of the sky and the all-beholding sun. I had some hardships and rebuffs, but they are forgotten in pleasant memories of better things.

The lands in Jackson county had not been then brought into market. The people were squatters under "claim law," and there were some disputes about "claims." The settlement at Maquoketa seemed the most promising of all in the county. I built a small house there, and was living solus in it, expectant of a Lady Angelica who had engaged to wed her life with mine, when word came from Burlington of the serious illness of the pastor there, that he had resigned his office, and I was asked to come and look over the field and see if I might not be more useful there than in itinerant and scattered work. There were some demurrers. I was told that I had made a good beginning at Maquoketa and had better stay; that Burlington was a difficult field and needed an older and stronger man. But I ventured to see for myself and made a wintry journey in February, 1846, and preached for the first time here on the first day of March in a rented hall over a store on Main street, near Columbia street. I was kindly received and got a favorable impression of things. James G. Edwards and Albert Shackford were the dea-

cons. I preached two other Sundays, and visited most of the people. William H. Starr entertained me at his house, that still stands immediately north of the church. Henry W. Starr took me by the hand and said he hoped I had come to stay. James W. Grimes, Frederick D. Mills, who lost his life in the Mexican War, and whose name an Iowa county perpetuates; Samuel R. Thurston, editor of the Gazette, and afterwards the first delegate to congress from the Pacific coast, were in the congregation. E. D. Rand, Thomas Hedge, Dr. S. S. Ransom, Luke Palmer, H. B. Ware, John G. Foote, his brother Mark, and their sister Harriet, afterwards Mrs. Gear, gave me cordial greetings. We held prayer meetings with the widow Ruth Sheldon, who lived and taught a school in the first brick house built in Iowa, that which stood on the southeast corner of Fourth and Columbia streets. Mrs. F. J. C. Peaseley also opened her house for prayer meetings on the corner of Valley and Fourth streets. Of the young men of the congregation there were A. D. Green, secretary of the Iowa Historical and Geological institute, that had the custody of Black Hawk's bones which were afterwards consumed by fire, and C. B. Parsons, who became one of the pillars of our strength. The venerable Abner Leonard and his two sons, David and Isaac, lived three miles west of town, and Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Hebard, ten miles west. The Nealley brothers were three miles south.

The late pastor died on the 7th of March; I was with him in the final hour. His funeral was held in "Old Zion," A. B. Robbins, of Muscatine, preaching the sermon. On the third Sunday of March the church and society invited me to become their minister. The field looked inviting and promising, and I could not decline. Returning to Jackson county, I preached farewell sermons at Andrew and Maquoketa. I took up my work here on the 12th of April, and by the exceeding divine goodness I have continued here to this day the ministry which I received of the Lord Jesus to testify the gospel of the grace of God. I have never swerved from this purpose, while I have thought it accordant therewith to devote some time to literary and historical studies which show the influence of Christianity in bettering the character and condition of mankind in different departments of the world's affairs. I have discoursed upon the great discoveries and inventions of the last sixty years as new evidences of the divine wisdom and goodness in the nature of things.

In the civil war, much as I deplored all war, I stood resolutely by President Lincoln and the Union. I carried my ministry to the sick and wounded and dying in many hospitals in Tennessee and Georgia. After looking down from Vining station upon the battle



HOME OF WILLIAM SALTER, AT BURLINGTON, IOWA, 1873

in which General McPherson was killed, I visited the wounded and dying, both Confederate and Union, who were brought into the field hospitals. I saw the movement of Sherman's army before Atlanta from left to right, and General Corse took me upon the ground where a hundred Confederates were lying dead, mowed down in a furious assault upon his breastworks, their bodies swarming with flies in the sultry August air. Sickened with such sights, and with my hospital work, I now returned home wearied and worn, and it was a month before I could be about again.

At different periods I have sailed down the St. Lawrence to Quebec and down the Mississippi from St. Paul to New Orleans. I have crossed the Rocky Mountains, and sailed on the Columbia, on the Willamette, and on Puget Sound, and felt assured of the future greatness of that part of the world.

Three times I have been granted leave of absence to visit Europe. I sailed up and down on the Thames, and parts of the Rhine, crossed the Danube, sailed upon the lakes of Switzerland, visited its chief cities, stood upon its glaciers under the towering mountains; sailed upon the Mediterranean; visited Florence and Rome; St. Peter's and the Vatican library; also the royal libraries in Paris and Berlin, the Bodleian at Oxford, and the British Museum in London. In one voyage home I suffered shipwreck, and was expecting to sink beneath the waves when the little brig Minnie Schiffer, from Malaga, appeared for our rescue, and brought six hundred souls safe to port.

In my sermons I have preached from every book of the Bible, and upon all the great events and characters of scripture history. The history of our own country is the crowning history of advancing Christianity, and it were well for preachers to commemorate and honor not only Joshua and Gideon and David and Daniel, but also the valor of Captain John Smith, the Landing of the Pilgrims, William Penn, the Huguenots, Oglethorpe, Washington, Franklin, and Lincoln.

I have been a firm advocate of the cause of temperance and given line upon line against avarice and greed, exhorting men to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world.

In 1852 I built the house in which I have resided for fifty-five years. My friends told me that it was too far away. Most of them lived on the streets near the river. I wanted a higher elevation and a more salubrious air, and as well to have a garden and orchard and keep a horse. There I have looked up to the great heavens, the

orb of day rising in the east, and upon a thousand brilliant sunsets in the west.

I have preached two thousand and fifty sermons written in full, and thousands more from notes and extempore. I have performed six hundred and thirty-nine marriage ceremonies. I joined in the celebration of the golden wedding of John M. and Mary A. Sherfey, at whose marriage I officiated fifty years before.

Dr. Salter received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the Iowa State University in 1864. His headquarters were at Maquoketa for two years and four months. During much of this time he was a traveling missionary, the romantic element in life being distinctly eliminated, his environment being untoward; yet he never made, like many, his hardships the staple of his talk. "The attendance at meeting," he writes, at Maquoketa, "increases every month. The little log house which we occupy is on pleasant Sundays crowded, and at times some are not able to get in. In different settlements are six Sabbath schools and about one hundred scholars. I have procured small libraries for some of them."

His purpose appears to have been always to buttress his work by awakening the minds of his adherents. The anomaly of his career is found in the fact, that with his scholarly habit and tendency, which were most marked, and with his characteristic nicety, he should have found his appointed work at the first among such primitive conditions. The circuit rider with whom he alternated in one of his appointments had the unfortunate practice of using the plural for the singular. Thus: "On last Sabbath, he told the people here, 'Brethren, pray for each others' goods, labor for each others' goods.'" In his diary, April 1, 1844, we find: "I should like now to have a home to come to and rest for three days, but I have not the one and cannot do the other." His work at the time was hunting upon the prairies the scattered sheep who were without any spiritual shepherd.

He became the oldest resident pastor of any denomination west of our unsalted seas. He survived all the original members of his first congregation, and, while by his amiability he made many early friends, none of them came down through

the generations with him. He had such vitality and habit of industry that it was said of him that he had broken down as many as two of his assistants and still remained at his post, preaching occasionally and rendering pastoral service. In this office he officiated at over a thousand funerals. At the time he took charge of the church it numbered about forty members. Although occupying the same pulpit, he ministered to two different congregations and to two different generations. It is no wonder that his autumnal days were serene and that a halo of glory crowned his age. In gratitude to God for the suppression of the Rebellion and for the new life of the nation, surrounded by a loyal congregation, on the Fourth of July, 1867, he laid the corner-stone of a new house of worship, in which he was to preach for twenty years. Soon arose the cathedral-like structure of stone with its massive tower one hundred and twenty-eight feet high, involving a cost of \$80,000. For this, as for the public library, in its beginning, he had money to raise, but he was noble about it, and never showed the beggar's spirit. The rich retrospect, on the surrender of his life's activities, at the approaching sunset of his career, gave him serenity, as he sat resting like Abraham in the door of his tent. His last appearance at his church was Sunday, July 17, 1910, when he pronounced the benediction. There he had been pastor in all sixty-four years and four months. What a gauntlet to run through nearly eighty-nine years. For nearly three years, his name had stood alone in the sun-bright list. The graves of his associates and of his early congregations had all been earlier made. Very early in the morning, even as the day was dawning after the Sabbath, on Monday, August 15, 1910, God called him. His watchers saw him drop into a quiet sleep, and he passed away as quietly as a spent candle goes out.

Burlington was in mourning. The mayor issued a call to the city asking that all places of business be closed during the hour of the funeral, as a mark of respect to "Burlington's first citizen." The president of the Commercial Exchange made a similar request to the board. The body lay in state in

the Congregational church. Thursday morning at 10 o'clock the house was filled to overflowing and many continued to stand throughout the service. With all places of business silent, with city and county officials in attendance and business men, laborers, and people of all classes and creeds present, the funeral was held and the great, good man, on whom in youth nature appeared to lay hands of wondrous anointing, was carried to his burial.

It was difficult to realize that a man of such striking vitality and personality was dead. His clear judgment, unquestioned sincerity, and natural leadership rendered him a remarkable man in the community. The gathering, the occasion, the cessation of care when business was at its full tide, were evidences that a great man had fallen and that the thoughts of many were arrested. Marvelous man this! Thou hast left behind a name that is as imperishable as the State, now one of the brightest stars in the galaxy of the commonwealths. Venerable, honored associate founder of sovereign Iowa, farewell! Sleep thy last sleep! Thou hast richly deserved thine hours of slumber. Thy memory is fragrant upon earth. Thy works will perpetuate thy fame. Thy spirit hath gone to the Great Assembly. "So he passed over and all the trumpets sounded for him on the other side."

In ancient Rome on important occasions, the images of departed citizens who had exerted decisive influence on public affairs were brought before the people to stimulate emulation, and some words of appropriate address were openly spoken. This custom must have been effective, or it would have been discontinued. On April 14, 1887, Mr. E. D. Rand made an order setting aside and placing in Mr. T. G. Foster's hands \$1,000.00 to be invested according to his best judgment and the interest to be paid to Dr. Salter. Upon his death this fund was to be invested in a suitable monument. The right to direct the character and design of this monument was to devolve upon the oldest son. On October 10, 1888, Mrs. Carrie Rand made an addition or amendment to the memorandum, referring to the fact that she had caused to be

executed a life-size bronze bust of Dr. Salter, which was placed in care of a friend of Mr. Foster. This bust now stands in the Burlington public library.

Dr. Salter was in a pre-eminent sense a parish priest. He had a certain relation to the entire community. This is seen and was recognized in many forms. His influence was cumulative. He gained much in his ministry by what the teachers call the continuous-impression-method. Many persons have not done themselves justice because they have not stayed by their task. To measure the time he plied his calling, take some standard and apply it. The college that he helped to found has long since graduated the children of its graduates. The present population of one of the cities of Iowa is more than that of the Territory as he found it. One secret of his life was its adaptation. He built up his church and his position in the community and State, and they became his groundwork. His ecclesiastical relations too were exactly suited to his temperament. In the church of a member of the Iowa Band were representatives of thirty-one denominations. His church polity proved so simple, so free from intricacies, so easily understood by all, and was so administered as to give to each a voice in its councils, thus securing consequent interest and work. Dr. Horace Bushnell, whom Dr. Salter greatly admired, preached a remarkable sermon on "The Duty of a Town to Prosper." Religious teachers often think that if they act discreetly and use the conventional instrumentalities with skill, prosperity is beyond their control. But Dr. Salter concentrated his efforts on Burlington. He kept out of some administrative work in his denomination at large that he might command success in the specific work to which he gave his heart. He had to apply redoubled energy in constructive work as he encountered the manifestation of the Western spirit. But Dr. Salter gained a church following, which never forsook him. New arrivals in town came into his parish and of their own choice accepted the type of ministry and the style of church administration that existed. Thus a man in a city has a great advantage.

Dr. Salter developed and trained the church after his own heart. He began with the boys and girls and made men and women of them. He was the only minister or kind of minister that they knew anything about. He had a generous, unusual, native, mental endowment. Out of abundant materials he formed for himself a character. He went to work to do this, acting according to rules. He was a great admirer of Franklin, whose character was formed according to certain precepts, which have been given to the world. The greatest gift to the country was the character of Washington, which was carefully developed along the line of certain laws, which are matters of record. Dr. Salter's father gave him a Life of Edwards, which he read with avidity. In this volume the seventieth resolution is underscored in faded ink: "Let there be something benevolent in all I speak." Dr. Salter took pains with his character. It was carefully grown. It had no excesses. It had symmetry like his figure. Factors in a man's character are not capricious. Certain principles, habits, states of mind, and courses of conduct have their appropriate results. Delicately reared, he maintained all through his pioneer associations an invariable refinement, and he never lost the touch of genuine gentility. He was a fine example of the Christian gentleman and clergyman. He acted upon Dr. Arnold's principle in governing Rugby school, of accepting every boy on his best side and for the best that was in him. He was singularly free from avarice. Nothing about him impressed one more. His mind did not run on dollars and dimes. In a letter to his fiancée he said that to succeed in the ministry one must give oneself "wholly" to it. Some one has remarked that a bad place in a man's heart no larger than a sixpence in the East would grow in the West to the size of a dollar.

We recognize a divine Providence in three specific things:

First, "There had just sprung up," said Mr. Calhoun, in the United States Senate, Jan. 24, 1843, "beyond the Mississippi a really wonderful and almost miraculous growth as if

by magic." The fact that it occurred in Iowa was extremely favorable on account of its accessible location.

"It lies not east nor west,
But like a scroll unfurled
Where the hand of God hath hung it
Down the middle of the world."

Second, We turn to the life of Dr. John C. Holbrook, a superior preacher, to find the record of another providential interposition. He says that he was invited to preach in Burlington, then the largest town in the Territory of Iowa, and an appointment was made for him for the next Sabbath, but he was summoned home by sickness and could not fill the engagement. "Had I done so, I might have settled there instead of in the place that finally became for over twenty years my field of labor." We marvel at the Hand that forbids and welcomes.

Third, At Burlington was Deacon Shackford, superintendent of the Sunday school, who had known Dr. Salter at his ancestral home in Portsmouth, N. H., and it was this boy friend of Dr. Salter's that invited him to visit Burlington to see how he liked it, and thus brought him to the place which made him famous. Says Dr. Salter, "Largely from his partial friendship and in response to letters from his hand I came to Burlington." We trace two other providential interventions. In the light of the result, we can almost admit a tenet of the new school of sociologists, who feel that much springs from environment. Coming in the full use of his social and intellectual powers to the place where the territorial government had held its sessions in the Old Zion church, he came at once to be associated with the great men of the new region. This gave him prestige, local influence, and grip. He performed the last offices for Thomas Cox, president of the Council in the sixth Legislative Assembly of the Territory, and for James Clarke, the last territorial governor. He solemnized the marriage ceremony of three men who became United States senators, James W. Grimes, John H. Gear, both of

whom were governors of Iowa, and William B. Allison, who at the home of Mrs. Grimes, June 5, 1873, married Miss Mary Nealley. James W. Grimes, who was senator throughout the entire period of the Civil War, and who possessed the confidence and respect of the people of Iowa more unreservedly than any other public servant she ever had, had died in 1872. Dr. Salter officiated at their funerals and those of Mrs. Grimes and Mrs. Gear. He took part at the funeral of Charles Mason, the first chief justice of Iowa. George W. Jones, who was one of the first United States senators from Iowa, was his personal friend. Some one has written that Iowa could better afford to lose its capitol than the presence in the State of the celebrated Dodge family. Dr. Salter had the good fortune to enjoy the consideration and regard of Augustus C. Dodge, who was appointed by President Van Buren register of the land office at Burlington, and who removed to that town, which was his home for the rest of his life. Mr. Dodge had the unique experience in the Twenty-seventh Congress of welcoming his father, as delegate from the Territory of Wisconsin, to a seat by his side. It also occurred very singularly that the father and son afterward served together in the congress of the United States as senators, the one from Iowa and the other from the State of Wisconsin.

Dr. Salter also gained great prestige by his service on the field during the Civil War in the Christian Commission. We have a minute daily record of his experiences and observations, which are an independent depository of priceless historic value. He was with General Remick, Col. Abercrombie, Major Perkins, and many others of Burlington at the siege of Atlanta. Gen. O. O. Howard received him kindly at his headquarters. He met Gen. Sherman, who shrugged his shoulders as though a civilian were out of place amid the shock of arms in the "hell of war." These details show that it was instinctive with Dr. Salter to make strong alliances, that his associates were with the great of the earth, and that it was natural for him to take a self-sacrificing part in the thing to be done. In company with Rev. Joseph W. Pickett he visited

the hospitals at Murfreesboro, Nashville, Stevenson, and Chattanooga. By these measures he came into alignment with the 75,519 enlisted men, who made Iowa's name lustrous. Thus he affiliated himself with soldiers who won crimson glories. They never forget that he visited the field where they left a holy acre, marked by hundreds of undistinguishable hillocks. His experiences and services added greatly to his popularity in the State. His influence was further extended and intensified by the attention given him by local papers of such high character as the *Hawk-Eye* and the *Gazette*. The intimacy between Dr. Salter and Father Turner heightened the standing and usefulness of both. Asa Turner in some of his services, gifts, personal attractions, unusual vivacity, and sociability has never been exceeded by any person in Iowa. He lacked little of genius, had mother-wit, a quality much to be coveted, a patriarchal grace of bearing, a strong flavor of personal character, which, with a certain directness of address, gave him, with his relish of real native eloquence, great popular acceptance, and he was revered and beloved by all who knew him in every relation of life.

Dr. Salter, more than once, early visited Wisconsin, and was even urged to transfer his activities to that field. At Mineral Point was Zechariah Eddy, very congenial to Dr. Salter from similarity of tastes and experiences. They both began to preach when extremely young and both were makers of hymn books.*

The firm hold that Dr. Salter took upon men of position, influence, and power in all relations is unparalleled. Many persons will say that a man with such alliances and reinforcements must of course come to successful results, but supporters cannot rally about nothing; where the friendly spirit is, there the friends are gathered together. It takes a strong, dominating personality to hold together such diverse interests and unlike individuals. Men would agree on Dr. Salter and

*Dr. Eddy's migration to the West turned on this incident. At a Sunday evening monthly concert, his church choir sang the chant, "I Cannot Rest, There comes a sweet and secret whisper to my spirit like a dream of night." His heart melted down. The next day he wrote to Dr. Badger of the Home Missionary Society, offering himself for work in the West.

respect him when they did not always agree politically and otherwise among themselves, nor entirely believe in each other. After all, in success, friendship is the largest single asset. Men will sometimes organize a bank because they have a man that they together believe in, and whom they together want to advance. So in a church, a number of prosperous, stalwart men can tremendously gird and strengthen a minister. The sermon preached by Peter at Pentecost was not set out by Peter alone. The effectiveness lay in the fact that it was "Peter standing up *with the eleven.*" The men who stood with him were exhibited in what he did.

Burlington was always peculiar in that it was central to so many ties that were remarkable, almost enviable. On Dr. Salter's fortieth anniversary, in a great catalogue of those who made the occasion brilliant, there comes of course Robert J. Burdette, who made himself world-famous by his wit, and who has been not a whit less acceptable as the pastor of a great Baptist church on the Pacific coast. Burlington had the luck to be central in equipping in part John E. Clough for his work which became the cynosure for all eyes in the Lone Star Mission in the Telugu country of India, where, organizing a church of eight members, a nation was born in a day, where a church of fourteen thousand three hundred thirty-eight members were gathered with electric brevity. If a chronicler of events is pressed for an explanation as to why certain cities like Burlington and men like Dr. Salter are accorded such a destiny, he must fall back upon the fact that men like Caesar, Hannibal, and Napoleon have held a belief in their stars, that Moses and Paul recognized a factor not of themselves which we can call Providence. Dr. Salter like the Wise Men from the East followed the star. He was not disobedient to the heavenly vision. In his beginnings, he did not quail at hardship. Undoubtedly, a new country enlarges men's souls and introduces new blood and infuses new life. All honor to the blessed fragrant memory of the Immortal Eleven, whose names are in the Book of Life. Hail to the heroes of the cross who could eschew ease, wealth, and luxury and go forth, upon a work that was to every one of





Mary A. Latta

them a venture of faith, in a spirit of self-denial. Our task is to wipe away the dust from their earlier picture, to retouch it, to reframe it, and to hold it up to men who may admire their fidelity, their sublime faith, their zeal, their early enthusiasm, their devotion. On memory's canvas, many of the lines are already fading. Yet those early scenes and events may be made to retain an almost glowing warmth of color. When the machine was worn out; when the flame which flickered in the lamp of life could no longer be renewed; when a city had become perfectly established; and when the State was no longer an experiment; then the patriarch of Iowa's religious history, who in nearly sixty-eight years had never laid down his pastoral crook, turned his steps and followed his early associates to the land where he would be no pioneer.

HIS OTHER SELF.

The helpfulness of Mrs. Mary A. Salter became as distinct and vital as that of her distinguished husband. No two lives were affiliated more perfectly. They must go down in history together. Their reputations are co-ordinate. They illustrate upon the early ages of the history of Iowa how two lives can be together consecrated and blended in example and service. She was just the one to carry the ideas and ideals of New England and set them up in the beginnings of a new Puritan State. Under just these influences, Iowa came to mean a commonwealth controlled by the very motives and principles which she embodied. To any one who thinks that heroism has become extinct, I point to this young woman, delicately reared, following the husband of her choice to a cramped house in the crude West, accepting joyfully conditions with which she could have had no acquaintance. She welcomed with grace all temporary discomforts in the satisfaction she had in co-operating in laying the foundations of religion and education in a new community. When a member of the class of 1844 at Bradford Academy, from which she graduated, she was characterized as "reserved and dignified in bearing." Being nobly gifted, her new environment unfolded her fine qualities,

and she became an extremely attractive shepherdess to her husband's flock, a great favorite, affable, beautifully kind, urbane, and gracious. She was strong intellectually. She developed great executive ability. She was naturally systematic and orderly. She is remembered by everybody as sweet and placid. She carried from an Eastern home genuine culture and refinement. She adorned her station. Her heart was full of the highest, noblest sentiment. From early life she developed a way of preserving little niceties from her reading, in a book, which is now, as I have it before me, filled with graces of speech, nuggets of wisdom, and beautiful little poems which she was committing to memory. Here is a soul's treasure-house, containing the store of a lifetime. One cannot turn the leaves of this book without stopping to copy. Her own life was another such book. Dr. Salter was proud of her. She doubled his power. She extended his influence. She tremendously reinforced his work.

Their courtship was an extremely happy one. The course of true love in this exceptional case seems to have run smooth. They met first during the summer Dr. Salter left for the West, 1843. They became engaged during his visit to Charlestown, Mass., her home, during the summer of 1845. They were married in the Winthrop church at Charlestown at noon, August 25, 1846, the year Dr. Salter went to Burlington.

The correspondence on both sides during their unmarried days is filled with beauty. Here is a passage from one of his letters: "God will not give. . ." "Sabbath evening. Here my candle expired last night and not wishing to disturb the family, I retired," suggesting what are famed as the "unfinished sentences" in our best literature.*

Miss Mary A. Mackintire, his fiancée, on her part, writes from her home August 13, 1845, of one of her friends who was away during his visit, and says, when she "received the news that I was engaged and you were gone, she cried." "You can't imagine how the news spread." She writes that her

*One is reminded of Whitefield's lighting a candle in Newburyport to go to his room, and, finding a great company at the door, preaching to them the last night of his life until the candle died in its socket, and of Paul, who "continued his speech until midnight."

brother George said that even the little boys in the street would come to him and want to know about his sister, where she was going, who with, etc. Dr. Salter later wrote the "Life and Letters of Ada R. Parker," a very versatile and talented woman, who was Mrs. Salter's classmate at Bradford.

Here is a picture of Mrs. Salter in her new relations as portrayed by Ada R. Parker in the "Daguerreotypes of Bradford Class of 1844," written in December, 1852: "On the banks of the Mississippi, 'neath the roof of a busy dwelling, sits the good deacon's daughter. A child of three summers plays at her feet, and beside her stands her husband. Tell it not in Gath, my friend, but she is proud of him; for even parsons' wives are not always perfect. But a noble destiny is hers who has left kindred and a precious New England home for a work of love in that far-off valley. It may be that loving hearts are sometimes yearning to win her to their paths again, but call her not back. There let her live and labor in that mighty vineyard; there let her die. And when the 'Father of Waters' shall chant her requiem, may its own busy memories awaken the thought that she too was not an idler; that she did not live in vain."

Having made the matter a subject of investigation, personal inquiry, and large correspondence, and having seen and having known from my earliest recollection the wives of the members of the Iowa Band, I here put down my judgment, weighing my words, that, in intellect, social power, winningness, appreciation of opportunity, and acceptance and favor with the people, they were in no wise inferior to the royal men whose work in Iowa has had such wide acclaim. After religion, they supplied, that of which a new field stands in perishing need, tact. The men had the holy ambition to build and the Heaven-sent women had the divine purpose to co-operate. I know the sentiments in the churches and communities and the responses that will be given to this expression, and it is pleasant to become for a moment the mouthpiece of so united and enthusiastic and grateful a multitude. To speak of these effective, warm-hearted leaders, full of initiative,

mother-wit, and refinement, simply as the wives of the home missionaries, is not to rise high enough to do them justice. The churches where they served will not stand for less than the outright recognition of what they were and what they brought to pass.

The instincts of these high-minded women co-operating with the men toward whom honor has been carried well-nigh up to canonization taught them the use of another force which one needs to have observed in its operation, or to have felt in its results, to appreciate its effectiveness, and that is the power of Christian hospitality. Many people in the West felt themselves to be exiled. From reasons of fortune, in quest of health, or in a spirit of adventure they were making a new start in a new country. From distant parts of the Union, some from New England, and in Burlington many from the South, some even from different quarters of the globe, having diverse habits, accustomed to unlike methods of public worship, these people were assimilated. The home was an alembic. Until I saw its explanation in the new fields of Iowa, I never dreamed the reason why the New Testament so strongly insists upon Christian hospitality. As a force in the West, its value was beyond computation. It is suggestive, in all the Salter correspondence, to observe how frequent are the references to the enjoyment of this hospitality. Dr. Lyman Whiting, a preacher of great reputation, once pastor at Dubuque, came up the river and expected to pass the Sabbath in Burlington at a hotel. Mrs. Salter, he says, would not listen to it. It is suggestive to notice the number of times that both young men and young women, in referring to their life in Dr. Salter's church, refer to the influence and hospitality of his home and the impression made by it.

The efficiency of Dr. and Mrs. Salter was greatly augmented furthermore by the reinforcement which they received from Deacon E. P. Mackintire, Mrs. Salter's father, a prosperous, ardent, benevolent man, whose great heart followed his favorite daughter into a work which had his heartiest Godspeed. It was decided for example, by Dr. Salter and

his associate trustees to erect a building for Iowa College, "which, when inclosed, should not exceed in cost the sum of \$2,000." It was of brick, 35 feet wide by 48 feet long, one story high, and sixteen feet in the clear. It was to stand on the bluff at Davenport, northwest of the courthouse, overlooking the river. It was surmounted on the south end, in front, by a small belfry, in which swung the first college bell in Iowa, presented in 1849 by E. P. Mackintire of Charlestown, Mass.*

In contrasting Dr. Salter's environment with that of his ministerial associates, it is plain that his effectiveness was much increased by the favoring conditions in which he labored. For fifty-eight years he had one fine large place for his study. Its glory was a large open fireplace with plain red bricks for hearth tiles, and here the sermons and the books were composed which make his name immortal. This was the treasure house for the best things in literature accumulated through long and untiring acquisition. The residence was far in advance of the abodes of most of the missionaries when it was built in 1852. It is pleasant to find that Deacon E. P. Mackintire helped him to acquire it with some further help from Dr. Salter's brother, Benjamin, of New York city.

After having occupied the commodious house overlooking a large part of the city of Burlington for forty-one years, "a house not made with hands," by a swift transfer, became Mrs. Salter's home. Like Enoch, she was not, because God took her. There was no long dying. When her life was at its zenith, with every wish about to be fulfilled, suddenly, in the twinkling of an eye, her work was done, the chariot of God was waiting, and she took her way suddenly to the world

*When the home missionaries came East, as we find they did, one by one, on visits, they always called on Deacon Mackintire, and when they returned to Iowa they did not go empty-handed. He was profoundly interested in them, and after the custom of the time introduced them to the merchant princes and to the churches, and the reports of their self-sacrificing labors were heard with sympathy and with responsive benevolence. Deacon Mackintire stands for a type in those relations that existed two generations ago, when Boston's merchants so largely supplied the sinews of war for the soldiers of the Cross. When a college or a church needed to be fitted out, some representative would start for Boston, and her consecrated business men made her name a synonym for Christian munificence.

of spirits. A dreadful accident happened between 11:00 and 11:30 o'clock, June 12, 1893. Dr. Salter, Mrs. Salter, Mrs. L. H. Drake, and the latter's daughter, Mrs. C. I. Millard, were driving in Aspen Grove near the south line of the cemetery, in what is known as the "new part," and, within two or three hundred yards of the western limit thereof, the party came upon a number of workmen, engaged in felling a large oak tree that stood about fifteen feet from the side of the driveway, on the south. Dr. Salter, who was driving, drew up his horse and accosted the workmen whom he knew, as was his wont. The conversation had continued several minutes when Henry Berges, Sr., who stood talking to the doctor at the butt of the tree, with one hand resting thereon, felt the tree begin to fall and he called out in warning for the party to drive on quickly. The warning came too late, however, and before any effort to escape could be made, the massive oak with large, spreading branches crashed down upon the surrey, pinning the occupants beneath the enormous weight of the gnarled branches. Mrs. Salter was instantly killed. Mrs. Drake, who sat in the surrey by the side of Mrs. Salter, was uninjured. Mrs. Millard, who was by the side of Mr. Salter, escaped with a wound upon her arm. Mr. Salter received severe injuries that made him utterly helpless at the time and for a month afterward. The workmen were cutting at the tree on the south, with the intent and expectation that it would fall in that direction. Indeed, a line had been made fast to the top of the tree and several attempts had been made to draw it over to the south, but it had stood firm and resisted all such efforts. Why it should then have fallen to the north no one seems able to explain. The south breeze may have borne with sufficient force against the extended top to force it over.

Dr. and Mrs. Salter are greatly honored in their children, who are held in high regard, not only on their parents' account, but on their own. Each has had a vigorous, independent, successful career, and energy is shown in the fact that each has followed a line distinct from the others and

has come to a good result by his individual, native gifts. William Mackintire, an accomplished scholar, having unusual facilities in the University of Goettingen (Germany) and the School of Political Science of Columbia University, was for about twenty-five years a lecturer for the societies for Ethical Culture in Chicago and Philadelphia. He is temporarily a special lecturer for the Department of Philosophy in the University of Chicago. He has published many magazine articles. Among his more important books are *Die Religion der Moral* (Leipsig, 1885), *Moralische Rader* (Leipsig, 1887), *Ethical Religion* (Boston, 1889), *First Steps in Philosophy* (London, 1892), *Anarchy or Government, An Inquiry in Fundamental Politics* (New York, 1895). Sumner Salter has followed the profession of music. He has been organist and choir-master and private teacher in Boston, Syracuse, Cleveland, Atlanta, New York, and Ithaca; and is now the director of music at Williams College, Massachusetts. He has also been editor of *The Pianist and Organist*, a founder of the "American Guild of Organists," and president of the New York State Music Teachers' Association. He has himself written many musical pieces, vocal and instrumental. His wife, Mary Turner Salter, is a well-known singer and composer.

George B. Salter, educated in the Burlington schools and at Phillips Academy, Exeter, N. H., has preferred a business career, and the good results have justified his choice. He has lived in Burlington practically all his life. He is the president of the Salter Clothing Company. He lives in the house in which he and his brothers were born, and where he with his devoted wife gave filial care to Dr. Salter after his great bereavement.

TWO OF DR. SALTER'S SUNDAY SCHOOL SCHOLARS.

At the semicentennial celebration of Dr. Salter's pastorate, in a united service of the Sunday school and the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, Dr. Salter based his address upon the career and qualities of John M. Corse, be-

ginning with the words, "Dear Children: Fifty years ago, there was a boy in this Sunday school eleven years of age." It was he to whom later General Sherman signaled: "Hold fast, we are coming." For at Allatoona, 2,700,000 rations were stored, three weeks' supply for Sherman's whole army, and other stores, and to retain these for the Union army was a question of life or death. Gen. French sent a message to Dr. Salter's Sunday school scholar, demanding his surrender, to "save a needless effusion of blood," and allowed five minutes for deliberation. To which the Sunday school scholar replied that he was ready for the "needless effusion of blood" whenever it was agreeable to General French, and the assault began. After the signaling came: "Tell Allatoona. Hold on. General Sherman says he is working hard for you." General Corse signaled, "My losses are very heavy. Tell me where Sherman is." General Sherman said, "He will hold out. I know the man." Although, as General Corse stated, he was "short a cheek bone and an ear," he had the grit to "hold the fort." This incident gave P. P. Bliss the song, "Hold the Fort For I Am Coming," and fame that went round the world. The vivid imagination of the hymn writer never lost sight of the heroic figure of that Sunday school scholar, gashed in the face and stunned, having lost, too, more than one-third of his command, which was small at the best, imperiled by an entire division of the Confederate army, standing up against such odds. Mr. Bliss, only two nights before his death in the Ashtabula railway disaster, sang one of the last of his compositions, "Hold Fast Till I Come," almost the exact words of one of Sherman's signals to Corse. In Dr. Salter's Sunday school at the same time was a fair and lovely girl, who afterward became General Corse's wife.

To this same celebration of the semicentennial of Dr. Salter's pastorate, came a letter from Major S. H. M. Byers, who as a barefooted boy attended Dr. Salter's Sunday school in 1851. Major Byers is the author of the great war song, which gave the name to the campaign, "Sherman's March to the

Sea." A million copies of the song have been sold. It is known everywhere. The experiences of Major Byers in Confederate prisons, as told by him in articles in magazines and in lectures, have thrilled the country. He found himself at Macon in a sand-pen, two acres in extent, surrounded by a stockade, twelve feet high, on top of which sentries were placed. Twelve feet inside of the stockade was the dead-line, crossing which, any prisoner would be instantly shot without challenge.

To Major Byers more than to any other man can be traced the fact that, in the matter of state pride, Iowa exceeds all commonwealths in the Union, except two, and that she has more nationality in her patriotism than is usual. She has steadily refused to have a State flag, being content to be one star in the one flag of the nation. He who had been the barefooted boy in Dr. Salter's Sunday school wrote a song for Iowa, which has been adopted by the General Assembly and by over two hundred colleges and schools. The use of this song, with certain other specific influences, has greatly inflamed State pride in the hearts of the young.

"You ask what land I love the best,
Iowa, 'tis Iowa.
The fairest state of all the West,
Iowa, O! Iowa.
From yonder Mississippi's stream
To where Missouri's waters gleam,
O! fair it is as poet's dream,
Iowa, in Iowa."

Major Byers, who also wrote the pearl of all books of travel, "Switzerland and the Swiss," boasted that he still owned a Testament which was given him in Dr. Salter's Sunday school for committing Bible verses to memory.

THE RENOWNED BIG STICK OF IOWA.

In Dr. Salter's library stood a treasured memento of the Iowa Band that became with the rise and fall of the years a great asset. It was originally the gift of an ardent admirer and personal friend, Dr. James Taylor of Ottumwa, to

Rev. B. A. Spaulding, a member of the Iowa Band, as an expression of esteem, in 1864. Three years later when he died, it was found that he had willed the silver-headed, silver feruled cane to the eldest surviving member of the Iowa Band, with the request that it be passed on, at death, to the oldest survivor in that company. From Mr. Spaulding it went to Daniel Lane, who retained it for twenty-three years. From him, it passed to Harvey Adams; then to A. B. Robbins, who had it for only three months. In the same year it reached Ephraim Adams, who retained it eleven years, when it fell to the sole survivor of the illustrious company, Dr. William Salter, whose it was until Monday, August 15, 1910. It was then transferred to its permanent enshrinement among the precious relics and memorabilia of the Iowa Band in the college at Grinnell. Upon the cane are now inscribed six names. The name of the first owner is engraved upon the head plate:

B. A. Spaulding, 1864.

Died March 31, 1867.

Just below the top of the cane is set a silver scroll, upon which appear the other five names:

D. Lane. Died April 3, 1890.

H. Adams. Died Sept. 23, 1896.

A. B. Robbins. Died Dec. 27, 1896.

E. Adams. Died Nov. 30, 1907.

W. Salter. Died Aug. 15, 1910.

With what tenderness and suggestiveness, Dr. Salter must often have regarded that black ebony stick that stood in his study waiting for its last inscription. The precious memento was usually delivered at the funeral of its last possessor to its new owner. Only once was this ceremonial interrupted and that was with the death of its second possessor, Dr. Lane, who died in Freeport, Maine, and by reason of the infirmities incident to his more than eighty-seven years Dr. Harvey Adams was unable to make the journey as usually was done to receive it. In every other case, it was solemnly, tearfully,

religiously passed along in a little ceremonial so affecting that the eyes of all who witnessed it were suffused with tears.

TRIBUTES ON VARIOUS OCCASIONS.

When Dr. Salter had completed forty-five years of continuous ministry, he carefully reviewed his work and the growth of the church, and at the conclusion of his sermon gave his hearers a painful surprise by reading his formal letter of resignation. The scene which followed was touching in the extreme, but was so spontaneous and genuine that it must have deeply impressed the good man and made him feel how dear he was to the hearts of his people. The realization that he felt that weight and cares of years, and need of rest, gave to all a sense of sincere regret, and the love and respect felt for him showed itself unrestrainedly, many of the audience being visibly affected. The good doctor gave, as his reason for this step, the fact that with that year's service he would round out man's allotted space, the threescore years and ten which are appointed unto us, and that having had the loyal and loving support of his congregation through so many years, and feeling his strength unequal to his tasks, thought it fitting that the burden should fall on younger shoulders. It was freely and openly stated, however, by those who had heard the letter that the resignation would never be accepted, one going so far as to say that such a thing would not seriously be considered at all. If anything could breathe a stronger spirit of love and veneration than the resolutions of the trustees which follow, we know not where to find it in the history of our denomination or of the church in general.

Whereas, Mr. John W. Gilbert, president of the board of trustees of the Congregational church and society, has submitted to the board a letter of resignation from Dr. William Salter, as pastor of this church, therefore be it

Resolved, That it is with feelings of sadness we are called upon to meet this question. Recognizing the truth expressed in our beloved pastor's letter that he has nearly reached the allotted years of human life, we feel that the labors of the pastoral care of this church have begun to be greater than we should ask him to sustain

unaided and alone; witnessing his constant growth in mental and moral force and in the power of the Holy Spirit, feeling that at no time in his long pastorate have we been more bountifully supplied by him, intellectually and spiritually, than now, that the added years are but adding grace and beauty to his ministry, we have failed to note the physical impairment which he names in his letter. To relieve him of labors too heavy for the bodily weakness incident to advancing years, we will join with him in selecting an assistant to relieve him of part of those burdens; but it is our earnest and unanimous desire that he continue to be the pastor of this church during the remainder of his natural life, with full responsibility and undiminished authority. The withdrawal of his resignation is the unanimous desire of the trustees. We feel that the church and society will be unable to sustain any different relations with our minister; that we must ask for the guidance and the beneficent influence of the remainder of that life, of which the larger part has been already spent for our advantage; that receiving not only from this city and this congregation, that love and reverence which should accompany such an old age, he will to the end, as our pastor, exemplify to us the worship of God in the beauty of holiness.

J. W. GILBERT.
ROBERT DONAHUE.
THOMAS HEDGE.
LUKE PALMER, Jr.

THE MINISTERIAL ASSOCIATION OF BURLINGTON: *Whereas*, The present closes the fiftieth year of Dr. William Salter's pastorate in the Congregational Church of Burlington, it is the pleasing duty of his brethren in the ministry to make acknowledgment of his eminent service in the ministry and his abiding influence upon the community. It is safe to say that Dr. Salter has held personal acquaintance with every minister, if not every priest, serving in the city during these fifty years. It goes without saying also that he probably knows personally more of our citizens than any other man in our midst.

Honored and beloved by all, it is a matter of gratitude to us who now are serving with him in the ministry to testify to the correctness of this universal praise.

W. H. TRAEGER,
P. B. HOLTGREVE,
S. C. BRONSON,
Committee.

PHILIP M. CRAPO: I should not know where to turn to another life so full of good works and sympathy.

SENATOR JOHN H. GEAR: Dr. Salter is to me a near and dear friend, as he is to every early settler in our town. He married me and my children and baptized them. Every person who has known him all these years knows how good he is, how unselfish and sympathetic. All through the fifty years of his pastorate he has been not only a beloved pastor in his church, but an honored citizen, endearing himself to all who came in contact with him.

ROBERT J. BURDETTE: Your letter finds me a restless comet among the clear shining stars that keep their orbits, and makes me wish that I had more control over my erratic movements. I have been a parishioner of Dr. Salter's nearly half of his glorious ministry in Iowa; ever since '72. One of the first hands stretched out to welcome me was Dr. Salter's. One of the pleasantest homes we loved to visit was the Congregational parsonage.

REV. L. F. BERRY, OTTUMWA: You simply began young and have kept young through the half century. I remember how impressed I was, the first time I sat in your study, by the thought that there in effect, if not in real fact, one man had wrought through a longer period than I had lived.

MRS. E. J. LANE, FREEPORT, ILLS: I can never forget the visits from time to time of my husband and myself to the charming home of Dr. Salter, and the warm, cordial welcome given us by him and his sweet, gentle wife of precious memory, who has since gone to rest.

ISAAC AND CHARLOTTE LEONARD, IONA, N. J.: Mrs. Leonard and myself have a distinct remembrance of your first sermon of fifty years ago, and were pleased with it.

RICHARD SALTER STORRS, BROOKLYN, N. Y.: You and I are not connected by blood, though my father's name and my grandfather's, as well as my own, came from Dr. Richard Salter, pastor of the church at Mansfield, a man of singular learning for his time, of excellent family, a benefactor of Yale College, though himself a graduate of Harvard. My greatgrandfather had been assisted in his education by Dr. Salter, and afterward received from him a considerable gift of books from his library. He, in affectionate honor to Dr. Salter, gave the name to his oldest son, my grandfather, from whom it has descended to me. But the relation between Rev. Dr. Salter and Rev. John Storrs was of friendship and affection only and did not involve kinship. I have always rejoiced, however, to see your name in connection with the many important movements

with which you have been identified, and especially in connection with the growth of the church in Burlington, and to have recalled to me the ancient tie of love between the Salters and Storrs. We have not met often in life here; I hope our mansions will not be far from each other in the greater and lovelier life beyond. With hearty congratulations and affectionate regard.

REV. JAMES L. HILL, SALEM, MASS.: It is coming to be a canon in the church: when you see a man who has held strongly the same pulpit for ten years, take off your hat to him. To this rule I offer this amendment: When you meet a clergyman who has been in the same pastorate fifty years, carry your hat in your hand. I want to join the ranks of those who honor you. I recall the Scripture, "Thine own friend and thy father's friend, forsake not." You have witnessed a good confession; your path has lain in the sun.

FROM THE ADDRESS OF A. C. HUTCHINSON: For full fifty years he has been the recipient of the warm affection of a loyal and devoted membership. As the city has enlarged, he has taken deep interest in every enterprise of a public character. He has seen the city grow from small beginnings, years before any railway connections with the outside world had been considered, to its present proportions with railroads diverging in every direction. He has seen the city gridironed with tracks for street-car traffic, making quick intercommunication with every part of it easy and comfortable by the unseen and incomprehensible power of that subtle fluid that no man dares touch and yet which is made submissive to our every wish.

FROM THE ADDRESS OF THOMAS HEDGE: I do not know my native place apart from the Reverend William Salter. The benignant presence, the clear-cut, resolute face of the young minister, was as real a part of the environment of my childhood as were the wooded hills or the shining rivers. As I said, books were few. We used to read the New Testament, and we unsophisticated children thought the words, "There was a man sent from God," described some such man as he. With the added experience of fifty years and acquaintance with many men, those of us still living know no better now.

FROM THE ADDRESS OF ROBERT DONAHUE: For forty years I have been an observer and an admirer of Dr. Salter and his work in this community. His pastorate has not been confined to this church and society. He has been the ideal pastor of this city and township. I venture the assertion that there was not a man, woman or child over ten years of age, between 1860 and 1870, in this township who did not personally know and revere him. On the fourth day of July, 1863, Grimes's Hall was crowded with citizens for a Fourth of July celebration. For more than two years, the war had been prose-

cuted with many discouragements. Many brave soldiers had given their lives; many more had been wounded, the odds were generally against the Union forces. In the midst of our celebration news came over the wires of the two great victories, at Gettysburg and Vicksburg. All over the loyal States the patriotic enthusiasm was at its height, and nowhere was it greater than in our city. The program was for a number of speakers, and consequently they were limited as to time. Among the number was our patriotic old pastor. When his name was called, his face shone; joy beamed on his countenance with the inspiring news, his whole being overflowed with fervor, and he made that day, I thought and have always thought since, the speech of his life. As I have said, there being many speakers, time was limited, and just as he had gotten fairly launched in his speech the chair rapped time. Immediately from all over that great audience came the call, "Go on," and inspired by the occasion he went on for thirty minutes in perhaps the most patriotic address ever delivered in Burlington. Dr. Salter has ever been known in this community as a modest, unobtrusive, quiet man, not interfering ordinarily in public matters, but when he did take part, when there was a principle at stake, there was no misunderstanding where he was to be found.

From a letter of Gov. ALBERT B. CUMMINS: I cannot allow the moment to go by without expressing to you my appreciation of the wonderful influence that you have exerted for the benefit of mankind. Your life covers the most important age in the history of the world. You have seen the mightiest nation on earth grow from obscurity to power. You have witnessed a complete revolution in commerce and industry.

These things are noteworthy, but they are not so vital as the lesson of your own life. I wish that what you have done and what you have said could be known to every boy and girl in our State.

I sincerely hope that you may be spared yet many years to bless the commonwealth of which you have been so helpful a citizen, and the church in which you have been so efficient a worker.

CHARLES ALDRICH, CURATOR STATE HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT: It has long seemed to me that you are the most fortunate man I have ever known—standing among the highest in your sacred profession; beloved and honored by the people of this great State and by thousands throughout the country; one whose every acquaintance is a personal friend; the idol of affectionate children—and, possibly better than all else, inestimably blessed in your own splendid mental qualities and characteristics. Some old poet wrote:

"My mind to me a kingdom is;
Such perfect joy therein I find
As far exceeds all human bliss"

You can well say this of yourself. Your life has been so useful, and in so many directions. Your name is permanently connected with the history of our State. You will leave a nobler heritage than great wealth. It is among my most precious memories that I have known you so well, receiving from you such valuable aid in my work and such expression of abiding friendship. I am glad that you have lived thus long.

G. S. F. SAVAGE: I have long prized your friendship and the fellowship which I have been privileged to have with you from time to time since we were secretaries together at the meeting in 1854, which founded our beloved Chicago Theological Seminary. As pioneers in the ministry of these great commonwealths of Iowa and Illinois, we have had many experiences alike, in witnessing the marvelous developments in church and state which have taken place, and have had some part in planting churches and institutions which are to live and bless the world after we have passed away. I am especially grateful that I was privileged to come to this western field at an early day when foundations of future growth and prosperity were being laid. You preceded me four years, and have been greatly blessed in the work which you have done."

When Dr. Salter had attained his fourscore years, Rev. Robert L. Marsh, in an interview in the Hawk-Eye, paid him this homage:

If there is a single person within the realm of his acquaintance who has any other than a kind word to speak of him that person has yet to be heard from. This is the more remarkable since he is well known as a man of positive convictions and of great strength and tenacity of purpose. The high regard in which he is held can doubtless be attributed chiefly to two causes: First, his breadth of human sympathy, which has given him a catholicity of view, saved him from harsh judgment upon those who have differed from him, and enabled him to recognize the good in every form or creed and in every individual; second, his success is to be attributed to his tact and wisdom. He has known how to yield gracefully when it was impossible to have his way, and has felt as kindly when defeated as when successful.

Dr. Salter's perfect accuracy of memory and genius for details are matters of frequent comment by those who know him best. His word is final among them upon any question of history or date.

BURLINGTON HAWK-EYE: A fine compliment has been paid the Rev. William Salter by the Historical Department of Iowa. The original manuscript of his address in the State Historical Art Gallery, May 7, 1902, on the occasion of presenting Louis Mayer's portrait of the Honorable Francis Springer, president of the Iowa Constitutional Convention of 1857, has been mounted in pages and bound in beautiful covers. The binding is red morocco, embossed in gilt, with ornamental corners in gilt and blue, with title inscription. The volume contains portraits and the autographs of Dr. Salter and Judge Springer, and a letter of the former of April 21, 1902, to Mr. Arthur Springer, of Wapello, accepting the invitation to deliver the address.

By no means the least attractive feature of the volume, in an artistic sense, is the beautiful manuscript itself. Dr. Salter's writing is almost like a copper plate etching, as clear and distinct as if engraved in relief work.

But however marked a feature is the doctor's penmanship, the subject-matter and his treatment of the theme, give the volume its historical value. Dr. Salter is a terse, vigorous writer; every sentence is replete with fact and sentiment pertinent to the theme. Few if any writers in Iowa have a finer diction. There is no surplusage of words, there are no "vain repetitions," and there is no striving for rhetorical effect in his public addresses. For a taste we quote a single sentence. "Today time rolls back the curtains, and we stand in the presence of those who reclaimed the wilderness, and turned the wild and inhospitable prairie, an Indian hunting-ground, the scene of many a savage contest, into cultured fields and smiling villages and happy homes." The volume of manuscript has been placed in the "Aldrich Collections" of manuscripts of prominent Iowans and eminent Americans—a collection in which the venerable curator, Hon. Charles Aldrich, takes a deep personal pride,—a pride shared by his fellow citizens because they recognize in it the splendid service he has rendered the State of Iowa and the broader field of American history and biography. It is, indeed, a beautiful service Mr. Aldrich has rendered the State and in all his years of enthusiastic endeavor he has had no warmer, more constant personal friend and co-laborer than William Salter, of Burlington.

CEREMONIES AT THE UNVEILING OF DR. SALTER'S PORTRAIT.

The portrait of Dr. Salter in the Historical Department of Iowa at Des Moines was unveiled on November 24, 1902. It is a painting in oil by Louis Mayer, the gift of the following Burlington people, friends of Dr. Salter: Mr. and Mrs.

Charles E. Perkins, Mr. and Mrs. C. P. Squires, Mr. and Mrs. William Carson, Mrs. H. C. Lasell, Mr. and Mrs. H. S. Rand, Mr. and Mrs. G. H. Higbee, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Hedge, Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Blythe and Mr. and Mrs. Philip M. Crapo.

The presentation was marked by simple but impressive exercises. The portrait was presented to the Historical Department of Iowa in the art room of the Historical Building. It was the gift of citizens of Burlington. The address of presentation was made by Hon. Frank Springer of Las Vegas, New Mexico, son of Judge Francis Springer, who was a close friend of Dr. Salter. Governor Cummins accepted the portrait on behalf of the State. Dr. A. L. Frisbie of Plymouth Congregational church, in Des Moines, presided.

FROM THE ADDRESS OF FRANK SPRINGER: It does not require the softening touch of time, nor the chastening hand of death, to round off the career of William Salter, so that we may justly characterize or fittingly commemorate it. His sixty years of citizenship of the State, marshaling for us their memories of a blameless life, come forward as witnesses, and we point to them as the reasons why we are here today. In the evening of a grand and useful life, when the shadows are beginning to lengthen, and while he looks with calmness upon the low descending sun, he is engaged in finishing in the vigor of an intellect which his eighty years have scarcely dimmed, and with all the enthusiasm of earlier days, a history of the State he has loved and honored so long. His life spent in the pursuit and practice of his sacred calling represents the history of Iowa. He was a part of it. He helped to make it, and he is better qualified to relate it for the benefit of those coming after than any man now living. These reflections come unbidden in the presence of these reminders of the men who made this splendid community. As for eulogy, it would be difficult to portray in words the deep and abiding affection which exists for this venerable man in the hearts of those to whom and to whose people he has ministered, in their joys and in their sorrows, for more than half a century. I speak not merely of those who were members of his own congregation. His influence and his good works were never confined to such narrow limits. He belonged to the people of Iowa. Wherever there were wounded hearts to heal, or darkened souls to be cheered by the light of hope; wherever the poor in spirit were to be comforted; wherever the friendless needed recognition or encouragement, there he was to be found. What their creed was

he never stopped to inquire. In war and in peace, to the camp and to the hearthstone, he has brought to grateful thousands of Iowa's best and noblest sons and daughters the consolations not only of religion but of charity not bounded by any church or creed, but broad as the precepts of his divine Master. There is scarcely a family in southeastern Iowa, among the pioneers who builded the State and their descendants, to whom, at some time and in some way, his words have not been a comfort and his presence a benediction.

Foremost in all good works; a friend of liberal education; a promoter of learning in its broadest sense; an outspoken champion of right principles wherever right and wrong joined issue; his example has been a blessing to his fellow men, and his life an honor to the State.

As a slight evidence of the affection and honor in which they hold him, the citizens of Burlington have caused to be executed a faithful portrait of Dr. Salter as he appears today. No eulogy that I could pronounce would be half so eloquent or significant as this testimonial, coming as it does from his fellow citizens who claim him as peculiarly their own. The donors of this picture have delegated to me the pleasing office of presenting it to the state. I esteem it a high privilege and an honor to be thus associated with them and in their company to feel myself, for the moment, a citizen of Iowa again.

And therefore, sir, on behalf of the people of Burlington and of the thousands of others who will be gratified by the event, I tender this portrait for your acceptance as the property of the State hoping that it may find a worthy place in the Pantheon of her great men.

Governor Cummins, in a brief address of acceptance, said the significance of the occasion was to be found not in what was said here, but in what was remembered and in the resolutions formed for a broader and better life and a higher and better citizenship. He referred to a statement recently made to him by Dr. Gunsaulus that it was accepted by all students that the people of Iowa combined more of the qualities of good citizenship than the people of any other State in the union. "Somebody gave us the impulse in the years gone by, that still keeps us true to the doctrines of good life, good morals, and good government. Who gave us this impulse? Dr. Salter and his associates of the formative period of the

State. I believe the men and women of this generation ought to be forever grateful for the instruction, the spirit that has come down to us from those former times. It is fitting that we should express in the manner we are today the gratitude that must fill every loyal heart."

Curator Aldrich, following Governor Cummins' remarks, read letters of regret, among which was one from Judge Walter I. Babb, who wrote: "He is one of the distinguished pioneers of Iowa, who has done much to give it the character and enviable position it holds today in the sisterhood of States, and it is certainly fit that his face and memory should thus be preserved."

Dr. Salter himself did not attend the exercises, largely out of feelings of delicacy. Dr. Frisbie said Burlington had never sent out a delegation on a better mission than it had the one present at these ceremonies, and that it was "a sweetly grateful thing" thus to do honor to Dr. Salter, their esteemed fellow citizen.

AT THE END.

THE CITY COUNCIL OF BURLINGTON (at a special meeting): It is ordered that a record be made of the general appreciation by our people of the successful life and high character of the late Rev. William Salter, D. D., who died in this city on the fifteenth day of August, aged eighty-eight years, after a residence in this community of more than sixty-three years. During this long period he has continuously taught good morals and sound principles, both by precept and example. This teaching immeasurably promoted the welfare of the community in which he dwelt, and its effects will be felt by coming generations. As a mark of respect to his memory it is further ordered that the city offices be closed at the time of his funeral.

JUDGE LUKE PALMER: He stamped his character upon this community and exalted its sense of honor and of justice. He did not neglect the humbler virtues. He was frugal without parsimony, hospitable without ostentation, modest without diffidence. His social and family life were ideal and his children honor his memory and are an honor to him. His life was a full one and was varied with a brief service in the United States army as chaplain during the Civil War.

THOMAS HEDGE: His capacity for work was marvelous. In his pursuit of learning he was unwearying as "the unwearied man." Of tenacious memory his store of learning increased beyond our finding out. His story of the Territory of Iowa, finished on the day he became eighty years of age, is standard authority, as is his life of Governor Grimes and every other paper he ever published on an historical subject. Verily, this persistent mental activity and industry has its reward. "The sound mind" he so often spoke of was given him to the end. We are all witnesses that in these last days he was wont to give us the sum of the whole matter in his benediction.

His ways were ways of pleasantness. In all his intercourse formal or casual, he was the flower of courtesy. He was stately in his simplicity, easy in his dignity and "as the greatest only are," accessible and companionable. Of course all men loved him and at last named him "First."

It was a summer Sunday morning, there was a large congregation. During the prayer a restless child disturbed the quiet and was not only distressing its mother but distributing a wave of fretfulness over us all, when we heard the gentle voice of our minister, "We thank thee, Lord, that the voices of children may still be heard in thy temple." Immediately there was a great calm, a feeling of peace not unmixed with penitence took possession of us, and even the little child was still.

W. W. BALDWIN (for many years associate of Dr. Salter on the Board of Trustees of the Free Public Library): Dr. Salter was not only born into an atmosphere of goodness, but with the mind of a student, a great capacity for acquiring knowledge, a most retentive memory, and with habits of persistent industry. The cultivation of these native qualities developed the scholar, the preacher and the useful citizen.

The ambition of youth and the desire for doing good led him to enlist these really noble qualities and capabilities in the work of developing this western region, whose growth and prosperity since that day have been a constantly rising tide.

I think that he became passionately fond of the people of the West, as such, and was proud to be identified with them. When drawn into war, as they were by the necessity of preserving the Union he was with them heart and soul, and his attitude and appeals of patriotism were a great inspiration.

But his experience at the front, on the sanitary commission, during Sherman's bloody campaigns, effectually sickened him of war as a means of settling men's disputes, and he became ever afterwards a consistent advocate of peace and arbitration. He was a preacher of peace among men.

He wrote what is regarded as far and away the best history of Iowa prior to its admission into the Union, and his "Life of Grimes" is the best piece of biographical work which this state has thus far produced.

We cannot all devote our lives to study and scholarship, to teaching and preaching. Men must plow and sow; and gather into barns. Houses must be built, mills and factories must be operated, and the ships of commerce and the wheels of transportation must move or the constantly increasing millions will starve.

But how fortunate it is for the world that so many of those whose days are set apart to preach and advise and instruct have the mind that was in the friend we now so universally and sincerely mourn—the deeply religious mind, the patriotic mind, the sensible mind.

It is not for me to discuss his qualities as a minister of the Gospel, but he possessed two characteristics which especially impressed many—his sense of the fitness of things to say and of the place to say them, and the broad spirit of tolerance which was a part of everything that he said and did. These were conspicuous.

He always seemed to know how to say the right thing and never to say too much. He reflected before he spoke and always knew what he was going to say.

He unquestionably was a man greatly endeared to men of all classes and creeds—all parties and all occupations in this community where he lived so long.

One reason for this was the consistency of his life with his profession of what is the proper way to live. He taught piety and was himself pious; he taught patriotism and was himself patriotic; he enjoined frugality and lived the plain and simple life; he preached temperance and was abstemiously temperate; he advocated tolerance, and never sought to impose his particular form of belief upon any other man.

REV. NABOTH OSBORNE (successor to Dr. Salter as pastor of the Congregational church in Burlington): He would speak familiarly of having heard Henry Clay and Daniel Webster in his native city; he conducted a station on the underground railway before the war; he entertained Horace Bushnell, the New England theologian, when he was in Burlington; he introduced Emerson when that genial philosopher spoke first in Burlington; and he was one of those who welcomed Lincoln the only time he ever appeared in Burlington. He had in him the spirit of the pioneer. I cannot get over it that when I was born he had already been pastor of this church twenty-five years. Life for all of us is an investment. Some men crossed the Mississippi and invested their lives in commercial enterprise,

and this is good, for where there is no work men will not come to live. Such men build or make great cities with work for thousands of wage-earners. This great soul invested his influence in the intellectual, moral and spiritual life of a city.

DR. FRANK N. WHITE (formerly associated with Dr. Salter in the pastorate at Burlington): Prophet, priest, pastor, friend, man of letters, student, historian, citizen, and conspicuous in each capacity, only many men of many minds, varied vision and rich gifts of speech could begin to compass and express the significance of this monumental career. I mention first in order of time, though by no means of chief importance, his wonderful literary gift. What an adept he was in word-craft! What an unerring instinct for the apt and final word! What a poetic sense of fine distinction of color and tone values in language! What variety and freshness in the couching of thought, despite the drain and strain of two generations of public service in one place! He seemed dowered with an all but superhuman power of expression. His divination of the happy phrase suggested at times the swift insight of genius.

There is more here than mere art. In fact, in Dr. Salter's case it does not occur to one to think of art. There is something incongruous in mentioning his beauty of literary style in the same breath with art. If art there was, it was that rare kind of art that conceals art—his choice of word and phrase seemed so natural and spontaneous. You search in vain for an explanation so long as you stop short of the moral quality of it all. It rooted itself in enduring traits of character. His mind went straight to the inevitable word because his life moved in straight lines. Purity of style was born in whiteness of soul. Word-craft was no craft in either sense of that word of double meaning; it was the efflorescence of nature that put itself forth in beauty as the apple tree breaks into blossom in spring, as the sun and moon "rain out their beams" and as the rivers run down to the sea.

Another trait was guilelessness. For the final quality of which I wish to speak, I find myself at loss for the single word. In fact there is no single word to compass it. I am thinking of that quality or harmony of qualities that made him the superlatively imperial personality of the community for sixty-four years. He was not so much the representative man of the city as its creative and shaping spirit. The impress of his character was phenomenal and dominating.

I am thinking of his goodness. Almost involuntarily, so much of a habit had it become, the man on the street spoke of "Good Dr. Salter." It is a mighty thing in these days of the critical habit,

when suspicion is rife and cynicism holds high carnival, that one man should stand out a community's acknowledged, though uncrowned, king, with the title of "William the Good."

I am thinking of his poise, which is peace "played one octave higher." Who shall tell—as a single item in his varied ministry—the untold and untellable comfort he brought in more than six decades of service, as he prayed with the sick and dying, as he drew stricken hearts into comradeship with the Comforter and as he spoke tender words of appreciation and solace over the dead? He had the freedom of a thousand homes. Doors opened to his touch as they open to the sunshine, the breezes and the fragrance of June.

REV. B. F. MARTIN: Dr. Salter was interested in having a good, clean town and aggressive city. He was a father to the young men. People have said, "If I could only have lived the life of Dr. Salter." His life reached out like the roots of a great tree into the city, the State and the great Mississippi valley.

REV. CHARLES E. PERKINS, KEOSAUQUA: When a man lives a lifetime in one community his fame increasing as his years increase, and the love of him keeping even pace with the fame, it means that the popular judgment has made no mistake; means that the common verdict will undergo no reversal. I like to think of Dr. Salter as the scholar among his books. The pulpit, and particularly this pulpit, was his throne, but his library also was a place of power. And those sermons, judging from the considerable number which I have read, were no ordinary productions. Among other excellences, they had the fine quality of real literature. He was a purist in the use of words, never making a false choice. Had Dr. Salter not been a parish minister and an unmitered bishop of his city, he might have figured and probably would have figured among the great historians. Nothing was lacking in his equipment.

REV. T. O. DOUGLASS, GRINNELL: The whole State, without distinction of denomination, claims Dr. Salter, and has honored him as one of her distinguished citizens. But in an especial manner he belongs to us of the Congregational household. Hundreds of his brethren in the ministry and thousands of the members of our churches, are with you in spirit to lay down their tributes of honor and love at the feet of this great and good man. To me one of the most impressive of Dr. Salter's characteristics was his cordiality.

Well do I remember the thrill of that first hand-shake over forty years ago as he welcomed me to the work in Iowa. The great Dr. Salter, so kind, so cordial, so hearty.

Beside the tribute of Dr. Douglass, whose life work has been the superintendency of Home Missions in Iowa, we have in a letter to the family the following expression from Rev. J. B. Clark, D. D., who down to old age served as secretary of the National Home Missionary Society, the organization that first sent Dr. Salter to the territory:

The death of Dr. William Salter will seem to all who knew and loved him well, more like a coronation. I have often quoted your father's life and toil of the Home Missionary pioneer. He has survived not only all members of the glorious Iowa Band, but most of his contemporaries in and out of the ministry. It was like your father to remember the Society in his will. We have always had joy in his gifts.

MR. JAMES HAGERTY: Dr. Salter denied the right of one man to own another human being when property in man was as legal and legitimate as speculation in land or dealing in property purchased by labor. He hated bigotry and intolerance at a time in which churches and convents were being destroyed and priests tarred and feathered, and the "Dutch and Irish" hunted as game by patriotic Americans. He lived to see the fullest tolerance accorded to differences of opinion and to work for complete equality before the law for all, irrespective of color, sex or condition.

MR. FRANK C. NORTON: The love and admiration of this beautiful character grew stronger with years until today there is no man I hold in higher esteem than I hold him, and in saying this I voice the sentiments of the entire Catholic population. Dr. Salter's relationship with the Catholic people of Burlington and close association with the pastors of St. Paul's church, have always been of the most friendly character. I recall many occasions hearing him speak from the same platform with Fathers Gunn, Lowrey and Mackin, always having in view the highest of all ideals, the elevation of mankind.

REV. E. H. WARING, OF OSKALOOSA: Believing it to be the duty of the American people to preserve the nation and to make it really free, he was a hearty supporter of the government in its efforts to subdue the Rebellion. I was a pastor in the city during the worst period of the bloody strife, and had frequent occasion to know of his fidelity and earnestness in the Union cause. And neither pen nor voice was held back from its support. One occasion that showed his spirit occurs to me now. One of the churches in the city, and a prominent one, was cursed at the time with a Copperhead preacher. There were then frequent occasions for public services in the interest of the Union, and the rule adopted by the ministers of the several churches of the city was that each

one should take charge of the service in order of seniority. But we had never been able to get this off-preacher to respond. At length the country was thrilled with the news of the surrender of Vicksburg and the defeat of Lee at Gettysburg. Arrangements were at once made for a fitting celebration of the victories in Burlington. A religious service was appointed at the Congregational church in the daytime, and an illumination and procession at night. The ministers, in making the arrangement for the day service, proceeded to select the principal speaker, and one of the loyal ministers was nominated. But to this I objected. I said that I thought this was the fitting time to make the suspected preacher show his hand, and I suggested that, though he was not present, he should be named with the understanding that, if he did not respond, Dr. Salter and others of us should fill the time. This was done, and when the hour arrived for the service, and a great crowd was gathered, to our surprise the preacher was on hand. I forget the text, but the screed he delivered was worse than anything in the Lamentations. He had nothing to say about the rebels or slavery, and less about the Union. The crimes of New York and other cities, and the general demoralization of the North was dwelt upon and the fearful devastation of the South by the national forces. It was the wettest of all the wet blankets ever thrown over an audience. All hung their heads; some retired. But when the discourse was ended, the preacher had hardly got away from the stand before Dr. Salter literally jumped to the front, and without any reference to what had been said, began a fervent, patriotic address such as he knew well how to make. He referred to the long and anxious wait for the taking of the western stronghold; to the effect that would follow the cutting of the Confederacy in two and the opening of the great river to free commerce and navigation; to the intense anxiety as to the results of Lee's invasion of the North, made more acute by the feeling that, in their practically defenseless condition, neither Philadelphia, Baltimore nor Washington was safe; while the uncertainty was increased by the appointment of a new and comparatively untried commander of the Union army on the eve of battle. He pictured the bravery of the men at the front and the certainty that, by a vigorous following up of these great achievements, the safety of the nation was secure. All through there was a succession of vociferous cheers; hats were thrown up in all parts of the room and men hugged each other for joy. No further speaking was needed and the audience was dismissed. And as one result the disloyal preacher resigned and a loyal man took his place. William Salter was a good, a great and a glorious man, one of those who shall be in "everlasting remembrance."

THE ANNALS OF IOWA.

A HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

VOLUME NINE—THIRD SERIES

EDITED BY

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